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THE  
Kansas Historical  
Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor  
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor



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THE  
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Volume III

Number 1

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



# A Photographic History of Early Kansas<sup>1</sup>

ROBERT TAFT

THE influence of American photography upon the social and political growth of our country has never been traced, and for some years the writer has been accumulating facts and materials bearing upon this thesis. In making the search for such material, thousands of photographs have been examined and the importance of many of these photographs, as historic records, apart from their interest as illustrations of the development of photography, has been more and more impressed upon the writer. History, by means of photographs, is by no means new, and is well illustrated by that monumental series of volumes, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*. That this method has not been employed more extensively is surprising, and may be due, in part, to the lack of knowledge which the historian and writer possesses of the history of American photography.

To be specific, the photographs available in the Kansas State Historical Society as important historic evidence are practically unknown, even among professional historians. The particular object of this paper is not to present an exhaustive photographic history of the state, however, but to call attention to such material as it exists and to emphasize the importance of the photographic method of recording history and the value of adding similar material by donations from interested individuals who possess photographs of historic value.

The development of American photography may be briefly outlined by the following chronology:

- Sept. 21, 1839..... The beginning of photography in America.<sup>2</sup>
- 1840-1860 ..... The era of the daguerreotype, or photographs on silvered copper.
- 1849 ..... The introduction of photography on glass.
- 1853 ..... The beginning of commercial wet-plate photography in the United States.
- July 4 and 11, 1854..... Issuance of patents to J. A. Cutting, covering the ambrotype.

1. The present paper is a revision of an illustrated lecture presented by the author at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, October 17, 1933, under the title, "A Pictorial History of Early Kansas." The author is indebted to Dr. F. C. Gates, editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, for permission to use the plate which accompanies this article. The plate was originally published in the *Transactions*, v. XXXVI, pp. 36-40 (1933), under the title "Old Photographs—A Review of American Photography in the Period 1839-1880" written by the author of the present article.

2. The data upon which this table is based have been obtained by the writer through an extensive examination of the scientific, photographic, and patent literature of the period, and will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming publication.

Feb. 19, 1856.....	Patent to H. L. Smith for tintype, variously known as melainotype and ferrotype.
1859 .....	Introduction of carte de visite photographs in the United States.
1866 .....	Introduction of cabinet photographs in the United States.
1880 .....	Beginning of modern gelatin dry-plate photography.
1881 .....	Patent issued to F. E. Ives for half-tone process.

From this table it is apparent that it would have been possible to have a complete photographic record of the development of our state from the early 1850's down to the present. A preliminary search for photographs of the 1850's and 1860's shows that photographs of individuals and scenes important in the development of the state have been made. How many are existent to-day is another question.

The earliest photographs taken in Kansas, which I have found mentioned as yet, were those made by S. N. Carvalho on Col. John C. Fremont's expedition of 1853 and 1854. Carvalho described his experiences with this expedition in a discursive book, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*, published by Derby and Jackson, New York, 1859. According to Carvalho, the first photographs of this expedition were made "near Westport, a few miles in the interior," on September 17 or 18, 1853. Whether "the interior" referred to lay in Kansas or Missouri is uncertain. If it were in Kansas the dates mentioned above may mark the beginning of photography in Kansas. In addition, it is interesting to note that, if this locality lay in Kansas, on these dates, without doubt, the first photographic contest in the state took place. It appears that Colonel Fremont had given a Mr. Bomar, also a "photographist," permission to accompany the expedition at least as far as Westport. Bomar made his photographs on waxed paper negatives, according to a process developed by the Englishman, Talbot. Carvalho secured his photographs as daguerreotypes. Fremont requested that at Westport both types of photographs be made so that he could choose between the processes. According to Carvalho, "In half an hour from the time the word was given my daguerreotype was made; but the photograph could not be seen until the next day, as it had to remain in water all night, which was absolutely necessary to develop it." Since much water and time were necessary for the paper negatives, Fremont decided to leave Mr. Bomar and his outfit at Westport, and Carvalho was chosen to accompany the expedition westward.



From the discussion it is evident that a number of daguerreotypes were made in Kansas by Carvalho. Unfortunately, although I have made an extended search, none of these daguerreotypes or their photographic copies appear to be extant to-day. They were probably destroyed by the fire in which the Fremonts lost many of their personal effects, as described by Mrs. Fremont in the introduction to Colonel Fremont's memoirs.

There are records of daguerreotypists working in Kansas slightly after this date. Among these may be mentioned Rankin,<sup>3</sup> Needles,<sup>4</sup> Barker and Gregg<sup>5</sup> of Leavenworth, Boles and DaLee<sup>6</sup> of Lawrence, and Hathaway,<sup>7</sup> of Weston, Mo., all of whom practiced before 1860.

Surviving portrait daguerreotypes and ambrotypes made by these men in this period (1854-1860) are much more common than are photographs of views or incidents. Among the latter class there are two outstanding in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. The first of these is a daguerreotype view of a Free State battery, taken at Topeka in 1856.<sup>8</sup> The daguerreotype, when found by the writer, was in a badly corroded condition, but by chemical treatment was restored so that it now constitutes an interesting and valuable historic record.

The photograph shows the cannoneers, their tent, ammunition and considerable landscape. This daguerreotype, I believe, is the earliest Kansas photograph in the collection of the Historical Society.

The second photograph, previously referred to, is an ambrotype of the Doy rescue party.<sup>9</sup> This was made at Lawrence, in the summer of 1859, by A. G. DaLee.<sup>10</sup>

That other view photographs of this period were made cannot be questioned. For example, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*

3. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 9, 1855.

4. Information from a lithograph published in 1857; now in Lawrence room, University of Kansas library.

5. *Leavenworth City Directory*, 1859-1860, p. 22.

6. A. G. DaLee was a pioneer photographer of Lawrence, beginning business there in 1858. He was wounded in the Quantrell raid and left Lawrence for several years following the raid. He eventually returned and practiced his profession in Lawrence until his death. He died while on a vacation at Colorado Springs, Colo., on August 4, 1879. (*Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 6, 1879.) Thanks are due Mrs. A. P. Fey, of Lawrence, a daughter of Mr. DaLee for a portion of the above information. *The Philadelphia Photographer*, v. XVI, p. 287 (1879), in announcing Mr. DaLee's death, states that he was "considered the best photographer west of the Mississippi, as well as a man of sterling character." The first advertisement of J. Boles appears in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 5, 1857.

7. Hathaway's first advertisement appeared in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 3, 1854. As Weston was across the river from Fort Leavenworth, Hathaway must have been patronized by the early citizens of Leavenworth, as well as the soldiers from Fort Leavenworth, and may even have come into Kansas to do photographic work.

8. Date and description from the record furnished by the donor of the daguerreotype.

9. For an account of the Doy rescue see J. B. Abbott, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 312.

10. Theodore Gardner, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 851. Gardner refers to the photograph as "an old-fashioned daguerreotype." Ambrotypes are frequently mistaken for daguerreotypes.

for October 4, 1856, contains two woodcut prints of Kansas interest stated to have been copied from daguerreotypes. The first of these is a group of Free State prisoners, including Gov. Charles Robinson and John Brown, Jr., among others, which is stated to have been copied from a daguerreotype made for Mrs. Robinson. The second shows a broad panorama of Kansas landscape and is entitled "U. S. Troops, near Lecompton, Kansas, Guarding Free State Prisoners, from a daguerreotype made expressly for this paper." The originals of both of these valuable daguerreotypes, if still in existence, would be a welcome addition to the records of the Kansas State Historical Society.

During the sixties of the Civil War I have little information as yet of photographic interest. The number of photographers in the state was doubtless increasing, and many photographs were doubtless taken, of which some surely have survived. The only one with which the writer is familiar is a view of Poyntz avenue, Manhattan, in the early sixties. It is of considerable interest, as it shows an emigrant train, pulled by the familiar oxen of the period, headed west through the main street of the town. This photograph is well known in the state as it was reproduced lithographically in post-card form some twenty-five or thirty years ago.

The development of western railroads at the close of the Civil War naturally focussed attention upon the West and its appearance, and demand was made for authentic photographs of this portion of the country. As a result, a number of photographers came west. I will describe the work of only one of these photographers, as it is of especial interest to Kansans.

The photographer in question was Alexander Gardner of Washington, D. C. Gardner was a Scotchman brought to this country in the fifties by Mathew B. Brady,<sup>11</sup> without doubt the most widely known photographer this country has produced.

Gardner achieved considerable reputation in his own right as a photographer and in 1863 opened his own gallery in Washington, D. C., and is probably best known from several excellent photographs of Lincoln.<sup>12</sup> Gardner also followed the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War.<sup>13</sup>

11. Lanier, *Reviews of Reviews*, v. XLIII, p. 307 (1911).

12. *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln*, F. H. Meserve. Privately printed, New York, 1911.

13. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*, v. 1 and 2. Philip and Solomon's, Washington, D. C., publishers, no date. The Library of Congress copy bears the accession date of 1868.





#### SOME GARDNER PHOTOGRAPHS OF 1868

1. Fort Leavenworth (No. 51 in the Gardner series), showing clearly the very extensive nature of this military establishment which was the supply depot for many frontier outposts and expeditions.

2. Massachusetts street, Lawrence, five years after the Quantrill raid (No. 34 of the Gardner series).

3. The University of Kansas when two years old. The Kaw river is seen to the left of the building and a part of the town of Lawrence to the right (No. 38 in the Gardner series).

4. Walnut street, Ellsworth. The town in its infancy, for it was not more than a year or two old when this photograph (No. 143 of the Gardner series) was made.

5. Manhattan, (No. 96 of the Gardner series).

6. The Union Pacific, E. D., under construction—the end of the track, twenty miles west of Hays when photographed (No. 152 of the Gardner series).

7. Poyntz avenue, Manhattan, looking west (No. 97 of the Gardner series).



In 1868 Gardner came west<sup>14</sup> and obtained a number of photographs along the Union Pacific, Eastern Division,<sup>15</sup> which at that time was under construction in Kansas.

The Kansas State Historical Society is fortunate enough to possess a fairly complete set of these photographs in the form of stereographs, the individual prints of which are approximately three inches square. Gardner, however, as was quite common in the expeditionary photography of that day, also made larger photographs (8" x 10" and 11" x 14", see Reference 14) in addition to the stereoscopic views. It is unfortunate that none of these are in the archives of the Society.

As these Gardner photographs depict towns, scenes and institutions of this state some sixty-five years ago they constitute an exceedingly important set of historical documents. In fact, the writer regards this set as the most valuable, historically, of all the fifteen thousand photographs possessed by the Kansas State Historical Society.

While nearly the entire set deserves reproduction in some form in which they could become better known to the citizens of the state, the expense of such an undertaking is at present prohibitive. In lieu of such reproduction the writer has compiled a detailed catalogue of the Gardner set, so that the set may become better known. While it is realized that a catalogue is not exciting reading, yet I venture to say that if anyone interested in Kansas history reads the entire compilation he will be astonished to find that such photographs exist, and a desire will be created to see the actual prints themselves. In the event that the reader is fortunate enough to view these series it is recommended that they be examined stereoscopically. The stereoscope produces a sense of perspective and reality that the flat prints do not possess. In addition, stereoscopic

14. The date is established by two facts: 1. No. 152 of the Gardner series (see catalogue included in this paper) shows the end of the track "600 miles west of St. Louis." As Hays City was "580 miles west of St. Louis" this would place the end of the road 20 miles west of Hays at the time the photograph was taken. According to "The Kansas Pacific," by Virginia B. Ream (Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1920), the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, was at Hays City in the spring of 1868, p. 32. 2. Gardner's photographic expedition to Kansas was described in the *Philadelphia Photographer*, v. V, p. 129 (1868). The item reads: "A very interesting collection was shown (to the Philadelphia Photographic Society) taken on the line of Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, by Mr. A. Gardner of Washington, D. C., and were loaned by Mr. Josiah C. Reiff, of Philadelphia. The sizes range from 8 x 10 to 11 x 14, and include Fort Harker, Fort Riley, Abilene, Junction City, Salina, and other towns of Kansas. Many of them are views of the Plains. Thanks were tendered Mr. Josiah C. Reiff of U. P. R. W., E. D."

15. Ream (cf. Reference 14) states that the original name of this railroad was "The Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western R. R." In 1863 it was changed to "The Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division." Eastern Division in order to distinguish it from its northern competitor. In 1868, it was changed to "The Kansas Pacific Railroad." In 1880, it became part of the Union Pacific Railroad System and is now known to Kansans simply as "The Union Pacific."



examination eliminates in a considerable measure many of the defects, both photographic and mechanical, which the prints possess.

# A CATALOGUE OF THE GARDNER STEREOGRAPHS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The collection numbers some 150 different views. They all bear, on the reverse side from the prints, the following information: "From Gardner's Photographic Art Gallery, 511 Seventh street, Washington. Across the Continent on the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division." In addition, they bear a serial number, the title, and a distance expressed in miles "west of St. Louis, Mo." The catalogue given below gives Gardner's serial number (all are called by Gardner, "Class D"), the title with Gardner's spelling, and the number of miles west from St. Louis, which for the sake of brevity is expressed simply as the number of miles. This series of stereoscopic views was acquired by purchase by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1930 from Miss Crete Rose, of Lanham, Md. Miss Rose stated that this set of views had been in her family since her father's childhood.

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No.	Title	Mi. west of St. Louis
31.	View of Darling's Mills, Lawrence, Kansas (Cattle in foreground)...	...
32.	Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston R. R. Bridge across Kansas River, Lawrence, Kansas.....	...
33.	View Looking up Kansas River Towards General Dietzler's House..	...
34.	Massachusetts Street, Lawrence, Kansas (Cattle in foreground)....	...
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37.	Lawrence, Kansas, from Fort Union. State University on the left..	...
37.	Lawrence, Kansas, from Fort. State University on the Left. (Same number as above but different view.).....	...
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39.	Fort Union, Lawrence, Kansas.....	...
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Discussion of each of the stereographs listed above would carry us too far afield from the object of the present paper. As a matter



of fact, a detailed discussion of each picture and the ramifications it suggests would eventually lead to an exhaustive history of the state in 1868. The opportunity, however, is too good to be passed over completely, and, accordingly, a few will be selected for such comments as occur to the author.

In the first place, it is evident that Gardner did not confine himself to his trip along the main line of the Union Pacific, E. D., alone. Side trips to Leavenworth and the country between Leavenworth and Lawrence (Nos. 48 to 71); to Lecompton (Nos. 76 to 81); as well as the excursions from Fort Harker (Nos. 129 to 138), are the most noticeable of these.

In addition it is quite evident that Gardner viewed the country with the eyes of an easterner. His titles suggest this many times for the broad sweep of prairie and plain evidently impressed him. For example, "View embracing twelve miles of prairie," etc. (No. 61), and the comment "The extreme distance is five miles off" (No. 122) show this quite clearly.

The animals of the country, prairie dogs especially, attracted his attention, for he made a number of attempts to photograph them at Abilene (Nos. 116 to 119); the unusual geologic and archæologic features near Fort Harker (Nos. 129 to 138) were also of interest.

To the student of the cattle trade (No. 115) "Loading Cattle at MacCoy's Stockyard, Abilene," should be of interest; to the student of railroads many are of interest. Number 32, for example, shows an engine and coal car of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston R. R., with a group of men. A close examination of the coal car (better, "wood" car) shows that "Ottawa" is printed in large letters. Apparently it was so called in honor of the town of Ottawa, as this road between Lawrence and Ottawa was opened to travel January 1, 1868.<sup>16</sup>

Of photographic significance we have numbers 28, 59½, and 104½, all of which, in addition to other points of interest, show Gardner's dark room. Gardner, of course, employed the wet process for making his negatives. Consequently, along with all other photographers of this period, he carried his dark room with him, as it was necessary to prepare the plates immediately before use, to expose them while still wet (hence the name "wet process") and to develop them before they became dry—quite a different story from our modern procedure. Exposures were also much longer

16. A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 339. Coffeyville was apparently the nearest this road approached Galveston. It is now part of the Santa Fe system and is called locally the "Ottawa branch."

than are required for modern photographic materials, 5 to 30 seconds probably being required for his wet plates. The slow speed of the negatives is apparent in the movement of figures during the course of exposure in quite a number of the prints.

One further observation of these photographs must suffice. A comparison of the photographs of the main streets of Leavenworth, Lawrence and Topeka (Nos. 53, 34, and 86) show visually, as is already well known, the relative development and size of these towns. The population data<sup>17</sup> given below supplement this visual information.

Date	Leavenworth	Lawrence	Topeka
1860 .....	7,429	1,645	759
1870 .....	17,873	8,320	5,790
1880 .....	16,546	8,510	15,452
1890 .....	19,768	9,997	31,007

It would be extremely interesting and instructive if there were available photographs of such Kansas localities as the Gardner series taken at more or less regular intervals. Such photographs show not only the structural and social development of the towns of the state, but also depict in unmistakable manner the growth of physical features. For instance, the writer possesses a series of four photographs (taken from approximately the same location) over a span of sixty-five years, which show in a most remarkable manner the growth of trees in Lawrence. The first of these is a view of the town of Lawrence taken by Gardner in 1868 (No. 36) and shows the town as practically treeless.

The second of the series, taken by W. H. Lamon of Lawrence, some ten or twelve years later shows young trees well started. The third (photographer unknown) taken about 1890 shows the further growth of the trees and the last taken in the summer of 1933 from the same locality shows little but a sea of leaves and branches.

In my judgment it would be extremely worthwhile to seek other photographs showing similar developments. There are other photographs of the period with which I have been dealing probably existent. For example, Dr. William A. Bell and Maj. A. H. Calhoun, of Washington, made a series of photographs along the Union Pacific through Kansas in 1867,<sup>18</sup> Robert Benecke<sup>19</sup> of St. Louis was over the same ground, taking a number of 8 x 10 views in 1874;

17. Courtesy of Mr. L. E. Truesdall, chief statistician for population, U. S. Census Bureau. The figures are from the official federal censuses for years tabulated.

18. *The Philadelphia Photographer* v. IV, p. 266 (1867); *Harper's Weekly*, v. XI, p. 468 (1867). See also *New Tracks in North America*, by W. A. Bell, Chapman and Hall, London, 1869.

19. *The Philadelphia Photographer*, v. XI, p. 160 (1874).

W. H. Lamon,<sup>20</sup> of Lawrence, photographed extensively over the eastern part of the state in the sixties, seventies and eighties; probably the most widely known of the early Kansas photographers was Capt. J. Lee Knight,<sup>21</sup> of Topeka, who apparently ranged over the entire state, and even west into Colorado, taking a large number of views during the early seventies.

In the last place, the suggestion might be made that even though we have an incomplete photographic record of the state at present, it would be possible to assemble representative Kansas views of several hundred photographs at periods of, say, ten years, thus preserving in authentic and facsimile fashion evidence of changes in the state. Such photographs, to be of the greatest comparative value, should be taken from the same location, should be dated, the subject inscribed, and catalogued.

20. W. H. Lamon was trained as a photographer by his brother-in-law, A. G. DaLee, already mentioned. Lamon practiced for himself in Lawrence from 1865 to 1886, when he removed to California, where he died in 1895. Information from A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 339, and Mrs. A. P. Fey, of Lawrence, a niece of Mr. Lamon.

21. Captain Knight came to Topeka August 6, 1867, and established one of the early photographic galleries in Topeka. (Topeka *Capital*, July 1, 1915.) He became county clerk (Shawnee county) in 1875 and apparently gave up his active practice of photography after that time. Captain Knight's name appears frequently by mention and as contributor in the photographic journals of the early seventies. He was a vice-president of the National Photographic Association in 1870.—*The Philadelphia Photographer* v. VII, p. 241 (1870).



## Ferries in Kansas

### PART II—KANSAS RIVER—Concluded

GEORGE A. ROOT

SMITH'S FERRY, next above Papan's, was the third operated within the limits of present Shawnee county. Sidney W. Smith, native of Orange county, Vermont, arrived in Uniontown in 1848. In 1852 he settled on the Kansas river in the south half of S. 30, T. 11, R. 15 E., and established a ferry, having landings on both sides of the river in the same section which is now a portion of Menoken and Mission townships. This location is about a mile northwest of the old Baptist mission, which was established in the fall of 1847. The ferry boat used by Smith was built at Uniontown by Messrs. Kennedy and Freeman, was operated as a rope ferry, and was said to be the first rope ferry ever established on the Kaw river above Wyandotte. Kennedy ran the boat for Smith for a year, and then became a partner in the business.<sup>268</sup> This ferry was operated for eight years before it was abandoned. A road ran from the mission to the ferry, and the bottoms to the west of the mission farm were a favorite camping place for the thousands of wagon trains which passed up the valley to this crossing. Here they went into camp, letting their stock have a needed rest while necessary repairs were being made to their prairie schooners. Mr. Langel W. Moore, an old resident of that neighborhood, who attended school at the old mission, stated that he had talked with old Indians who visited the school to see their children, that one old Indian, growing reminiscent, said to him, "Me see this whole bottom covered with white-topped wagons. Me not know half that many wagons in world."

In the *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, September 30, 1858, about two and one-half months after the Topeka pile bridge washed out, appeared the following item: "FERRY ACROSS THE KANSAS.—There is a good ferry across the Kansas at this place. Mr. Smith, the proprietor, is an old hand at the business, and promises speedy and safe trips. A few months hence and the rebuilding of the Topeka bridge will exclude the necessity of a ferry at this place."

Following is a copy of the bond filed by Mr. Smith for the year 1859:

<sup>268.</sup> Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*, p. 12; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 532.

Know all men by these presents that I, S. W. Smith, as principal and William Morse & E. C. K. Garvey as sureties all of the county of Shawnee and territory of Kansas are held and stand firmly bound to the said county of Shawnee in the sum of One Thousand Dollars (\$1,000.00) to be paid to the said county through any person duly authorized to receive the same, to the payment of which we bind ourselves our heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our seals and dated the 16th day of February A. D. 1859.

The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas a license has this day been granted to the said S. W. Smith by the county board of supervisors in and for said county, to establish and maintain a ferry across the Kansas river at the city of Topeka, in said county. Now if the said S. W. Smith shall so establish and maintain such ferry, agreeably to such license and in all respects according to law, then this obligation shall be void and of no effect.

Rec'd and approved this 18th day of  
February A. D. 1859. F. W. GILES,<sup>269</sup>

WILLIAM MORSE (Seal)  
E. C. K. GARVEY (Seal)  
JOSEPH SMITH (Seal)

The Topeka *Tribune*, of April 28, 1859, also contained another mention:

SMITH'S FERRY.—The well-known crossing of the Kansas river, six miles west of Topeka, Smith's ferry, has lately been resumed by the proprietor of the ferry. The landing on both sides of the river is good. Thousands of the California emigrants crossed here.—Mr. Smith has been in the business for a number of years and understands it exactly. See his ferry advertisement.

The advertisement follows:

#### SMITH'S OLD FERRY

The subscriber announces to the traveling public that he has resumed his old Ferry at the crossing of the Santa Fé road from Leavenworth to New Mexico, on the Kansas river. This point is well known in the country as the most easy and natural crossing on the river, it being on the most traveled thoroughfare through to the new gold mines or the Santa Fé settlement, and over which the U. S. government trains almost invariably pass. It need only be announced that this is the old stand, to insure all the principal crossing of those bound to the mountains—to southern or any part of western Kansas.

Rates of ferriage will be as low, and the crossing more convenient, and attended with less delay than at any other ferry on the Kaw river.

April 29, '59—m3.

S. W. SMITH, *Prop'r.*

Two other ferries were started in 1853 in this vicinity, which was known as "The Great Crossing." One was by Hiram Wells and John Ogee, who established the first and probably the only deck ferry boat ever on the Kansas river. Their craft was 10 x 60 feet in size, capable of carrying a good-sized load. This ferry was said to be but a short distance from the Smith ferry. Joseph and Louis Ogee also started a ferry in this immediate vicinity during 1853. It was a

269. Original document in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.



partnership affair for a few years, when Louis sold his interest to Joseph who continued to run it until 1869.

The last two named ferries, and Smith's ferry, according to W. W. Cone, were located within a quarter of a mile of each other, but whether above or below Smith's is not stated. "There was a large amount of travel over these ferries. On some days there were no less than seventy-five wagons ferried across the river on each boat, making two hundred and twenty-five wagons, with teams, per day. This was the California and Oregon emigration."<sup>270</sup>

B. H. Eddy, R. F. D. No. 8, Topeka, has lived in the vicinity of "The Great Crossing" for many years. During the fall of 1932 he stated to the writer that during his boyhood days he recalled many times of having seen remnants of an old ferry cable fastened to a good-sized cottonwood tree on the south bank of the Kaw river, where the old Oregon trail led to the river. This fragment of cable no doubt had seen service on one of the ferries that operated in this immediate locality. The Oregon road, on the hills to the south, can still be traced in places for several miles, and ruts cut by the wagon wheels down the hillside a short distance from the river crossing were still visible in the fall of 1933.

Mr. Eddy also recalled a pontoon bridge that spanned the river at the approximate site of the ferry. This was built in 1888 or 1889, for the convenience of farmers on the north side of the river who had planted many acres to sorghum for the Topeka sugar mill, which was located at the western base of Martin's Hill. As this sugar mill was short lived, the bridge evidently came to an end about the same time.

On March 12, 1866, the Pottawatomie Bridge and Ferry Company was organized at Topeka, Joshua Knowles, Daniel W. Boutwell, L. B. Chamberlain, Dr. D. W. Stormont, and Reuben A. Randlett being the incorporators. The principal office of the company was at Topeka. The company proposed to establish ferries and bridges on the Kansas river between the following-named locations: At a point where the eastern boundary of the Pottawatomie reservation crosses the Kansas river, thence running west to where range 7, east of the sixth principal meridian, crosses the river. The company was capitalized at \$50,000, with shares \$100 each. The charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 12, 1866.<sup>271</sup> The eastern limit of the charter was in S. 22, T. 11, R. 15, and the western limit was

270. W. W. Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County*, p. 12; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 587, says the ferries were three or four miles apart, the main crossing being at the Baptist mission.

271. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 108.

close to the western limits of present Manhattan. The members of this company were identified with the history of Shawnee county for many years. Joshua Knowles was prominent in business circles and was president of the Topeka Bridge Company; Daniel W. Boutwell was a noted scout and messenger for the Union forces during the Civil War on the frontier. His son Victor S. Boutwell is present foreman of the bindery at the state printing office; Dr. D. W. Stormont was one of the outstanding surgeons of his day, and the founder and patron of Stormont Hospital, Topeka. Reuben A. Randlett, was a resident of Shawnee county as early as 1856. He was a contractor and carpenter; took part in the early border troubles and was an employee of the state during the early nineties.

The above company filed the following statement, dated December 31, 1866, with the secretary of state:

Capital stock .....	\$50,000.00
Property or assets held by company.....	5.00
Liabilities, none.	
Receipts of company previous year.....	15.00
Expenses during previous year .....	10.00

JOSHUA KNOWLES, *President.*

L. B. CHAMBERLAIN, *Secretary.*

On the line between S. 19 and S. 24, T. 11, R. 13 and 14, but a few rods from the mouth of what is now known as Vesper creek, was the location of the Pottawatomie Bridge and Ferry Company. A stone approach led up from the river at this point, but few if any of the residents now living in that locality know any history of this enterprise, or how long it operated. This was just one and one-half miles below the site of old Uniontown.<sup>272</sup>

On March 13, 1869, the Silver Lake Ferry Company was granted a charter by the state. Joseph Saville, E. P. Rino, Eason Johnson, I. C. Johnson and William Chilson were incorporators. The company was capitalized at \$800, divided into two shares of \$400 each, and had its headquarters at the town of Silver Lake. Their ferry was to be "located at a point about 80 perch [rods] below the mouth of Silver Lake, on the north side of the Kansas river, in S. 20, T. 11, R. 14 E., and on the south side of the river in S. 21, in said twp. and range, both in Shawnee county." The boundary of the ferry was to extend westwardly up the river two and one-half miles from the west line of description, and eastwardly down the river two and one-half miles from the east line of described sections. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 13, 1869.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>272</sup>. This information was furnished by Mr. W. F. Douglas, of Willard, who is farming the Widow LePoint farm, on which old Uniontown was located.

<sup>273</sup>. Corporations, v. 2, p. 39.



No license or bond for the operation of a ferry was filed by the above company. The next year, however, Joseph Saville and J. N. Bourassa obtained a ferry license for this point which granted special privileges for three miles up and three miles down the river.<sup>274</sup> They filed a \$500 bond and started their ferry, their charges for the year ending March 1, 1871, being: government wagon team, \$1; two-horse wagon, 35 cents; one horse wagon or buggy, 25 cents; horse and rider, 15 cents; loose horses or cattle, 10 cents; sheep or hogs, 5 cents.<sup>275</sup>

In 1871 Mr. Bourassa had sole charge of the ferry,<sup>276</sup> and Edward Chilson for the next five years, with J. B. Oliver, of Silver Lake, as partner in 1874. Their license that year granted exclusive rights for a distance of one-half mile each side of their ferry landings.<sup>277</sup>

Apparently this ferry was not operated for the next two years, as no licenses were issued by the county. In 1879 Mr. Chilson re-established his ferry early in April, the county requiring a bond of \$200, but issuing a license without cost.<sup>278</sup>

During the fall of 1879 a new company was formed to operate the above ferry, and the *Topeka Commonwealth* of November 9 contained the following mention:

The Silver Lake Ferry Company recently organized has taken possession of this boat at the crossing, employed a competent man to take charge thereof, reduced the rate of ferriage to a low figure, and commenced business under favorable auspices. New roads will be laid out and old ones repaired leading to the ferry, and every facility afforded the traveling public having occasion to cross the Kaw at that point.

Silver Lake is putting on metropolitan airs, and is fast becoming a prominent shipping point, and if its merchants and business men get their eyes open to their own interests they will now offer such inducements as will draw the trade from the adjacent country on the south side of the river. Valencia and Plowboy are growing settlements, and are the homes of energetic and successful farmers. The grain and stock business is rapidly increasing in those localities, and will naturally seek railroad communication at Silver Lake, now that the ferry has been put in proper shape to facilitate coming there.

On July 8, 1880, the Silver Lake Bridge and Ferry Company asked for and was granted a license to operate and maintain a ferry across the river south of the city of Silver Lake. No license fee was required, but the company was required to file a bond for

274. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book B-C, p. 204.

275. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

276. *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 351; original bond on file in Shawnee county clerk's office.

277. Original bonds in office Shawnee county clerk; Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, pp. 119, 494; Book E, pp. 30, 82, 155.

278. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book E, p. 487.

\$200.<sup>279</sup> The following year R. A. Ogee filed a bond of \$300 for operating a ferry near Silver Lake, which was approved by the county clerk, and the board of county commissioners authorized that official to issue a license without fee.<sup>280</sup>

The second ferry started within the limits of present Shawnee county was that of Charles Beaubien and Lewis Ogee, who, in 1849, established a ferry from near the mouth of Cross creek, and landing on the south side of the river at a point directly opposite. This was a pole ferry, and probably the first to start operations above Papan's. It ran for three or four years.<sup>281</sup>

Darling's ferry either succeeded the Ogee ferry or was a rival concern. In 1853 L. K. Darling is listed in the *United States Official Register* as ferryman at the Pottawatomie agency, then located on Cross creek at about present Rossville. The ferry at this time is described as being located four or five miles above Silver Lake and approximately one and one-half miles above old Uniontown, on the northwest quarter of S. 15, T. 11, R. 13 E., and a short distance east of the "Rocky Ford Crossing."<sup>282</sup> Among those who assisted in operating this ferry in 1855-1856 were J. P. Gleich,<sup>283</sup> who in 1855 took a claim on Mill creek, just north of the Joseph Thoes homestead; Hilliary Nadeau and Lewis Ogee.<sup>284</sup> Darling had a monopoly on the ferry business at this point for a number of years, but with immigration came the demand for a ferry at the big bend, and he left for the Indian territory, where he went into the hotel business at Shawnee.<sup>285</sup> This ferry operated under different ownerships till late in the 1860's. During the latter 'sixties a road was laid out from Wilmington, in the southeast corner of Wabaunsee county, and on to the Santa Fé trail, via Mission creek, to Darling's ferry and on to Rossville,<sup>286</sup> where it connected with the Fort Riley military road. A branch of a road running from Wabaunsee to Topeka reached Darling's ferry via a cut-off in the southeast corner of S. 30, T. 11, R. 13 E.<sup>287</sup>

279. *Ibid.*, Book F, p. 45.

280. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1881, Book F, p. 268.

281. W. W. Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*, p. 13; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 589.

282. Shown on map of the Pottawatomie Reserve lands belonging to the A. T. & S. F. R. Co.

283. John P. Gleich was born in Bavaria in 1829. He landed in New Orleans in 1848, where he worked in a blacksmith shop for two years. Cholera becoming prevalent in that city he left, and after roaming around for two years came west and took a squatter's claim on Mill creek, Wabaunsee county, which he subsequently preempted. He followed farming and stock raising, and for many years made his home in Alma.

284. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 732.

285. Thomson, *Early History of Wabaunsee County*, p. 336.

286. Map of Pottawatomie Reserve lands.

287. *Ibid.*



This point was without ferry accommodations for a time till early in 1871. On March 8 the Janes Ferry or Bridge Company was chartered, the incorporators being M. W. Janes, J. H. Durham, H. Klein, I. Taylor and A. W. Smith. The company was formed for the purpose of running or operating a ferry, or building a bridge on the Kansas river, within the following boundaries: Commencing on the south side of the river at a point where the east line of Wabaunsee county crosses the river and extending thence west to the mouth of Mill creek, and described within corresponding boundaries on the north side of the river in the county of Shawnee. The principal place of business of the corporation was at the south landing of the ferry, in the county of Wabaunsee. The corporation was to be a perpetual one, was to have four directors, those chosen for the first year being Herman Janes, of Erie, M. W. Janes, A. W. Smith and J. H. Durham, all of Rossville, Shawnee county. The company was capitalized at \$1,000, with shares \$50 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 9, 1871.<sup>288</sup>

This bridge or ferry site was close to the old Uniontown crossing, which was about one and three-fourths miles west of old Uniontown.<sup>289</sup>

Janes' ferry was licensed to run till July 3, 1872, ferriage charges being as follows: two horses and wagon, 25 cents; one horse and buggy, 25 cents; man and horse, 15 cents; loose horses or cattle, 10 cents; footman, 10 cents.<sup>290</sup>

The next ferry up the river was on the north side of the Kaw, on S. 7, T. 11, R. 13, about four and one-half miles above Cross creek. The north landing was on land owned by James Baldan, in 1873, while the opposite landing was in Wabaunsee county. Nothing to establish the ownership of this ferry has been located.<sup>291</sup> Baldan arrived in that locality in 1855 and was still residing there in 1876.<sup>292</sup>

St. Marys had the next ferry up the river, but definite information regarding ownership has not been located. According to the *Wabaunsee County Herald*, of Alma, the ferry went into operation

288. Corporations, v. 3, pp. 200, 201.

289. Max Greene, in *The Kansas Region*, p. 43, says: "Next we have Uniontown, a village of log cabins, a mile to the south of the river. Then, Red Bluffs, taking name from the peculiar light brown of the soil, which is highly productive. This mulatto color pervades the soil to considerable depth and extends for several miles around. Darling's ferry is passed; and Mill creek comes splashing and leaping in, like a little mountain river. Nor is its force spent in wanton gambols; on it the Pottawatomies have erected a grist mill. And what with its belts of trees, and grassy reaches between, and clusters of tall mounds, the Kansas valley has no lovelier scene."

290. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, p. 85.

291. Beers' *Atlas of Shawnee County, Kansas*, 1873, p. 9.

292. Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County*, p. 13.

late in the summer of 1869, and would prove "a great accommodation to those living on lower Mill creek."<sup>293</sup>

A Mr. Dunlap was a ferryman at St. Marys in the early seventies. His name is mentioned in an undated court manuscript in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.

In 1871 work was started on a bridge at St. Marys, which was completed early the next year. A mention of this bridge from the *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, February 8, 1872, is as follows: "The bridge across the Kansas river at St. Marys is so far completed that teams are now crossing on it. It will prove a fine thing for that thriving city and community, as well as the people on the opposite side of the river."

St. Marys was on the line of the old California road and also the Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley highway. In 1857 A. J. Mead, of Manhattan, C. R. Mobly, of Ogden and M. Chapman, of St. George, were appointed commissioners to locate and establish a territorial road on the nearest and best route from some point on the military road near St. Marys mission, in Calhoun county, to Fort Riley, in Riley county,<sup>294</sup> by the way of St. George, Manhattan, mouth of Wild Cat creek and town of Ogden. The road was to be located and established prior to June 1, 1857.<sup>295</sup>

In May, 1933, plans of the United States War Department for a Kaw river flood control project called for a dam and ferry across the Kansas river west of Topeka. This dam, as formulated in the plans, would be located at Kiro, Shawnee county, and would form a lake that would extend up the Kaw valley to close to the Pottawatomie-Riley county line,<sup>296</sup> with a ferry located at St. Marys.

The next ferry up the river was at Wamego, about twelve miles distant. On October 30, 1866, The Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company was formed, J. E. Gregg, J. M. Webster, William D. Wetherell, J. Lewis Brown and A. P. McMillan being the incorporators. The purpose of the company was to build a bridge over the river, or operate a ferry from S. 9, T. 10, R. 10, where a line running through the center of section 9 from north to south crosses the Kansas river, and to the south bank, with privileges within one mile on each side of said line. The principal office of the company was located at Wamego, and the capital stock was placed at \$1,000, in twenty

293. *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, August 5, November 25, 1869.

294. Fort Riley originally was in Riley county, but changes in county lines subsequently placed it in Davis (now Geary) county.

295. *Laws*, Kansas, 1857, p. 180.

296. *Kansas City Times*, May 17, 1933.



shares of \$50 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, November 7, 1866.<sup>297</sup>

In the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, July 11, 1867, the following notice regarding the foregoing company appeared: "Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company—Notice is hereby given that an assessment of fifty per centum on the capital stock of the Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company has been levied and that the same is now due and payable at the office of the treasurer of said company, at Wamego. Dated this 1st day of July, 1867.—LEWIS BROWN, *Secretary*."

There is some question whether this company ever operated a ferry. No further mention of the organization has been found.

On September 14, 1867, the Wamego Ferry Company was organized, Leonard C. Prunty, James L. Prunty, John Prunty, Atchison Prunty and J. L. Brown being the incorporators. The principal office of the company was located at Wamego. Capital stock was placed at \$1,000, in 100 shares of \$10 each. The company proposed to operate a ferry on the Kansas river at or near a point on the north bank, in S. 9, T. 10, R. 10, where a line running north and south through the center point of the section strikes the north bank of the river, and within the limits of one mile on each side of this line. This charter was filed with the secretary of state on September 16, 1867.<sup>298</sup> This organization lasted less than two years, being succeeded by the Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company, a new organization.

The Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company, the second of this name, was granted a charter by the state in June, 1869, the incorporators being L. C. Prunty and J. L. Prunty of the previous companies, and H. C. Crawford, J. E. Clardy and James Richey. The new company was capitalized at \$2,000, shares being listed at \$2.00 each, perhaps with a view of popularizing the new enterprise. The ferry location was to be where Lincoln avenue, Wamego, strikes the Kansas river, with special privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river from this point. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, June 4, 1869.<sup>299</sup>

Evidently there had been some dissatisfaction at the manner in which the old Wamego ferry had been conducted, which may or may not have been the reason for obtaining a new charter. The following "roast" of this ferry came from a paper in a neighboring town:

297. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 225, 226.

298. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

299. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 80.

The Wamego ferry is not a nuisance. It is always in condition to transfer teams, when the boat is not leaky, or the wind don't blow, or the water is not too high or too low, or it don't freeze, snow, though [thaw?] or rain. If you happen along on any other occasion than those mentioned you will be certain to get across, providing you don't come too early or too late, or the ferryman is not up in town. A team that we know of, a few days ago, happened along at one of those times, and had to go round by Topeka; but still, we repeat, the ferry is not a nuisance.<sup>300</sup>

This bit of pleasantry must have gotten under the hide of the ferry management, for a week later the same authority indulged in another dig, as follows:

Our kind and generous defense of the Wamego ferry last week—that it was not a nuisance—seems to have not been appreciated by the ferry company, but on the contrary it appears to have provoked their displeasure and aroused their iresome feelings—more especially Mr. Prunty's and the Commodore's. We do really regret this, as we regard Mr. P. as a gentleman, and as such we dislike to forfeit his good opinion. We know, too, that he has been a warm and fast friend of the *Herald*, and it always did pain us to sever friendships. Now, gentlemen, just keep your linen on and don't rend anything, for we are going to make another desperate and frantic effort to regain your good will, and since you have taken it so much to heart, because we said the ferry was *not* a nuisance, to accommodate you we take it back. The public can just think as they did before—that the ferry is a nuisance—let us have peace.<sup>301</sup>

Early in July, 1869, H. C. Crawford, one of the proprietors, was said to be considering the purchase of the ferry. He was spoken of as very attentive and obliging to the traveling public and it was hoped he would succeed in his undertaking.<sup>302</sup> At this particular time the stage of the Kaw was high and Mr. Prunty was having a new boat built to run between the island and the Wamego side. With a boat on each side of the island at this point, high water, except on extraordinary occasions, would no longer interfere with crossing. Mr. Crawford, who was operating the ferry boat at the time, was very obliging to those wishing to cross, carrying whole boat loads of goods and produce.<sup>303</sup>

Late in December, 1869, running ice in the river at this point caused considerable inconvenience by making the river impassable. This condition was somewhat irritating to Wabaunsee county people who had been using the Wamego ferry in order to do their trading, and prompted the *Herald* to suggest the purchase of the pontoons, lately in use at Topeka, by townships on each side of the river.<sup>304</sup>

300. *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, June 3, 1869.

301. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1869.

302. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1869.

303. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1869.

304. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1869.



This ferry was running as late as 1872.

Beginning with the spring of 1870 a bridge for Wamego was discussed, which resulted in the completion of a toll bridge by June 18, 1872, after which time the ferry ceased to operate.<sup>305</sup>

Louisville, three miles due north of Wamego, and approximately four miles from the Kansas river, also had a ferry. This town was on the military road running from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, and on Rock creek. It was laid out in 1857 by Robert Wilson and named for his son Louis. During Horace Greeley's overland trip in 1859, he was a guest of Mr. Wilson at his log cabin hotel for several days, when the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Stage Line was detained at this point by high water.<sup>306</sup> Louisville was quite an important town for a number of years, having been chosen as the county seat in 1861 and holding the county offices until 1882, when the county seat was moved to Westmoreland. Several hack lines ran out of Louisville—one to Wamego, under the superintendence of S. B. Young; one to Irving, by O. J. Denison, and one by way of America City to Corning, operated by Jacob Jacobia.<sup>307</sup>

On March 14, 1866, the Louisville Bridge and Ferry Company was chartered, John Landon, William P. Douthitt,<sup>308</sup> John G. Otis, Joseph L. Huggins and Isaac D. Clapp being the incorporators. The company proposed to operate a bridge and ferry over the Kansas river at a point between S. 7 and 8, T. 10, R. 10 E., this location being about one mile west of the site granted to the Wamego Bridge and Ferry Company. Capital stock of the company was placed at \$75,000, in shares of \$75 each. Their charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 14, 1866.<sup>309</sup> This ferry, or another, was in operation as late as 1872.

At a historical gathering of Wabaunsee county old settlers at Wabaunsee, on August 28, 1932, ferrying was discussed as follows:

One gentleman who had old memories asked about the ferry here. He remembered when it was said there was no conveyance across the river west of Topeka. Willard said there was a ferry here but it was not always in operation. The current was so swift that at times it was not practical to get across. At Wamego there were two ferries, one from this side to the island and another from the island to the opposite shore. His father with team and lumber wagon would often find the first inoperative, but would be able to drive across the

305. *Alma Union*, May 26, 1870; October 20, December 28, 1871; *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, June 13, July 4, 1872.

306. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, pp. 460, 461, 488, 499; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 976.

307. *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, October 6, 1870.

308. William P. Douthitt and John G. Otis were early residents of Topeka; the latter was a member of Congress from 1891 to 1893.

309. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 112.

first channel and then across the island. From there he would obtain a ferry to the shore beyond. The ferries operated by cable.—*Wabaunsee County Truth*, Wabaunsee, October, 1932.

In 1871 work was started on a bridge built by the two townships embracing both Louisville and Wamego. This was completed in 1872, the event being chronicled by a Louisville newspaper:

DISCONTINUED.—The old ferry across the Kaw, that has served the public for more than seven years, is at last discontinued, and the boat and fixtures have been removed. In its vocation it has served us well, but few, if any, accidents having occurred under its management, but it is superseded by the superiority of the great over the past, and it must now give way to its more desirable successor—The Great Iron Bridge. The original wire stretched across the river is now for sale by the old ferry company.<sup>310</sup>

Wabaunsee, near the western limits of Wabaunsee county and due south of Louisville, was the site of the next ferry, the legislature of 1858 granting a license to the Wabonsa and Webster City Ferry Company to operate a ferry from Wabonsa, Richardson (Wabaunsee) county to Webster City, in Pottawatomie county. The corporation included R. H. Wateman, E. C. D. Lines, F. H. Hart, S. M. Thomas, H. M. Selder and their associates, who were given a twenty-five year charter, with landing places on each side of the river on lands adjoining the towns named. The ferry was not required to have boats running before July 1, 1858.<sup>311</sup> This company evidently operated less than two years, when a new company, sponsored by the town company, took hold of things.

The new organization, known as the Wabaunsee Ferry Company, was established by the legislature of 1860, the charter members being John N. Nesbit, Charles B. Lines, E. C. D. Lines, William Mitchell, Jr., S. M. Thomas, Julius F. Willard and Walker S. Griswold, trustees of the Wabaunsee Town Company. This charter to run for ten years, provided for ferry landings in the town of Wabaunsee on the south side of the river, and on the north side of the river in Pottawatomie county at a point convenient for the company.<sup>312</sup>

Apparently there was some change in the ferry situation at this place in 1866. On April 7, Calvin D. Wheeler, Samuel R. Weed, Isaac H. Isbell, J. M. Bisbey and A. C. Cutler were granted a charter to operate a ferry across the river at Wabonsa, at the foot of Elm street, to be known as the Elm Street ferry. Capital stock

310. *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, June 20, 1872.

311. *Laws*, Kansas, 1858, p. 58; original document in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

312. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1860, pp. 275, 276.



of the new company was \$500, in shares of \$10 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state May 10, 1866.<sup>313</sup>

The old Wabaunsee Ferry Company underwent another reorganization in 1866, when a new charter was secured from the state on April 14. The new incorporators were Charles B. Lines, J. M. Bisbey, C. D. Wheeler, A. C. Cutler, George S. Burt, I. H. Isbell, E. J. Lines and Samuel R. Weed. The principal office was located at Wabaunsee, and capital stock placed at \$1,200, with shares \$10 each. The ferry was to be operated between the west line of the Pottawatomie Reserve, where the same crosses the Kansas river, thence west on the river to the township line between ranges 9 and 10. This charter was filed May 16, 1866.<sup>314</sup>

A road, established in 1861, ran from Wilmington, on the Santa Fé trail, by way of Wamego to Wabaunsee. G. G. Halls, Jehu Dodgson and Edward Krapp, were commissioners appointed to establish the road.<sup>315</sup>

St. George, about six miles up the river from Wabaunsee, on the opposite side of the river, and about a like distance west of Wamego, had the next ferry. On March 14, 1866, James L. Huggins, John Landon, William P. Douthitt, and John G. Otis were granted a charter under the name of the St. George Bridge and Ferry Company. Their ferry was to be located between S. 9 and 10, T. 10, R. 9 E., in Pottawatomie county. Capital stock of this company was placed at \$25,000, with shares at \$25 each, and the principal office was located at Topeka. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 14, 1866.<sup>316</sup> This company at this time had also obtained a charter for bridge and ferry privileges at Louisville.

The foregoing ferry, apparently, was not being operated by 1869. Early that year a movement was started to establish a free ferry between the counties of Wabaunsee and Pottawatomie. The Alma paper favored the project, and said: "It is rumored a free ferry is to be established at St. George. There is no place on the river between the two counties where there is less obstacles presented than at this point."<sup>317</sup>

Work started on the new project at once. A new cable was ordered and the building of a ferry boat commenced. The new ferry connected with a road running from St. George to Alma, which was

313. Corporations, v. 1, p. 146.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 156.

315. *Laws, Kansas, 1861*, p. 248.

316. Corporations, v. 1, p. 113.

317. *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, April 1, 1869.



less than fifteen miles long. By June the boat was well under way, and the cable for it had arrived at Topeka some time since. Residents who were depending on the new ferry grew impatient as time elapsed, and the *Herald*, of Alma, urged that the work be hurried, adding: "After you get it done all the travel from this point will seek the railroad at your place."<sup>318</sup> This ferry began to function early that fall, and the *Herald*, of November 25, stated that it was in good running order and had been for some weeks. The new ferry must have infused new life into the town, for the leading newspaper of the county just across the river said that St. George was going to be a big place right away. It was declared to be at the head of navigation on the great Kaw. A steamboat called the St. George packet made a few trips up the river and then went down and returned no more.<sup>319</sup>

Saint George had the distinction of having the first and only free ferry on the Kaw in Pottawatomie county. The stockholders of the Saint George Bridge and Ferry Company, after a conference with the citizens of the town, late in December, 1870, agreed to give the use of the ferry free, providing they would keep everything in repair. The merchants of the place employed a man to take charge of the boat and operated it at their expense, no doubt profiting by this arrangement.<sup>320</sup> Just how long the free ferry operated we have not discovered, but the probabilities are it was discontinued within a year.

By the middle of June, 1871, the advantages of a steam ferry on the river in this vicinity were being discussed. An Alma paper sized up the situation thusly:

There are more than 2,000 people in Wabaunsee county who are interested in this matter. This number is increasing at a rapid rate. One of our citizens pays \$156 a year for ferriage. Others pay, if we mistake not, over \$100 a year. Other taxes are heavy, but the ferry tax is the heaviest. That town which shall take this matter in hand and give our farmers better ferry service at cheaper rates will reap a reward worthy of its enterprise. We suggest that Wamego take the lead in the matter, and establish a steam ferry at which such rates shall be charged as will pay expenses, and nothing more. Give the merchants and laboring men of Wabaunsee as near an approach to free trade as can be.

Let not Saint George and Saint Marys wait for Wamego. If they do they will lose an advantage it will be hard to regain.<sup>321</sup>

318. *Ibid.*, April 15, May 27, June 23, 1869.

319. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1869.

320. *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, December 31, 1870.

321. *Alma Union*, June 15, 1871.

Apparently Saint George was without ferry accommodations for another year. In August, 1872, James Woods started a new enterprise, which took teams and "passengers across in fine shape," at the following rates: double teams, 25 cents; horse and rider, 15 cents; footmen, 5 cents, including return trip.<sup>322</sup>

Further history of the ferry has not been located.

Manhattan, about six miles above Saint George, had the next ferry across the Kaw. Just when it was started, and by whom, has not been learned. Ferry records prior to April, 1876, could not be consulted, since the volume containing these early licenses is stored in a basement vault in the Riley county court house which has not been opened for years. The combination has been forgotten.

The Manhattan *Express* of May 21, 1859, has mention of a ferry, and it is likely the ferry was in operation much earlier. The next mention occurred in the same paper late in the following December: "Business at the levee has not been as brisk as usual during the past week, owing no doubt, to the cold weather. We rather mistrust that navigation is about closed for the season. There are three boats now lying at the landing—one flat boat and two skiffs—all sunk."

In 1860 the legislature passed an act authorizing John Errick to maintain a ferry at that point for five years and to have exclusive privileges for one mile up the river and one mile down from the point where his ferry was then located. The act also specified that he should not be required to pay more than \$20 for the first five years, and that his ferriage charges should be no less than was charged by other ferries in Riley county on the Kansas river.<sup>323</sup>

The exact location of Errick's ferry has not been learned, but from the wording of the act just cited, it was going in 1859.

In answer to an inquiry at the office of the county engineer of Riley county, the location of the Manhattan ferry over the Kaw was given as S. 17, T. 10, R. 8, this being just a short distance above the junction of the Blue and Kaw rivers.

No further mention of the Kansas river ferry at Manhattan between 1860 and midsummer, 1863, has been located. In the latter part of August, 1863, a local paper printed the following:

The last rise in the Kansas river has been playing hobb with ferry arrangements. A new channel has been cut out this side of the island and a sand bar formed near the other shore. Our enterprising and accommodating (?) ferryman seems bound to overcome all difficulties. He has a new boat in on this side and the old one repaired for the other. This is an example for all faint-

322. *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, August 22, 1872.

323. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1860, pp. 270-271.

hearted grumblers to follow. Energy and perseverance will accomplish most anything. Who ever heard uncle Lucius complain of high, or low water or sand bars? <sup>324</sup>

The ferry was next mentioned in June, 1864, with a Mr. Woodward in charge. This item gives considerable information regarding improvements and changes:

We happened down to the Kansas ferry last evening, and were surprised to see what improvements Mr. Woodward had made. He has constructed piers from each bank out into the stream to the distance of several rods, so that it is now only about 160 feet from pier to pier. He has also built a causeway from the island to the west bank of the river, which seems to be strong and substantial. We suggest to the people of Manhattan that as friend Woodward is doing so good a work for the town we offer him all the encouragement possible. If he can but perfect the work which is so nearly accomplished it will contribute materially to the prosperity of the town. With a new, good sized boat, and a new strong cable the communication with the south side of the river will be complete. The channel of the river is made so narrow by the extension of the piers that it is thought there can be no danger of sandbars even at the lowest stages of the river.<sup>325</sup>

Hoar's ferry was another Manhattan enterprise in operation during the middle 1860's, and may have been started by John Hoar, who in 1867 was one of the incorporators of the Manhattan and Kansas River Bridge Co. The location of this ferry and further history have not been learned.

As the old ferry company's charter ran for but five years, it was probably renewed and still functioned. By 1867, however, there sprang up a movement to secure free ferry service. The *Independent* was a strong advocate of the proposition, and in its issue of July 27, printed the following:

A FREE FERRY.—An enterprise has been set on foot lately to have a free ferry across the Kansas river. This is entirely a practicable undertaking, and with a little earnest zeal may be carried into immediate effect.

Such a proposition as the following has been considered in an informal manner:

First—The ferry company to place a new wire cable entirely across the river so that a boat can be run at the highest stage of water, and to keep a good boat in good condition continually.

Second—The citizens of Manhattan to pay the wages of a ferryman.

Now there appears to be a general desire on all sides to have this done. The only obstacle in the way appears to be a little lack of confidence.

The ferry company would raise all the needed money in a day, if they knew the citizens would subscribe a sufficient sum to employ a first-rate ferryman, and the citizens would raise the money to pay the ferryman if

324. *Manhattan Independent*, August 24, 1863.

325. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1864.



they knew the company would keep the boat, cable and landings in good condition.

Now we urge this course: Let the ferry company go to work immediately, and put the boat and cable in first-rate working condition, then authorize the trustees to enter into obligations that it shall be kept so. Then let the citizens meet and appoint a person, or persons, to take subscriptions on conditions, obligating the company to pay, (monthly, quarterly or otherwise) promptly, the sums subscribed to pay the wages of a ferryman.

This is a measure of great importance to the community, and the advantage to the people will be many times the cost.

Manhattan is losing much of its legitimate trade, because good ferries are kept up at Wabaunsee and Wamego, while crossing at Manhattan has been extremely uncertain. Confidence is wanting, and it operates greatly to the injury of our city.

A free ferry, established in good faith, is the only thing now within our reach to restore confidence in the place and get back the trade that has been drawn away.

A week later the *Independent* stated that the free ferry over the Kansas was decided upon. P. W. Zeigler, who was in active charge of the innovation, had forwarded an order to Trenton, N. J., for 600 feet of wire cable seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, which was thought sufficiently strong for the ferry, having an ultimate strength of twelve tons. This paper also added:

The ferry company have shown commendable perseverance in their efforts in this direction, and now it remains for the citizens of Manhattan to pay the salary of a ferryman, and we shall secure all the trans-Kansas trade which has recently sought other markets.

A new hemp rope has just been received by Messrs. Dent and Beckwith, which will be used until the wire cable arrives.

There is talk also of a free ferry over the Blue. The citizens must be looking after these matters in earnest, or the trade and influence of our town will be much curtailed.

Free access to our city must be furnished, and our motto should be "Free Trade in Everything but Whisky."<sup>326</sup>

Their efforts toward getting a free ferry was noticed by the *Missouri Democrat*, of St. Louis, and called forth this reply:

The effort has been entirely successful. The public are hereby notified of the new arrangement and invited to avail themselves of this, the only free crossing of the Kansas from its source to its mouth. Manhattan has lacked only this advantage to give it the most extensive trade from the surrounding country of any town west of Lawrence. People will take notice that we labor under this disadvantage no longer.<sup>327</sup>

Ferrying under ordinary conditions was apt to be a rather monotonous job. Once in a while, however, something transpired, not

<sup>326.</sup> *Ibid.*, August 3, 1867.

<sup>327.</sup> *Ibid.*, August 10, 1867.

on the regular program, which provided a little excitement. A case of this kind happened on August 20, 1867. That forenoon, as a carriage containing two ladies and two children was crossing the Kansas on the free ferry, the horses attached to the carriage commenced to back just as the boat had left the main channel and was approaching shoal water, and continued to step backwards until the back part of the carriage was run over the edge of the boat, precipitating the ladies and children into the water. With commendable presence of mind each of the ladies held a child above the water, which was three or four feet deep at that place, thus by their coolness saving the lives of the little ones who must otherwise have been drowned.<sup>328</sup>

The free ferry proved to be a popular public utility and was extensively patronized.<sup>329</sup> Early in December the *Independent* said, "The free ferry across the Kaw is likely to have a new boat. We are pleased to learn that the misunderstanding between parties interested in the enterprise is now amicably adjusted. The new cable will be put on with the new boat and then with the courteous ferryman, who has done so well the past summer, we shall have a ferry of which we can well be proud."<sup>330</sup>

While the old ferry had made a number of improvements this year, there was still more they could do, as the following would indicate:

FERRY.—If the Manhattan, Kansas River Ferry will just fill in stone enough at the landings to cause the removal of the sandbar in the middle of the river, they will do a great thing for their own interest and that of the public. Prompt action will do much to cherish the growing confidence in the enterprise, while neglect and delay will prove disastrous all around.<sup>331</sup>

The old company's license was about to expire, and as they had lively competition in the free ferry, they began taking steps to get their affairs in order. There were debts that must be met, and a number of the stockholders were delinquent on their assessments. Late in November the following notice was published:

#### FERRY COMPANY MEETING

The Manhattan, Kansas River Ferry Company, met at Gove's Hall, on Saturday, November 23. Owing to the limited notice, the attendance of stockholders was small. A quorum of the numbers not being present, no business of consequence was transacted. The meeting adjourned, to meet at the same place on Saturday, December 7. The following motion was adopted:

That a general attendance at the adjourned meeting be urged, and that

328. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1867.

329. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1867.

330. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1867.

331. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1867.

they be notified to come prepared to settle their arrearages, as provisions must be made for paying off the indebtedness of the company.—E. NEWELL, *Sec.*<sup>332</sup>

The *Independent* early in January, 1868, stated that the old ferry company was to receive another license from the county commissioners, and expressed gratification at the news, as the ferry company had done good work the past summer and had the good will of the public.

Apparently the company was reorganized early in 1868, for on January 20 the Manhattan Ferry Company was chartered, Allen B. Lee, Hiram Beal, E. W. Newell, Alanson Carlton, E. R. McCurdy, H. S. Roberts, James Gahan, George Andrews, John H. Pinkerton, H. J. Letore and E. L. Foster being the incorporators. The company proposed to operate and maintain a ferry across the Kansas river at points between the mouth of the Blue river and one and one-half miles up the river, these boundaries being in T. 10, R. 8 E., of the 6th P. M., and at and near the principal ferry crossing on the Kansas river. The corporation proposed to construct and maintain a first-class ferry across the Kansas river near the present highway, south of the Union Pacific Railway, or at the present crossing known as the Manhattan Kansas Ferry Company's Ferry, the corporation claiming exclusive privilege of erecting and operating a ferry anywhere within the limits above. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 21, 1868.<sup>333</sup>

The ferryboat used by the company appears to have met with some accident or misfortune early in 1869, and the company not having attended to the matter with their previous promptitude, drew condemnation from points quite distant. The *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, May 6, contained the following plaint: "The ferryboat at Manhattan, across the Kaw, has been sunk some two or three weeks. We understand that on Saturday the county board of Riley county granted a license to a new company, providing the old company do not get their boat running by to-night."

Evidently there was a change in the local ferry situation very shortly, for a local paper had the following:

THE KANSAS FERRY.—The people living south of the river, as well as the merchants of Manhattan, will be glad to learn that the ferry is likely to be a permanent institution, and that the difficulties heretofore experienced in crossing the river are not likely to occur again soon. A new boat is soon to be put

332. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1867.

333. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 444-445.



on, built of pine, sawed in Chicago to order for the purpose. The boats have heretofore been built of oak, and were too heavy and unwieldy. The Deever Brothers and John Flagg, Jr., have leased the institution for a term of years, and they don't mean the boat shall be stopped either for high water, sandbars or wind. Their success will be a blessing.<sup>334</sup>

Apparently the first steps for a bridge over the Kansas river at Manhattan was in 1866. On March 9 of that year the Overland Bridge Company was chartered by the state, John G. Otis, James M. Spencer, Orrin T. Welch, Spofford D. Macdonald, Franklin L. Crane, David W. Stormont and Mahlon Bailey, all of Topeka, being the incorporators. The company was organized for the purpose of constructing, maintaining and operating bridges and ferries across the Kansas, Republican and Smoky Hill rivers in and between the following points: Commencing at a point on the Kansas river where the east line of S. 11, R. 6 E., crosses the Kansas river, and running up the Kansas to the mouth of the Republican river, thence up the Republican river to a point where the second standard parallel crosses the river; also from the mouth of the Smoky Hill river, running up that river to the mouth of Lyon creek, all being between and in the counties of Davis (Geary) and Riley, in the state of Kansas. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 9, 1866.<sup>335</sup>

Evidently the above company did not erect a bridge. Early in 1867 another organization known as the Manhattan and Kansas River Bridge Co., was formed to take care of the local situation. This company's charter, signed by Wm. Allingham, John Hoar, John E. Jewett, Andrew J. Mead and Henry Leffer, on February 25, 1867, recited that the capital stock of the new enterprise was \$45,000, with shares at \$100 each; that it was the purpose of the company to erect and maintain a first-class bridge across the Kansas river, near the present highway adjacent to Manhattan and south of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., at or near the former ferry crossing known as Hoar's ferry. Rights for bridge purposes were reserved for any point from the mouth of the Big Blue up the Kansas river for a distance of one and one-half miles. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 6, 1867.

The spring of 1867 was a wet one and the Kansas and Blue rivers were taxed to their capacity to carry off flood waters. The *Manhattan Independent*, commenting on conditions said: ". . . More water has doubtless flowed past us in the Blue and Kansas rivers during the past few days than in any former period of equal dura-

334. *Manhattan Standard*, June 19, 1869.

335. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 86, 87.

tion since this country was settled. The Blue has been rivaling the Mississippi in magnitude. . . ." 336

These high waters brought the subject of bridges before the people with more force than ever. Some steps had been taken towards securing bridges, but the apparent lack of push among the promoters had produced no tangible results. The *Independent* voiced the following protest at the local situation:

BRIDGES WANTED.—Where are the bridge companies; and where are the several thousand dollars already subscribed to rid us of the "man traps" which now float over our streams to decoy man and beast into dangers from which they are lucky to escape at half a dollar a head for horse and buggy?

We cannot cross our "bridge of sighs" without being reminded of the remarkable structure upon which Xenophon crossed his army over an Asiatic stream. The pontoons were made of the skins of his beasts of burden, sewed into the form of bags, and floored over with rushes.

Our bridge may be an improvement on Xenophon's, but his had at least this advantage, that it was a *free bridge*. With such a structure as ours over such a river, we wonder that Manhattan gets any immigration. We are doubtless now inhabiting the "promised land," but it would require a Moses to lead anybody else over to us dry shod and good natured.<sup>337</sup>

This stirred things up and shortly afterwards a movement of those most interested in the bridge was started, asking the county commissioners to call an election to vote on the question of the county taking stock in the two Manhattan bridge companies. The commissioners, however, refused to call an election for this purpose, their action based on the manifest illegality of the measure, the county having no legal right to subscribe to the capital stock of these or any other bridge companies.<sup>338</sup>

Manhattan's lack of a bridge over the Kansas river deprived the city of much trade from territory south of the river, and prompted the following frank admission from a local paper: "BRIDGE THE KANSAS.—We need a bridge over the Kansas more than we do over the Blue, and everybody should vote for the Kansas bridge as well as for the Blue."<sup>339</sup>

By the spring of 1870 the city had decided to have some bridges—one each over the Kansas and Blue rivers. Out of a total of 289 votes cast those voting for the Blue river bridge polled 250, and those in favor of the Kaw river bridge cast 243.<sup>340</sup> This latter structure was 530 feet long.<sup>341</sup>

336. *Manhattan Independent*, April 20, 1867.

337. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1867.

338. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1867.

339. *Manhattan Standard*, April 30, 1870.

340. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1870.

341. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1872.



Fall rains hindered the completion of this structure. The *Standard*, of September 30, 1870, stated: "The Kaw is on a bender. There has been a surplusage of water in the stream for the past week. The temporary bridge constructed by the contractors was washed out but not lost entirely, it having been rescued by ropes." Another item in the same issue said: "The rise in the Kansas and Big Blue rivers has put a stop to bridge operations and we are not likely to enjoy our bridges this fall."

Late in the fall another rise in the Kaw river delayed completion of the bridge, a portion of it floating down the river. It was supposed that the rise had done some damage west of Manhattan.<sup>342</sup>

Work on the bridge was pushed vigorously in the spring of 1871. A large force was engaged. The last pier was completed by the middle of March and two spans finished by the end of the month.<sup>343</sup>

The bridge was completed by midsummer.<sup>344</sup>

Manhattan was fairly well provided with roads reaching out in different directions. The city was on the great military road from Leavenworth to Fort Riley. In 1857 the legislature established a road running up the Blue, by way of the towns of Tauromee, Randolph, Brownsville, Marysville and Palmetto, and to connect with the road to Nebraska City;<sup>345</sup> another ran from Seneca to Manhattan, by way of Centralia, Nottingham and Barret;<sup>346</sup> another ran from Manhattan to Irving.<sup>347</sup>

Ashland, about four miles due south but about six miles up the river from Manhattan, had the next ferry, which was in operation as early as 1857. No record of any license issued for this ferry is found in Davis (Geary) county Commissioners' Journals, but there is a record dated April 20, 1857, that citizens of Shane creek asked for the establishment of a road from Ashland ferry to Manhattan ferry. This was "not granted for want of form, and laid over as unfinished business." Another record of the same date fixed the license fee for this ferry at \$10 per annum, and also ferriage rates for every ferry in the county as follows: For each two-horse team, mules, oxen, or asses, 50 cents; for each additional span of horses, mules or asses, 20 cents; for every buggy or one-horse vehicle and horse, mule or ass, 30 cents; for every horse, mule or ass and rider, 20 cents; for every horse, mule or ass led, 10 cents; for footman, 10

342. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1870.

343. *Manhattan Nationalist*, March 12, 81, 1871.

344. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1871.

345. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, pp. 178, 179.

346. *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 248.

347. *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 209.



cents; for cattle, 10 cents; for sheep, hogs and freight, the county court left the charge with the parties to agree.<sup>348</sup>

Davis county about this time was having some trouble collecting licenses, for the Journal, under date of May 18, following, contains a record that the court ordered that all those who should take out a license shall be required to date said license back to the time of exercising licensable privileges, as all who ferry must pay license for the whole time the ferry has been run without a license, at the rate of license per year for each licensable business.<sup>349</sup>

On July 20, following, a petition signed by twelve citizens asking for a road from the Ashland ferry to the Manhattan ferry, was presented to the Davis county commissioners. This petition asked that the road lead from the Ashland ferry to the Manhattan ferry, touch at Ashland and the bend of the river between the claims of J. E. Ross and John Holbin.<sup>350</sup> Commissioners were appointed August 11, 1859, to view this road. Upon the completion of their work they submitted a report, which, being read, was not received for want of form. New commissioners were appointed to report at the September term of the county commissioners.<sup>351</sup> This road was still under consideration late in 1859, H. A. W. Tabor,<sup>352</sup> D. B. Chapman, and George Bowers being commissioners.<sup>353</sup>

Ashland had few roads leading to its ferry. The bulk of travel east and west went over the military road north of the river. In 1860 a road petition was presented to the county commissioners of Davis county by Jesse Hunt, praying for the establishment of a road from the Manhattan road near Thomas Ross', running thence through the lands of Messrs. Stone, Robinson, Barlow, Beach (?) and Hunt to the junction of the Ashland road and the Pottawatomie trail leading to Fort Riley, as near said trail as possible. This petition was ordered to be filed and notice given that the board would review said road on Monday, March 5, 1860, its findings being recorded under date of March 7, 1860.<sup>354</sup>

Ogden, about six and one-half miles due west of Ashland and about eight miles southwest of Manhattan, by land, had the next ferry. The legislature of 1857 granted a fifteen-year franchise to operate here to Robert Bates and John W. Parsons. License fee

348. Davis county, Commissioners' Journal, Book 1, pp. 2, 3.

349. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

350. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

351. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

352. Later United States senator from Colorado.

353. Davis county, Commissioners' Journal, Book 1, p. 16.

354. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 49.

was fixed at \$10. Rates of ferriage prescribed by the act were: Foot passengers, each 10 cents; each person on horseback, 25 cents; each unharnessed animal, 20 cents; single horse and carriage, 40 cents; two horse, or oxteam and driver, 70 cents; each additional animal, 15 cents; packages, 50 lbs. or less, 10 cents; merchandise not in teams, 10 cents per hundred pounds.<sup>355</sup>

The foregoing ferry apparently ceased functioning within a couple of years, for the legislature of 1860 granted authority to C. R. and Richard D. Mobley to keep a ferry across the Kansas river at or near the city of Ogden for a period of five years, and have exclusive privileges for two miles up and two miles down the river from the city of Ogden. The act provided they should not be required to pay more than \$20 for the first two years, nor their ferriage rates be lower than charged by other ferries in that county on the Kansas river.<sup>356</sup>

A new company took over the ferry business in 1866. On March 22, that year, Thomas Dixon, Henry Mitchell, Patrick Dixon, James M. Harvey and Calvin M. Dyche formed a corporation known as the Ogden, Pawnee and Santa Fé Bridge and Ferry Company. It was the purpose and plan of the new company to erect bridges and operate ferries across the Kansas river at the place where a certain state road running from Ogden to the southeast corner of S. 1, T. 17, R. 4 E., crossed the Kansas river, near the mouth of Three Mile creek, and at such other points within the boundaries mentioned as may be necessary. Capital stock of the new company was placed at \$3,000, with shares \$100 each. The principal office of the company was at Ogden, Riley county. This charter was filed with the secretary of state April 14, 1866.<sup>357</sup>

No record of licenses have been located between the years 1866 and 1879, though old citizens of the county assert that a ferry was operated during the most of this time.

On April 7, 1879, L. M. Estes and others of Ogden township petitioned for a license to run a ferry on the Kansas river in Riley county at or near the town of Ogden. The license was granted and license fee remitted. Toll rates were fixed by the county board as follows: For four horses and wagon, 50 cents; for two horses and wagon, 25 cents; for one horse and wagon, 20 cents; for man and horse, 15

355. *Laws, Kansas, 1857*, p. 164.

356. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1860*, pp. 271, 272.

357. *Corporations, v. 1*, pp. 136, 137.

cents; horses, cattle and mules per head, 10 cents; swine and sheep, per head, 5 cents; men on foot, 5 cents.<sup>358</sup>

This ferry was operated as late as 1888 or 1889, when Henry Schiller was in charge.

The second effort to secure a bridge for Ogden was made in 1871, when the Ogden and Kansas River Bridge Co. was organized to build a bridge across the Kansas river at or near the mouth of Clark's creek in Davis county, and near the east line of the Fort Riley military reservation in Riley county. This company was capitalized at \$50,000, with shares at \$100 each. The principal place of business was at Ogden. This company was to be managed by five directors, those chosen for the first year being Thomas Dixon and C. M. Dyche, of Ogden, and E. B. Purcell, N. A. Adams and Wm. P. Higinbotham of Manhattan. This corporation was formed to exist for twenty years, and was organized April 8, 1871, but delayed filing its charter with the secretary of state until October 13, 1871.

The Ogden town company was inaugurated in 1857, and that year a United States land office was opened. The Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley military road ran through the town, which in early days was one of the most important points in the county.

The next ferry on the river was at Pawnee, site of the first territorial capitol building. The old capitol was located on S. 28, T. 11, R. 6 E., and the ferry landing is said to have been located about eighty rods downstream from this building. This was also said to be the crossing for the old Mormon trail to the west. Fox B. Booth<sup>359</sup> maintained the ferry at this point, having secured a ten-year license from the legislature of 1855, his ferry being located on lands owned by him opposite the new town of Pawnee.<sup>360</sup>

This ferry was operating next year, when Gov. John W. Geary paid a visit to Fort Riley. At this time the governor had as escort a company of Dragoons under Major Sibley. They were on the south side of the river when they reached Riley City, and crossed by ferry to old Pawnee, which had been totally destroyed in Septem-

358. Davis county, Commissioners' Journal, Book 2, p. 2.

359. William H. Mackey, Sr., of Junction City, writing to Charles E. Cory regarding slaves in Kansas, said: "Fox Booth, a North Carolinian, who came from some point on the Platte to Fort Riley, in 1854, owned a negro woman slave. She worked a ferry boat for him, and rowed me across the raging Kaw many times. Booth tired of her and brought her down to McDowell's creek to Tom Reynolds' place and offered her for trade. Reynolds looked her over and came to the conclusion she would make a good herder. Booth wanted a few cows for her, but Reynolds would not part with the cows, and finally offered an old white stallion, and the deal went. I was an eye witness to the transaction. This was in the fall of 1855."—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 241.

360. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 13, p. 2; *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 790.



ber the year before.<sup>361</sup> No further history of this ferry has been located.

Pawnee was on the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The territorial legislature of 1855 established two roads that touched Pawnee—one running from Atchison, via Grasshopper Falls,<sup>362</sup> and the other from Saint Joseph by the nearest and best route to Fort Riley by way of Pawnee.<sup>363</sup>

Riley City, in the Ashland bottoms, south of the river, and almost adjoining Pawnee, had the next ferry, which was operating in 1856, and paid a \$50 license fee this year.<sup>364</sup>

There may have been two ferries in operation here in 1857, though no names of the operators have been located. The Journal of the Davis county commissioners, of April 20, 1857, contains entries of ferry license fees fixed by the commissioners, the ferries at Ashland and Ogden being assessed \$10 each for the year, while Riley City, two in number, were fixed at \$20 each. Ferriage charges were standardized for every ferry operating in the county this year, and were as follows: Two-horse teams, 50 cents; buggy or one-horse vehicle, 30 cents; horse and rider, 20 cents; each led horse, mule or ass, 10 cents; footmen, 10 cents; cattle, 10 cents; sheep, hogs and freight, the county court left with the parties to agree.<sup>365</sup>

The next ferry upstream was located just opposite the Fort Riley military reservation on S. 27, T. 11, R. 7 E., on the east side of the river. It was started by L. B. Perry, who came from near St. Louis, Mo., in 1856, and operated it for about nine years. County commissioners' records for Davis county fail to disclose the annual license fee exacted for this ferry privilege, but it does record ferriage charges allowed by the commissioners, as follows: Two horses, mules, or oxen and wagon, 40 cents; each additional span, 20 cents; one horse and wagon, 35 cents; for each man and horse, 25 cents; for each footman, 10 cents; loose horses, mules or cattle each, 10 cents; sheep and swine, per head, 5 cents.<sup>366</sup> This ferry was located on a point of land partly encompassed by a crescent-shaped slough, the whole plot being entirely surrounded by water during times of flood. This slough has long since been known as "Whisky Lake." A small settlement sprang up near the landing, which was in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$

361. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1002.

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

363. *Ibid.*, p. 942.

364. Riley county historical clippings in the Kansas State Historical Society's library, v. 1, p. 12.

365. Davis county, Commissioners' Journal, Book 1, pp. 2, 3.

366. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 148.

S. 27, which was platted April 7, 1860, as Island City, by David Wilson, for L. B. Perry, who owned the land.<sup>367</sup> Some parties later had attempted to start a rival town at the extreme western point of this so-called island, giving it the name of West Point. The town never amounted to more than a few low-class grog shops. According to Andreas:

The name of the place was afterwards changed to Whisky Point, it having derived this name from somebody in court having said he would rather die in Junction City than live at Whisky Point, referring by this remark to West Point. Since that time the place has been known by the name of Whisky Point. On May 14, 1862, a very unpleasant affair occurred at Whisky Point, between a party of soldiers, in which two were killed and one wounded. On the same day the provost marshal, with a squad of men, went around and closed up every saloon in which intoxicating liquors were vended.<sup>368</sup>

Just eight days before this happened, Captain Sylvester, of Company K, Twelfth Wisconsin, visited Island City with a squad of men, and on this occasion thirteen barrels of whisky were broken open and their contents spilled.

A ferry was in use at Fort Riley in 1856, according to Herman Oesterreich, for the purpose of getting hay across the river for use at the post. This institution was being operated by Alex and John Smith, and apparently was the last ferry met with ascending the river, its location being close to the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers.<sup>369</sup> The Smiths had settled on land to the southwest at the third crossing of Lyon creek, which later became known as the Alex Smith crossing. How long the Smiths operated this ferry has not been learned, as early commissioners' journals of Davis county give scant mention of ferry matters.

Fort Riley is located near the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers and alongside the Kaw river. This point was known to the Indians and traders as the "Grand Point."<sup>370</sup> Many roads terminated at or started from the fort. The earliest was a Mormon road which crossed the Kansas slightly south of Whisky Lake. Sections of this old road, according to Henry Thiele, an old resident of Junction City, can still be traced past the Geary county poor farm and for some distance beyond. Another road ran to Fort Kearney; another to the southwest by way of Fort Harker and on to the Santa Fé trail at Fort Zarah; another to Bent's Fort was declared a terri-

367. Junction City *Union*, January 11, 1912.

368. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, pp. 1001, 1002.

369. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14, p. 146.

370. John C. McCoy's manuscript "Map of Indian Surveys in Kansas, 1830-1836," in Kansas State Historical Society's archives.

torial road.<sup>371</sup> The military road running from Fort Riley northwest to the Nebraska line was also made a territorial road.<sup>372</sup> In 1859 a bill was introduced in the council by Senator Mead, for the establishment of a territorial road from some point at or near Fort Riley to some point near the base of the Rocky Mountains, at or near the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. The bill passed both houses of the legislature, but for some reason did not become a law. At this same session an act was passed declaring "that all roads now used as military roads in the territory be and the same are hereby made territorial roads, and are established on the best and most traveled track at the passage of this act." This law received the approval of Gov. Samuel Medary February 7, 1859.<sup>373</sup> Another road ran from Leavenworth to Fort Riley by way of Grasshopper Falls;<sup>374</sup> another from Fort Riley to Fort Larned was made a territorial road,<sup>375</sup> and two years later Congress was memorialized by the legislature to make provision for bridging and improving this road from Fort Leavenworth, via Fort Riley to Fort Larned.<sup>376</sup> A number of other roads passed the fort and terminated at Junction City. These will be mentioned in a future paper.

371. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, p. 170.

372. *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 171.

373. *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 584.

374. *Ibid.*

375. *General Laws, Kansas*, 1861, p. 82.

376. *Laws, Kansas*, 1863, pp. 83, 84.



# A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857

The Letters of Lieut. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.<sup>1</sup>

Edited by WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE

My Dear Brother<sup>2</sup>

Kansas City, Missouri, Apl. 3d., 1856

HERE I am after two weeks travelling, and not in Kansas Territory yet, but it is only 1½ miles off, and I can see into it. I feel a good deal tired of travelling, and we have concluded to rest here until to-morrow, when we will take the stage for Lawrence City, by way of Westport. After we get to Lawrence, I don't know where we will go, but I rather think we will go to Whitfield, a few miles north of Kansas river.

It has cost me over \$102 to get here, besides about \$25 which I have spent for necessaries, &c. We have been quite well since we left—with the exception of one day that I had a headache and fever, caused I guess from losing so much sleep, and the fatigue of travelling. We did not get to Nashville until Sunday evening; we left that place Monday about 12 o'clock and went down the Cumberland river on the steamer *City of Huntsville* to Cairo, at the

1. Axalla John Hoole, the son of Elizabeth Stanley and James C. Hoole, himself a soldier in the War of 1812, was of English descent, his grandfather, Joseph, having emigrated from York, England, about 1780 or earlier, and settled at Georgetown, S. C. Axalla John, born at Darlington, S. C., October 12, 1822, was one of five sons. The eldest, Joseph Bertram, served in the Seminole War and the War Between the States; Samuel Eugene was a surgeon in the Mexican War; and Thomas Stanislaus served throughout the War Between the States.

Axalla John was educated at St. John's academy, Darlington, and after completing the academic course, taught school there for 12 years. When he was quite a small boy, the Nullification excitement was at its height in South Carolina, and the small boys of the community organized a military company, of which he was elected captain. At the age of 20 he joined the Darlington Riflemen, a local company of militia, and, in 1854, was elected captain. He served in that capacity until March 20, 1856 (his wedding day), on which day he left with his bride for Kansas territory.

They arrived in the territory early in April, 1856. Taking a fairly active part in Kansas politics, Hoole was elected probate judge of Douglas county by the Proslavery party under the régime of Gov. Robert J. Walker. During the approximately two years that he remained in the territory, he kept up a rather lively correspondence with his family in South Carolina—of which thirty-one letters are printed in this series.

Returning to Darlington, December 5, 1857, Hoole was immediately reelected captain of the Darlington Riflemen. Upon the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter, he assembled the men on the academy drill grounds, made a speech to them, and called for volunteers. With the exception of one, every man in the organization stepped forward—and the company entrained at once for Charleston. Remaining there a short time, the Riflemen returned to Florence, S. C., where they were mustered in as Company A, Eighth South Carolina Volunteers, Col. E. B. C. Cash, commanding. The regiment left Florence for the Virginia front, June 2, 1861.

At the expiration of the period of enlistment, April, 1862, the regiment was reorganized, and Captain Hoole was elected lieutenant-colonel. After serving in several major conflicts in Virginia, including the First Battle of Manassas, he was transferred with his company to Dalton, Ga., to join the forces of Gen. Braxton Bragg. He arrived there September 17, 1863, and was killed in the Battle of Chicamauga, September 20, 1863. His body was returned to Darlington and buried in the family cemetery.—*Cf. D. A. Dickert, Kershaw's Brigade* (Newberry, S. C., 1899), pp. 38ff., 284-285; *Treasured Reminiscences of John K. McIver Chapter, U. D. C.* (Columbia, S. C., 1911), pp. 69-71, 74-75; W. A. Brunson, *Glimpses of Old Darlington* (Columbia, S. C., 1910), p. 7.

2. Thomas Stanislaus Hoole, b. June 29, 1824; d. January 18, 1905. He served throughout the War Between the States as captain, McIntosh's battery, Pee Dee (South Carolina) artillery. Referred to in these letters as "Stin."

junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, where we changed boats and went up to St. Louis, Mo., where we arrived Friday morning about 8 o'clock. We remained there about two hours, in which time I purchased a six-shooter for \$20, and some other things. We then changed boats and sailed up the Missouri river to this place. The boats travel very slow up this river at this time, as it is very low and swift.

I have seen none of the country except along the banks of the river, which is, with very little exceptions, nothing but lofty, rugged rocks, sometimes two or three hundred feet high. It was quite a sight to me at first, but I got very tired of looking at them. I saw thousands of wild geese in the Missouri river; I shot at them once about 200 yards, and of course missed. I saw duck also in abundance.

Wherever I have been able to see any land besides the rocky shores of the rivers, they, or rather *it*, appeared to be very rich, and I was told by some of the Missourians that it was much better off from the river. We entered the prairie country before we came to timber again—

The banks of the river were low and I could see for miles, but there were houses scattered all over the prairie. I fell in company with a young man who had just married, from Georgia, who said he was going to Kansas, but there were other families along from Georgia, who were going to Missouri, and when they left the boat about 60 miles from here, he left with them and I was not sorry for it, as I did not fancy him much; neither did I fancy his wife. I would have but little to do with them—one objection I had to him was, he drank liquor—

The Missourians (all of whom I have conversed with, with the exception of one who, by the way, I found out to be an Abolitionist) are very sanguine about Kansas being a slave state & I have heard some of them say it *shall* be. I have met with warm reception from two or three, but generally speaking, I have not met with the reception which I expected. Everyone seems bent on the Almighty Dollar, and as a general thing that seems to be their only thought—There was a large box on one of the boats about a week ago coming up the river, which some of the Missourians thought contained Sharp's Rifles, so they sent a deputation to its destination, which was at this place, to have it opened. When they arrived here the person to whom it was consigned refused to let them open it, whereupon they opened it by force—when lo! it contained nothing but



a piano. There was a box containing a cannon which a confounded Yankee opened, but closed it up again before any of them could examine it, saying that it was nothing but some cartwheels. His daughter-in-law told me this this morning, hesitatingly, as if her father-in-law had done a smart trick. If she had been a man, I don't know what I should have said, but she was a pretty young woman.

Well, dear brother, the supper bell has rung, so I must close. Give my love to [the immediate family] and all the Negroes. . . . Excuse bad writing for I am very nervous. I am anxious to hear from home . . . direct to Lawrence City, Kansas Territory, as I shall leave word there for my letters to be forwarded to whatever place I go. Your ever affectionate brother, Axalla.

My Dear Mother<sup>3</sup>

Douglas City, K. T., Apl. 14th., 1856

. . . I came to this place last Saturday, after staying at that nasty Abolition town of Lawrence for a week. This is called a City, but there are only four little log houses in it, but it is laid out into lots for a town, and I expect one day it will be. The capital, Lecompton, is two miles from here, but they are going to build the state university at this place. It is situated close on the Kansas river, and I consider it the prettiest site for a town in the Territory.

I have been quite well with the exception of colds since I have been in the Territory. Betsie<sup>4</sup> is not very well to-day, but she is well enough to be writing a letter. . . . We are boarding with a very excellent family named Ellison. The old gentleman is the most enthusiastic Proslavery man I have met with.

I have not been able to get into any business yet, although a man wanted me to work on a house for him in Lecompton last week, at \$2 a day, but I could not get board in the place, and as the job would last but a few days, I did not set it. They are wanting a school in Lecompton but I have not been able to make it up. The fact is, the people here seem to be so taken up with politics, that they can't take time to think of hardly anything else. There is a school wanting here at Douglas, but there is a young fellow from Georgia, who was ahead of me, but I am under the impression that he will not succeed, as there seems to be a sort of split in the neighborhood. If he fails, they say they will make up a good school for me. If I

3. Mrs. Elizabeth Stanley Hoole, wife of James C. Hoole, b. July 25, 1800; d. July 7, 1887. They were married August 6, 1818.

4. His wife, Elizabeth Brunson Hoole, b. April 15, 1832; d. February 2, 1925.



don't succeed in getting a school, I will go at the carpenter's trade which will pay, by-the-bye, better, but as I prefer teaching, even if I make less, I shall try that first as it will be a permanent business and in the other I may sometimes be out of employment, unless I were a good mechanic. I don't think I will ever like this country. The timber is too scarce, but the land is very rich—any of it will make from fifty to a hundred bushels of corn to the acre; but then the wind is always blowing, sometimes so hard that a man can hardly keep his hat on his head. I don't intend to preëempt land, for all the claims worth having are already taken up, but if I like it well enough when the land comes in market, as there will be thousands who will not be able to pay for their claims, I will then buy a place. But I don't think I will ever like this country well enough to settle here, and I don't think, or at least I am afraid, it will be never be made a slave state, and if it is not, I will not live here on any conditions.

I was introduced to the Governor last Thursday. He seems to be a very friendly sort of man, but I don't think he is very smart. He seemed to take a good deal of interest in me, and was very anxious that I should get board in Lecompton, but I was unable to do so.

My dear Mother, you need not be afraid. . . . This is a very good neighborhood. We are boarding with a good clever Methodist family. The circuit-rider stayed here last night. I had formed a very poor opinion of the morality of the Territory when I was at Lawrence, but I find the people up this way fare better. At Lawrence almost everyone I met was profane, but here it is quite different. I have not made use of an oath since I have been in the Territory, and I don't intend to be guilty of that practice any more if I can help it. Betsie makes me read the Bible sometimes, and I intend, when I can rent a house and go to ourselves, which I hope to do soon, to read it regularly. . . .

The people in this Territory have very poor houses, generally built of logs with rock chimneys. The one we are boarding in is three log houses built in a row—the middle one of which is the kitchen where the Negroes stay. They have four or five Negroes. If we stay here this summer, we will have plenty of ice as Mr. Ellison has put up a good deal of it.

The people here are just fixing to plant their crops. Trees are put out about like they were when we left Darlington. The nights here are still quite cool, but I have not seen frost for some time.

. . . Write me all the news, every little particular will be interesting to me. . . . Your ever affectionate son, Axalla.

My Dear Brother

Douglas City, K. T., Apl. 27th., 1856

. . . I am still boarding at the above mentioned place with Mr. Elison and paying \$3 a week apiece for myself and wife, but I have sent to Missouri for provisions which I expect here in a day or two, when I will go to housekeeping. I have two houses which I can rent, one of which we are occupying to sleep in. It is about a hundred yards from Mr. Elison's, where I eat. I commenced working at the carpenter's trade last Monday—I tried to get a school, but failed to get one worth my notice, so I concluded on the whole it was best for me to get at something else, and as a trade pays better than anything else, I went at the carpenter's. The man I am working with is giving from \$1.75 to \$2.25 a day, but could not tell me what he would give me, but said that we would not fall out about the price, until he could determine what I was worth. I intended to have made him set a price yesterday, but it rained so that I could not go to work. To-morrow we will come to an understanding. I shall stand out for \$2 a day, as I think that I am worth that, at the rate of everything else here. I have a long walk every day to and from my work, about two & a half miles. My work is in Le-compton, the capital, above Douglas.

I have no fun here. Game is scarce. Mr. Elison's son killed a pelican in the river yesterday morning. I went out late in the evening and killed two squirrels, which is the first thing of any kind I have killed since I have been here. They catch cat-fish in the river here that weigh from 10 to 100 lbs., but I have not seen any yet. A man caught one yesterday morning that weighed 20 lbs.

I still don't like this country, and I don't care how soon it is admitted as a state. The Governor sent the sheriff to take some men in Lawrence last Saturday (yesterday week) and the Lawrenceites rescued the prisoner from him. The sheriff came and reported to the Governor, who sent him back with four other men, but they also failed. The Governor then sent a dispatch to the fort for some soldiers; they came on Tuesday, and with the sheriff went to Lawrence on Wednesday and succeeded in taking six prisoners, but as they had not the most important one, they concluded that they would stay there all night. In the night the sheriff (Jones) with two or three other men went out of the tent to get some water, and while drawing it, the sheriff was shot at, the ball passing through his pantaloons behind his leg. They went into the tent, when a



man came in pretending to be drunk. Jones told him to go out, that they had no use for him there. Then he left walking as steady and apparently as sober as any man. About five minutes after, Jones was shot through the tentcloth in the back, the ball entering near the backbone just below the shoulder blade. Jones drew his bowie knife, and attempted to rise, but could not. I hear that he was not dead last Friday evening, but there was very little hope for him. I have sent . . . a circular giving the particulars of the case, which you can get and read. Colonel Sumner,<sup>5</sup> was encamped on the north side of the Kansas river on Friday with 200 regular soldiers, opposite Lawrence. He is there, he says, to prevent a fight between the Proslavery and the Abolitionists, and I hear that he says the moment he leaves, there are hundreds of Proslavery men ready to march against Lawrence. There are scouting parties of Proslavery men out every night since Jones was shot. The Lawrenceites have threatened the life of Governor Shannon<sup>6</sup> and several other Proslavery men. An attempt was made to burn the house of a Proslavery man, about a mile from here, on night before last, and a parcel went there last night to stand guard. The owner (Mr. Clark) is in Missouri, but his wife is at home. The same house was fired last fall, but was discovered soon enough to be put out. I don't expect anything else but a fight before long—the excitement is too great, and if Jones dies, it will be greater. You must get the circular which I have sent. . . . and read it . . . That will give you a better idea of the state of feeling here than I can give, as it expresses the opinion and feelings of every Proslavery man.

Jerry Vann came to Lecompton yesterday was a week ago. He is trying to make up a school there, and I believe has succeeded in getting nearly twenty scholars at \$1 per scholar a month, but he has to build a schoolhouse, and has to pay \$3.50 a week for board, so he will not make much clear money. Vann says he left Parrott at Leavensworth. House got off the boat at Independence, Mo., and Vann says he would not be surprised if House has not gone on to California, but I hope not.

You must write to me and tell me all the news about everything.

5. Edwin Vose Sumner (1797-1863), a native of Boston, Mass. For meritorious service in the U. S. army during the Civil War, he was brevetted major-general. Cf. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. V., p. 750.

6. Wilson Shannon (February 24, 1802-August 30, 1877), second governor of the territory of Kansas, was born in Ohio. His term of office, which lasted almost a year, was filled with troubles, including the Wakarusa War. His removal from office took place August 16, 1856. He soon left the territory, for his life was in danger, but after the violence and danger to his life were over, he returned, and made his home in Lawrence, where he died. Cf. *U. S. Biographical Dictionary*, p. 879; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. V., p. 231; *Appleton, op. cit.*, v. V., p. 481.



. . . You don't know how anxious I am to hear from home. I have not heard a word since I left, except what Vann told me, which was in a manner nothing— Tell me everything about people, farm, hogs, dogs, and everything else. Give my love to Mother, Sister, and all the Negroes, and my most sincere regards to all my friends. Tell Mother not to fret herself about me . . . I don't intend to risk myself to danger unnecessarily, but if my party needs my assistance, I will not shrink from what I consider my duty. . . . I subscribe myself, your ever affectionate brother till death, Axalla.

Dear Major<sup>7</sup>

Douglas, K. T., May 17, 1856.

The general feature of this part of the country is a rolling prairie, with no timber of any kind except along the rivers, creeks, and ravines, and [the] bottomland is heavily timbered with walnut, oak, hickory, ash, cottonwood, elm lyn [*sic*], &c. The creeks and ravines have the same but not so large and thick; the hillsides are all lime rocks, the soil very rich. The soil of the prairie appears to be very rich but it requires from 3 to 6 yoke of oxen to break it up, but after broken, no trouble to tend. The bottomlands are very spongy and mellow, but it takes 2 or 3 yoke of oxen to break it up; it is said to produce 8 or 10 barrels (40 or 50 bu.) per acre without cultivating. No corn, or very little, planted yet. If they can plant by the 1st. June, they will make a good crop. The sweet [*sic*] grows well here. The grass is from 6 to 8 inches the whole face of the prairie where I am, on the Kansas river, from 12 to 15 miles. The cattle are very fine. A gentleman near me has one cow, and his wife churns twice a day. They have 5 in the family and a good deal of company. He gives me as much milk and butter as I want, then gives milk to his pigs. There are but few hogs here, but what are here look well and in fine shape. The horses are very inferior; they give them but little corn, and sometimes a little salt.

I expect it will be a great country some day; it is cold though, and the water is bad. They use river water mostly, those who live near the river. Some use the water in the ravines in wet weather; in dry weather the water stands in holes among the rocks, settles, and becomes very clear, but tastes of lime.

The prospects for making money is dull, a good mechanic can get

7. Maj. F. F. Warley, editor of the *Darlington Flag* (of which there is no file extant), and major, First regiment, South Carolina Volunteer artillery. He took part in the battle of Battery Wagner, Charleston, S. C., was wounded, and was later in command of prisoner's stockade, Florence, S. C. Cf. *Treasured Reminiscences*, *op cit.*, p. 78.

from \$2 to \$2.50 per day, but he will have to spend it to live on. Board and everything else is very high. Board is from \$3 to \$5.50 per week, no washing at that, coarse fare . . . and have to lie on a comfort or blanket on the floor; there are but few beds in the country as yet. Lumber is from \$2.50 to \$4 per hundred feet and very inferior. I worked at carpenter's trade for \$1.75 a day. For a man to come here to farm it would require from \$500 to \$1000 to commence. You will have to give the settlers for land from \$300 to \$1000—and then pay the government price for it when it comes into market.

There is no game but a few squirrels, and they are scarce, and no fish of any account. One of my neighbours caught a catfish that weighed 20 or 25 lbs., but I did not see it. All provisions are high, except milk and butter. Flour, \$12 a barrell, bacon 8½ to 12¢, mollasses 80¢ gal., coffee 16½¢ lb., salt 3½¢ lb., so you will have to spend all you can make to live on. No scouring is done for want of water. When it rains your feet are stuck so full of mud you can scarcely walk.

The place where I am living is called Douglas City. It has only 5 or 6 houses in it, and they are log houses. It is laid out for a town in lots, and is the place selected for the state university. It is a prettier place than Lecompton where they are building the State House, which is only 2 miles above this place, on the river. Timber is more plentiful at Douglas than at Lecompton, and a better landing for boats, when they should run this river. One has gone to Fort Riley, 100 miles above here. Kansas river is broad but shallow, full of sand bars which makes navigation difficult. Lawrence is the headquarters of the Abolitionists of this Territory.

. . .

Yours truly,

A. J. Hoole.

Douglas, K. T., May 18th., 1856

My dearly Beloved Sister<sup>8</sup>

. . . I rec'd a letter from Mr. Cooper . . . which was dated four days before yours. They had both been written nearly a month before I got them, which I attribute to their being directed to Lawrence. I had left place, but when I left it I gave the P. M. my name with directions to forward my letters to Lecompton, but he neglected to do so until I wrote to him. . . .

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Euphrasia Hoole, b. May 20, 1826; m. J. Q. A. Dabbs, April 2, 1862; d. 1919.

The seed of sweet potatoes is almost lost in this Ter. & also in Mo. & other northwestern states. You did not tell me whether you had moved into the new house or not. Do tell me whenever you write to me all such news as that. . . .

You say the Negroes don't forget me in their prayers. Thank them a thousand times for me, and beg them always to remember me when they render up their petitions to Him who rules and governs all things. I feel that I need the prayers of everyone. Tell Stin when he writes to tell me about everybody, everything, dogs, hogs, cows, horses, and chickens and everything—leave nothing out, for anything from Old Darlington will interest me.

And now dear sister, I suppose you would like for me to tell you something of myself, &c. Well, I have been working at carpenters trade for three weeks, until last Thursday when the man I was working for got out of lumber and had no work for coarse workmen like me, so he discharged all of us except those who could do fine work. I was getting \$1.75 per day. I made lacking 25 cts. of \$30 in what time I worked. But you may depend upon it, I earned every cent I got, for I had to walk about three miles, work eleven hours, and then walk back at night. I was, you may say, exercising fifteen hours of the hardest kind every day. Sometimes I felt like I would give out before I could get home at night. I was sick Friday and Saturday a week ago, and so lost two days, which I attribute to overworking. I was also unwell yesterday and the day before, but if I had had anything to do, I believe I should have worked. I engaged to work for a man near me, but I hear he is bad pay and I believe I will back out. Betsie has been unwell for two or three days, and I fear that she is worse off than she pretends she is. She said she was a good deal better when she first got up this morning, but just as I commenced writing this, she came in and lay down and said she felt worse again.

We are living to ourselves and considering the house, very pleasantly. Betsie cooks, but we hire a Negroe to do our washing at \$2 a month. Betsie is a first rate cook. We have meal, flour, bacon (ham shoulder and sides) lard, butter, molasses, sugar, coffee, besides milk (butter milk and sweet milk) as much as we want, whenever we go after it. So you can guess whether we have enough to eat or not.

I pay \$2 a month for house rent, but I think that it is cheaper to live to ourselves and keep house than to board out, for the lowest we can board at is \$3 a week apiece, and I am certain it is much more pleasant.



Major Beaufort<sup>9</sup> [*sic*] has arrived in the Ter. with 4 or 500 men. Beaufort himself is now at Mr. Ellison's, my nearest neighbor. I have not seen him yet, but I heard that he said he intended to call on me. Col. Treadwell<sup>10</sup> who came with him was at Mr. Ellison's one night last week. I called on him. He is a very gentlemanly man; he is a brother-in-law of Bertram. I felt like I had met an old friend when I met him. We talked very little though, for we had but little time that night. The next day he came to where I was working at Lecompton, but did not stay long with me as I expect he thought he was hindering me from my work.

I wrote a long letter to Warley yesterday, which I expect he will publish in the *Flag*. If he does not, you must get Stin or Mr. Cooper to get it from him and read it as I have written a good deal to him which I would have written to you, if I had not thought that you would learn it all. It is mostly on political matters. While I am writing, guns are firing in the camps of the different companies of soldiers who are gathering to attack Lawrence. Sunday as it is, they are shooting in every direction. I expect before you get this Lawrence will be burnt to the ground. I may not know when it will be attacked, but if I do, I expect to go—although I don't think that they will show any fight, though they are preparing. But I hear they are very much frightened and have sent to the Governor for protection, but he sent word to them that they did not consider him their Governor and would not submit to the laws, so he would leave them to their fate. But all of this you will see more fully in the letter I have written to Warley, so I will now close this. Do write soon and often to me. . . . Your Affectionate Brother, Axalla.

Douglas, K. T., June the 1st., 1856

My Dear Beloved Mother

I received a letter from Sister yesterday . . . and I am glad to hear that Stin is getting along so well with the crop, and that your prospects for fruit are so promising. We will have no fruit here, as there are no fruit trees: strawberries are the only fruit we will have. They are all about on the prairie and are getting ripe. Though wild, they are the same as our tame strawberries at home,

9. Probably John Buford (1825-1863), a native of Kentucky, and half-brother of Maj.-Gen. Napoleon Bonaparte Buford, U. S. A. He was engaged in the Sioux expedition in 1855, and was transferred to Kansas, where he served in 1856-1857. Cf. Appleton, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 443.

10. Col. B. F. Treadwell, a South Carolinian (?), was very active in Southern interests in Kansas. He was appointed representative to canvass Alabama for money to aid the Southern cause. He is reported to have contributed \$1,000 cash. Cf. Elmer Leroy Craik, "Southern Interests in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 392, 431.

but not so large and fine, though they need only cultivation to make them so. The people here are not done planting corn yet. The gardens are very backward; just enough mustard for spring greens.

I am determined to make a living while I stay in this Territory, and I turn my hand to anything that I can make money at. I have had to lay out so much money for necessities to keep house on, that for all I have made since I have been here, my purse is reduced to about \$140, but then my heaviest expenses are over for the present.

This would be a good country for one who had money enough to commence farming to live in so far as making a plenty to eat, but it is out of the question to think of making a fortune here for years to come. And with the exception of a plenty to eat, there is nothing else desirable.

We attended preaching last Sunday at a friend's about a hundred and fifty yards from here. [There] was only one member of the church there, besides Betsie. A very slim congregation & a pretty good, plain, practical sermon, &c.

We are getting along smoothly and *happily*. 'Tis true there is a great deal of excitement in the Territory, of which I have written an account to Warley to-day, and which, as I feel certain you will see, I shall omit writing to you. But that does not affect me as I am confident of the success of the party to which I belong. Though it grieves me to hear of the outrages which the Abolitionists are committing. Do remember me to all of my friends who enquire about me. Tell all the Negroes howdie and give my love to them. Tell the little Negroes that I often think of them when I see the tubs of buttermilk given to the hogs & dogs. My kind neighbour, Mrs. Ellison, never lets me get out of fresh yellow butter, and sometimes we have as much as two saucers of it.

Your affectionate Son.

P. S. I have enclosed three kinds of prairie flowers for Sister. I am living in Douglas, but the P. O. is at Lecompton, two miles off—

Douglas City, K. T., June the 8th, 1856

My Dear Sister

I wrote to mother a week ago, and now I seat myself to write you a few lines, to let you all know how we are getting on. Betsie got a letter from Mr. Cooper yesterday dated May the 19th, which has come quicker than any we have rec'd yet. I was in hopes that I would get a letter from Stin

yesterday but was disappointed. I suppose Stin thinks I don't care to hear from him, but he should think of himself when he was in Alabama, and remember how glad he was to hear every little thing from home. . . .

These are still exciting times here. You may form some idea of them when I tell you that I never lie down without taking the precaution to fasten my door, and fix it in such a way that if it is forced open, it can be opened only wide enough for one person to come in at a time. I have my rifle, revolver, and old home-stocked pistol where I can lay my hand on them in an instant, besides a hatchet & axe. I take this precaution to guard against the midnight attacks of the Abolitionists, who never make an attack in open daylight, and no Proslavery man knows when he is safe here in this Ter. Some of them go so far as to guard out every night. There are three families of us here in a hundred yards of each other, with seven men in the three families, so that if no more than a dozen or fifteen comes at once, we will be able to stand our hand pretty well. From past experience, they can't stand with even two to one. In an attack which they made on the little town of Franklin, about 12 miles from here, one night last week, six Proslavery men guarded cannon against a company of the rascals, variously estimated at from 50 to 1,500. Five out of the six were wounded; one of them dangerously, the ball passing through his body.

We hear so much news about attacks, depredations, &c., that I can scarcely believe, or at least tell what to believe. All accounts are generally exaggerated, but still there is still some foundation for them. Well, my dear Sister, I must lay my pen aside for a while, as it is time for me to go to preaching about a hundred yards from here.  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 10 o'clock—

$\frac{1}{2}$  after 1 P. M. Well, my dear Sister, I have been to preaching and heard a rather poor preaching from the text: *I came not to destroy men's lives but to save them.* Quite a small congregation as usual.

I also heard some more news while at preaching. A man by the name of Taylor (a lawyer) was there. He was taken prisoner at Lawrence last night by the Abolitionists, robbed of \$80, money that he had collected for some one in Kansas City, Mo., kept under guard all night, and set at liberty this morning. He reports that they were about to hang him, had the rope around his neck, but on his giving a Masonic sign, a Mason in the crowd would not let them hang him. I will not vouch for the truth of this, as this man



is one who's veracity is somewhat doubted—but then it may be in substance true.

Well, my dear Sister, I believe that I have written all that I can think of that would interest you, except political news, which I intend to write to Warley & which you will be able to get from the *Flag*, as I guess he will publish it. Betsie has sent you a bud of the wild rose which are quite plentiful here . . . we have a good many strawberries here growing about on the prairies. I see some ripe at this moment only a few feet from the window where I am writing.

Your affectionate Brother,

Axalla.

Dear Cousin Mary<sup>11</sup>

Douglas, K. T., June the 8th., 1856

I believe I have written to all the rest of the family, so I will now write to you. . . .

I hope you have a good garden this year—I understand the seasons have been fine. People here are just setting out plants, and the gardens look very backward, which I attribute to negligence, as I am certain that the weather was warm enough long before they commenced planting. Some of the farmers are hardly done planting corn yet. . . .

I expect if you were here, you would go into spasms, everything is so dirty. It is almost useless to scour the floor, for the first rain that comes, it gets smeared all over with mud. I have not seen a scouring broom since I have been here. All the cleaning the floor gets is with the common sweeping broom, that is bought out of the store.

We live in a little log house with the floor almost six inches off of the ground. It don't leak at all, for whenever it rains, it just pours down, and wets everything; that is the time we take to wash the floors, as we are saved the trouble of bringing water.

We have very fine neighbors, just as kind as they can be. Two of the ladies, one a married lady & the other a widowed sister (an Oddfellow's widow at that) came here this morning and brought Betsie a plate of nice yellow butter, enough to fill nearly one of those 12½¢ bowls. As for milk they tell us to come after it whenever we want it—so you see we live well. But I tell you, Cousin Mary, I don't like this country at all, though the people tell me that if I stay here a year or two, I will not be satisfied to live in

11. Mary Brunson, b. September 15, 1804; d. ?

Darlington any more. It is a rich country and that is about all that can be said in its favor.

There is great excitement in the Ter. now. The Abolitionists are committing great depredations on the Proslavery party, killing at night, &c., & the Governor is endeavoring to keep the Proslavery party from retaliating. But I expect you will hear enough of this in the other letters which I write home to the men folks. . . .

Give my love to . . . all enquiring friends; tell . . . all the negroes howdie for me . . . write down all the news and keep it for me to read when I come back. . . . If any of the girls ask you about me, tell them I love them yet, if I *am* married.

Your Affectionate Cousin,

A. J. H.

P.S. We have circuit preaching here today & regularly every other Sunday.

Douglas, K. T., Sunday June the 22nd/1856

My Dear Sister

I have seated myself to write you a few lines; I will not promise you a long letter as I don't think I can find much to write that would be interesting to you, but perhaps I may fill a sheet before I close. . . . We are getting along about in the same style. Both of us are quite well. I have been out of employment for the last two weeks. I had been working for a man, but after doing \$21 worth of work for him, I found out that he was slow pay, so I quit. . . .

I wrote to Cousin Billy last Friday. . . . I wish when you see him, that you would correct a mistake which I wrote to him. Tell him that the last of the two outrages which I mentioned to him is altogether wrong so far as parties are named, [and] that if he will place Buford's men in the place of Abolitionists, and freesoiler in place of Proslavery man, he will have it right. Some of the men b[r]ought out by Buford are acting rascally. They are robbing and plundering and don't always confine themselves to Abolitionists, but rob and plunder everyone that falls in their way. They came for nothing else.

Gov. Shannon has resigned his commission as Gov. of the Ter. and his time will expire on the 1st. of July—

It is thought by some that there will be a general outbreak of the Abolitionists here about the 4th., as there is a large body expected from Michigan about that time. But I hope not. Times have been

pretty quiet here for the past two weeks. I have quit preparing for midnight attacks, and sleep soundly and securely.

I went fishing yesterday and caught a fish that weighed about a pound and a half, called here a hickory shad. The man who went with me caught a pretty good catfish, both of which I took. Ate the shad this morning for breakfast, & Betsie is cooking the cat for dinner. I saw a man catch a buffalo that would weigh about 10 lbs., and another man had one to the top of the water that he thought would weigh 20 lbs. The *buffalo* is very much like the *redhorse*.

There is a quarterly meeting at Lecompton today, but I did not go, not having a horse. . . .

Leonadas King's son, who came out here from Eufala, [Alabama], with Major Buford, left for home last Wednesday. He first thought of going by Darlington, but finally concluded to go directly home. He was pretty sick of the Ter., I tell you, as I presume a great many others are. I among the rest. My only hope of getting pay for coming here lies in the hope of preëmpting a piece of the Delaware reserve, when it is treated for, and selling it again.

—I laid my pen aside to eat dinner and after eating, took a smoke, lay down on the bed, went to sleep, and slept three hours. My catfish was very nice. We had cold coffee, cold biscuit, cold bread, cold boiled ham, a nice saucer of fresh butter, and a nice pitcher of sweet milk. Betsie generally tries to arrange it so as to have very little to cook on Sundays. . . . I bought four hens and a rooster last week and paid \$1.25 for them, 25¢ apiece. The very next evening, while I was off at work (two neighbors and I were making a skiff in co. to cross the river with) and Betsie was over at Mr. Ellison's, where she commonly stays when I am off, about 150 yards from here, some one or a cat came and took my rooster. Fortunately, my neighbour from whom I purchased them, had another spare one and gave it to me. Betsie has now seven eggs, tho we have had the chickens only a few days. I hear that Missouri is going to give all of the Southern settlers who are keeping house a cow & calf, that is, those who have none, and provisions to last them a year. They have 300 cows and calves already made up and a quantity of provisions. Mr. Ellison's wagon with three others are now gone to bring up the provisions to Lecompton. I intend to apply for my share, also for the cow. If I get the cow, I will try to buy a couple of shoats, as I will have lots of milk to throw away. All of the hogs here are fat enough to eat, and don't get a grain



of corn. This is a great country for stock. It is a beautiful country in the spring and summer, but looks dreary & desolate in the winter. . . . I saw some of the prettiest corn over the river opposite here yesterday that I ever saw. It was a little over knee high, from three to five stalks in a hill. This is truly a great corn country.

You must not look for long letters from me, as there is very little here for me to write about, but I shall expect long letters from you, as you know that every little news from home would interest me. Do tell me everything . . . Love to all . . .

Your ever affectionate Brother,  
A. J. H.

Dear Sir <sup>12</sup>

Douglas, K. T., June the 29th, 1856

I received your very acceptable letter, dated June the 2nd. . . . It is reported here that the Delaware Indians are about treating away a part of their lands, so I and three or four of my friends here went across the river last week to lay our claims. I made two which I intended to make choice of when I could examine them better, but as I am not fully satisfied with either, I intend going back again this week and looking about again. There is some fine land on the Delaware reserve, and if it does come in for preëmption, I intend to preëempt a claim, pay for it at the government price, make some little improvements on it, and sell, if I can get a price sufficient, then go home to Old Darlington again. I don't think I shall ever like here well enough to make it my home.

We are to have a great barbecue on the 4th., at Lecompton. I don't know who will be the orator, but it is thought that a Col. Moore<sup>13</sup> will be. I hear that the Yankees are to have a great gathering at Lawrence on that day, and also at Topeka, and it is rumored that their legislature will meet at the latter place then. Governor Shannon, I hear, has given Col. Sumner orders to be ready to act in case they do, but they (the Abolitionists) have no Gov. Robinson<sup>14</sup> is still in custody, guarded by Uncle Sam's troops. Some think there will be a general outbreak among the rascals on that

12. I have been unable to identify the receiver of this letter.

13. Probably Ely Moore. See Footnote No. 27.

14. Charles Robinson (1818-1894), first governor of the state of Kansas. He was first elected under a Free-State constitution in 1856, but was arrested on a charge of treason, and indicted by the federal grand jury. After several months' imprisonment, he was tried for usurpation, acquitted, and released. Two years later he was reelected by the Free-State party, and in 1861 became the first governor of the state.—*Cf. New International Encyclopedia*, v. XX, p. 50.

day, as it is reported that there are to be a great many from Michigan and other free states in here at that time, which report, it seems, is about to be sustained, as there were 80 on board one of the boats coming up from Missouri last week, armed with Sharpshooters. But when they reached Lexington, Mo., their arms, at least 60 guns, were taken from them. 20 they threw into the river before they would give them up, and they were sent back to where they came from—not the guns, but the Abolitionists! *Hurrah!* for the Lexington boys!

It has been pretty quiet here for some time, though the week before last the agent of the Shawnee Indians, who was an Abolitionist, was killed, and his son wounded. It is not known who committed the deed. The son who escaped says that they were riding horses branded with a *U. S.*, though the men wore citizens clothes. It is thought that he was murdered for his money, as it is generally believed that he had a good deal. There are more lies told about the affairs of Kansas than a little, and if it were not for the purpose of giving Warley the true state of things, I don't think I would write to him. But I can't bear the idea of the readers of the *Flag* hearing such erroneous statements as I see copied in it from other papers. I find that Warley can get news from here from other sources sooner than he can from me, but then, what I write is literally true, as I will not state a thing to him as true unless I hear it from good authority.

The political matter which I have written in this, you may give to him to publish, if he likes, as I don't intend to write to him this week, for I have nothing else to write . . .

Your ever sincere friend, A. J. H.

My very dear Sister

DOUGLAS, K. T., Augst. the 3d., 1856

. . . You must not think hard of me for not writing to you sooner, for I have so many of you to write to, that it would keep me all the time writing, if I undertook to write each one every week. . . . I am well now, but I can't get back my appetite. I had a very severe attack of the bilious fever. . . . After nine days I took it again, but it was slight, and by taking a little blue-mass and some mixture of quinine and some other things which the Dr. left me, I broke it. . . . Our neighbors are very kind, in truth, rather too much so for me, as they make me feel as if I am a trouble to them. They will not even let me bring water for myself, but if they see me go after any, they quarrel with me. This

morning, though I feel strong enough to go after it myself, a boy brought me a pail full by sun up. They all seem to think a great deal of Betsie and myself.

It is quite cool here this morning; almost cool enough to sit by a fire. We have suffered for rain in this part of the country, but last week we had several fine rains, and as the crops are generally very backward, there is a chance for good crops. Corn is now about tasseling & shooting. Gardens are generally poor. I have not eaten a good mess of vegetables this summer. . . .

There are fewer snakes here than in Darlington. I have killed four rattlesnakes, three of them had only a button, but the other was a large one with nine rattles. My foot passed within a foot of his head, and he could have bit me with all ease, as I did not see him until I was by him, but they never strike without rattling—he did not rattle.

There are more insects about the house I live in than a little, crickets, spiders, cockroaches, granddaddies, &c. Yesterday Betsie and I burned and killed about a thousand of the last. They had got so troublesome that they were crawling over us at night; in the day they would collect in knots about the house, so I set a newspaper on fire and burned them. One consolation: we are not troubled with bedbugs. . . . There are scarcely any ticks here in the summer, but I am told that in the winter the stock is literally covered with them, in perfect shields, horses, cows, and everything else.

Plums are just commenced getting ripe. . . . There is no other fruit. Dried apples are worth \$3 a bushel here. Watermelons are just getting ripe . . . one of my neighbors has some almost as large as my head.

I have heard of some few claims about 16 miles from here that are not taken up yet. One is said to be a very fine claim, and I intend, as soon as I am able to ride that far, to go and take it up, and not wait for the Delaware lands to come in, as that is uncertain, at least for some time.

There is very little doing here. Money is scarce; a great many people want work done, but they have no money to pay with. Everyone seems to be resting on his oars, as the saying is. Nothing going on, except among some of the Abolitionists who are doing a good business stealing horses from Proslavery men. One of my neighbours (Mr. Elison) lost a very fine horse which he has been offered \$135 for, which is a pretty big price for Kansas.



The Missourians are going to send 300 head of milk cows into the Ter. for the benefit of Southern immigrants. I was told the other day by one who is to have the distributing of them when they come, to come and pick me out one. Every Proslavery man who is keeping house and has no cow is entitled to one. Some men have gone after them now.

Well, my dear sister, I believe I have told you everything that I can think of that would interest you. . . . Betsie sends her love to you all. . . . Write soon to one who loves you dearly.  
 . . . Your affectionate brother, Axalla.

My dear Sister

Lecompton, K. T., Augst. 27, 1856

I rec'd yours of the 5th. inst. last week, but as you complain that none of you had rec'd a letter from me in five or six weeks, and I had written to some one in Darlington every week with the exception of the last two, I have come to the conclusion that it is almost useless to write, as I feel pretty well satisfied that my letters never get out of the Ter., no, nor this county, but are stopped in Lawrence; but I shall however make one more attempt, hoping that it may be overlooked and pass through—

You see from the heading that I am now in Lecompton. Last night two weeks ago the Abolitionists, about 250 or 300 strong attacked the little town of Franklin, or rather one house in the place in which there were 14 men (Proslavery). They demanded the arms of these 14 men which were refused, when they commenced firing upon the house, and, after a short time, were repulsed, but rallied and came again, [and] were repulsed the second time. Then they set fire to a load of hay and rolled it against an adjoining house (the post office) when the 14 cried for quarter. Nearly all of the 14 made their escape without receiving a single wound, but of the Abolitionists, 32 were killed and wounded, 7 or 8 killed.

A few days after an army of 400 of the Murderers went to attack Col. Treadwell, who was making a settlement about 20 miles south of this, but he, hearing of their approach, abandoned his post and made his escape. Treadwell had only about 50 men and no ammunition. He sent to Lecompton for help and 18 started, but hearing that he had left, they turned back. On their return they fell into an ambushade of the Abolitionists about 250 strong, but charged through them without losing a man, and only two were wounded slightly. The next morning the same band of villains at-

tacked the house of Col. Titus,<sup>15</sup> about 1½ miles from here. Titus has 18 men, and after fighting with small arms for half an hour, they turned loose their cannon on his house and battered it down over his head. They took him and most of his men prisoners, after fighting to the last. Titus lost only one man killed, and himself and one more wounded. They were carried to Lawrence and after a few days were exchanged. Titus is from Florida and is a very brave man. On the morning the attack was made on Titus, the news came that 800 men were coming against Douglas, so we, 8 in number with our families, crossed over the river, but they did not come. The next day we returned, but not feeling safe there we came (after a few days) to this place, which has about 750 regulars to guard it. There are three families of us living in one house. There is a great deal of excitement here, but how long it will last no one can tell. Mo. is sending in men to help us, and it is high time they had come. This contest will decide the fate of Kansas and the Union. Lane<sup>16</sup> is in the Ter. with a force of from 1500 to 2500 men. Gov. Shannon has resigned and the new governor has not come on, so the Lieut. Gov. Woodson<sup>17</sup> is now the acting Gov.— I don't know what will be the plan of the present campaign, as the officers keep it a secret.

Betsie is well, but I have [had] slight fevers every day, for the last three or four days, caused, I guess, from excitement and standing guard. . . . I don't think you need be uneasy about me

15. Henry T. Titus, spoken of as "Col. Titus of Florida," was commissioned colonel of the Second Regiment, Southern division, Kansas militia, August 5, 1856. It is said that he brought a delegation of armed Southerners with him from Florida and Georgia. Colonel Titus had taken an active part in the "sack of Lawrence," and had assisted in destroying the presses of the *Herald of Freedom* and of the *Free-State*, and throwing the type in the river. Early in the morning a party of Free-State men attacked Titus' house, fired 7 cannon balls made of lead melted from the type of the destroyed presses, dug from the sand in the river, and forced Titus to surrender. He had been wounded in the head and shoulder. After his capture he was supplied with comfortable quarters and a physician to attend him. The other prisoners were confined in the *Herald of Freedom* building. Titus died in 1881. Cf. *Kansas Historical Society Collections*, v. I-II, pp. 228-229; v. III, p. 323; v. VII, p. 529; v. X, p. 597; v. XII, p. 412; *New York Times*, August 17, 1856; *Lexington (Mo.) Express*, August 28, 1856.

16. James Henry Lane (1814-1866), a native of New York, emigrated to the Kansas territory in April, 1855, and soon attempted to organize the Democratic party there. Failing in this, he joined the Free-State movement, and advocated a broad and constructive program for organizing the anti-slavery factions in the territory. He was a member of the first Free-State convention at Lawrence. After the Topeka convention was held and the constitution ratified by the Free-State men, Lane was elected U. S. Senator, but was not admitted to a seat in the senate. Leaving Washington, he set out to tour the Northwest to lay the cause of Kansas before the people, and, as the Missouri river was closed to Northern emigrants, he opened a new route via Iowa and Nebraska. Through this channel "Lane's Army of the North" invaded Kansas, attacking Proslavery strongholds.—Cf. *Dictionary American Biography*, v. X, pp. 576-578; W. E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans*, p. 1284.

17. Daniel Woodson (1824-1894), secretary of Kansas territory, 1854-1857, was a native of Albemarle county, Virginia. He was appointed secretary at the age of 30 by President Pierce. Woodson's education, his prejudices and his political principles led him to take a position with the National Democratic party, and he was faithful to the policy of the Proslavery party in Kansas. At four different times during his term as secretary, Woodson was called upon to act as governor. In 1857 he was appointed receiver of public moneys for the Delaware land district, a position which he held until the election of Lincoln.—Cf. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. V, p. 157, v. XIII, p. 410; *U. S. Biographical Dictionary*, *Kansas*, p. 222.



here as the regulars will guard this place, but if there is any fighting to be done, I intend to pitch in.

Before we left Douglas a posse of the Abolitionists (seven in number) came and demanded some arms that Gen'l Clarke<sup>18</sup> had left there. There was no one at home, but a Mr. Browne & myself, who were both puney, besides the women. Clarke's guns had been removed but there were nine other guns all loaded in a log house which we had fixed up as a fort. When I ascertained what they had come for, I went to that house and stood in the door, after first waking up Mr. Browne, with my pistol in my pocket and my thumb on the hammer. I was determined that they should not have the guns, let the consequences be what they might. One of the men rode up to the door and demanded Clarke's guns. I told him they were not there, and after receiving the same reply from several of the family, and invited by Mrs. Ellison to come in and search, they left. It was my intention, if they undertook to make the search, to shoot the man who was at the door, and not six feet away from me, with my pistol, close the door, and shoot the rest with the loaded guns. I could have [done] it easily with the assistance of Mr. Browne, as we had port holes to shoot out of— But fortunately for them and perhaps for myself and the others, they did not undertake the search—

Betsie has gone to work making flannel shirts for one of the merchants of this place at 37½¢ apiece. She can make two a day. . . . I have heard since I commenced writing that letters go by way of Leavensworth from here, so I am in hope you will get this. . . . I would write to Warley if I was certain he would get it, but as I guess by my letters, the last two that I have written to him did not come out in the *Flag*, he did not get them. . . . Tell Mother not to be uneasy about me. I feel quite safe here and there will be such an influx of Missourians and other Southerners here in a few days that Lane can not hold them a dodge. . . .

Your Affectionate Brother,

Axalla.

18. George W. Clarke was a notorious Proslavery leader in the border warfare days. Before coming to Kansas he had been in the U. S. navy. In 1855-1856 he served as Pottawatomie Indian agent, with a residence near Lecompton; 1857-1858 he was register in U. S. land office at Fort Scott. In the fall of 1856 he was the leader of 400 Missourians in their raid on Linn county.—*Cf. Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, p. 306, v. XVI; Hamersly, *Complete Army & Navy Register of the United States of America*, p. 150; D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 243.



My dear Mother

Lecompton, K. T., Sept. 12, 1856

I must write you a few lines to let you know how I am getting along, though I have but little hopes of your getting this as letters for some time past have been miscarried or stopped on the way—but I will make the venture—

I have been unwell ever since the 9th. of July. . . . I thought of going to work in a few days, when the Abolitionists broke out and I have had to stand guard of nights when I ought to have been in bed, took cold which . . . caused diarrhea, but . . . I feel quite well [now]. Betsie is well—

You perceive from the heading of this that I am now in Lecompton, almost all of the Proslavery party between this place and Lawrence are here. We brought our families here, as we thought that we would be better able to defend ourselves when altogether than if we scattered over the country.

Lane came against us last Friday (a week ago to-day). As it happened we had about 400 men with two cannon—we marched out to meet him, though we were under the impression at the time that we had 1,000 men. We came in gunshot of each other, but the regular soldiers came and interferred, but not before our party had shot some dozen guns, by which it is reported that five of the Abolitionists were killed or wounded. We had strict orders from our commanding officer (Gen'l Marshall<sup>19</sup>) not to fire until they made the attack, but some of our boys would not be restrained. I was a rifleman and one of the skirmishers, but did all that I could to restrain our men though I itched all over to shoot, myself. I drew a bead a dozen times on a big Yankee about 150 yards from me, but did not fire, as I knew if I did, the boys all around me would do the same, and we had orders not to fire until the word was given— We had 400 men and we learned after Lane had drawn off his men that he did not have more than 700; had we known it, the regulars would not have arrived soon enough to have kept us from fighting, but we were acting on the defensive, and did not think it prudent to commence the engagement. I firmly believe that we would have whipped them, though we would have lost a good many men. I did not see a pale face in our whole

19. Gen. Francis J. Marshall (1816-1895), a native of Virginia, moved to Kansas territory in 1849. In 1855 he was elected brigadier general of Kansas militia by the territorial legislature. When Lane threatened Lecompton, Marshall assumed command of opposing forces; and it is a fact that he forcibly prevented one of his subordinate officers from opening fire on Lane's troops. In 1857 Marshall was elected governor of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, but after its rejection he retired to private life. In 1859 he moved to Colorado, and became engaged in mining.—*Cf.* Franklin G. Adams, "Kansas State Historical Society Scrap-book," v. VIII, pp. 239-241.

army, every man seemed keen to fight. I for one, did not feel as nervous as I am when I go to shoot a beef or a turkey.

I was in bed when the news came, and the confusion calling the men to arms awoke me. I sprang up, seized my gun, told Betsie to go with the rest of the ladies where they would be out of danger, and went to my post in line. I was so weak that I could scarcely walk, and after I took my position, I sat down waiting for the word to fire. I believe it helped me, for I have been improving ever since—but enough of this—

Gov. Geary<sup>20</sup> arrived here night before last; he is a fine looking man, six feet two inches high, seems to be about forty years old. He issued his proclamation disbanding all armed bodies in the Ter. I hear that Lane and his men say that he has gone too far to back out now and will resist the U. S. troops. That is just what we want, as by that means we will get rid of all his last recruits at any rate. The Gov. also said in his Proclamation that the laws of the Ter. shall be enforced. I think he is all right—at least I hope so.

But my dear Mother, I must close as the stage has come. You must not be uneasy about me, as I hope our difficulties here will soon end, and we will all get to our work soon— I am more uneasy about making money than I am about being killed by the Yankees, though the times looked pretty squally for the last three weeks. . . . Betsie sends love to you and all the rest of the family. . . . My love to you, my very dear Mother,      Your Affectionate Son.

My Dear Sister

Douglas, K. T., Sept. the 24th., 1856.

Your most acceptable letter came to hand last week, but I have not had the chance of answering it before. I have received two letters from you since I have written you one, but I have written to mother, which answers the same purpose, as when I write to one of the family, it is intended for the whole. You see by the heading of this letter that we have come back to Douglas. We moved the latter part of last week. Everything is so quiet now, to what it has been, that we thought we could risk here again. Gov. Geary is acting with a great deal of energy and promptness. He has over one hundred of the Abolitionists prisoners, which are to be tried soon. Genl. Lane is not to be found. It is rumored that he has gone North to Nebraska to meet 600 recruits, but I hear that he was seen in

20. John White Geary (1819-1873), a native of Pennsylvania, arrived in Kansas as governor Sept. 9, 1856, found the territory in a state of civil war, and in three weeks' time quelled the disturbances. Later his life was threatened, and on March 4, 1857, he resigned and returned to Washington to report to President Buchanan.—*Cf. Dictionary American Biography*, v. VII, pp. 203-204; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 373; v. VII, p. 375.

Lawrence last Friday, so I don't know which is correct. I have written to Warley a sketch of the war, which I suppose he will publish so you can see it, and it is unnecessary for me to write it in this— . . .

We have quite cold weather here now; yesterday morning and this morning pretty large frosts, and we had to sit by the fire all day. I am satisfied that a good deal of the crop will be cut short, if the weather does not moderate. Crops are generally late, on account of the disturbance last spring. But one consolation to the settlers of the Ter. [is that] Missouri has made fine crops this year, and I am in hopes provisions will be cheap. A great deal of the crops here have been destroyed by the marauding bands of Abolitionists, driving off the settlers, letting stock into their fields, &c. But they are paying for it now: Missouri has passed resolutions not to let them have any provisions from there, and I hear they are almost on a state of starvation in Lawrence now.

I am anxious to get my health and strength again, that I may get to making money, for our funds are getting low, and winter is coming on. . . . I still have money enough to carry us on for a while yet, but, if I do have to call for help, I shall make a call on the [Darlington] district, as I think I am in the service of the South, and representing Darlington, though not the only one. But I would not be surprised if I were not the only representative of Old Darlington by spring. Of those who came out here first, only three are left, and one of them spoke of going back as soon as the present fuss was over, and I suppose he is on his way by this time—I mean Galloway. Dr. Byrd may stay, but I have my doubts, so I think that I deserve a little more than the rest who go back home. . . .

*I am very much grieved* to hear that the old black hen had sprained her toe! and of the other sad mishaps among the poultry. Tender them my condolence. Remember me to all my friends. . . . Give my love and *howdie* to all of the Negroes; tell the little ones not to forget me. Tell Stin that when I arose this morning and saw the frost, I thought of him and fox-hunting. I am obliged to work here to pass off time, as there is nothing that I can get for amusement, and I have very few books to read. You must write soon and often to me, and give me all the news. . . .

Your Affectionate Brother, Axalla.



My Dear Sister

Douglas, K. T., Oct. the 12th., 1856.

This is my birthday, and I must celebrate it by writing you a short letter to let you know how I am on such a *memorable* occasion. Well, to do so, I shall have to go back a little. I commenced working at the carpenter's trade in Lecompton last Wednesday was a week ago, worked two days, [it] rained one, worked three more days, was taken sick—so I have been doing nothing ever since. I suppose I was too weak to undergo the fatigue: I had to get up at daylight, and walk three miles by 7 o'clock, work 11 hours, and walk back home, which generally took me till into the night. I feel quite well today, but to mend the matter, I have taken the rheumatism in my right arm, just below where it joins the shoulder-blade bone. I could scarcely move my arm yesterday, but it feels somewhat better today. If I am well enough, I will go back to work tomorrow; it will not do for me to be idle here. Betsie is making me some *apple dumplings* in *honor* of the *day*. Her health continues very good. She tells me to tell you that she has her quilt in the frame—but I am afraid it will *stay* in the frame some days yet, if some of the ladies don't help her!

The weather has been quite pleasant for some weeks till Friday, when it rained—and it has been cool and cloudy since. The frosts last month did not kill all the grass and other vegetation, though it killed a good deal. Betsie and I are getting along pretty comfortably, since we came back home again. I find it a pretty hard task to get wood and water for her.

Mr. Ellison's daughters, at least two of them, returned in the last stage from Missouri, where they went on the breaking out of the last fuss. Betsie and I were very glad to see them, as they are a great deal of company for her. They visit each other every day. One of them is a great favourite of mine, being an Oddfellow's widow, in addition to her good qualities.

I will write to Warley tomorrow all the political news of the Ter., so I will not bother to write it in this to you, as you will see it in the *Flag*. I write home to one of you so often that I have little to write about myself. One of our neighbors has missed a Negro fellow and supposes he has been carried off by the Abolitionists. He thinks that they had to carry him off by force, as he does not think the Negro would go off willingly. They have tried to induce a good many to run away.

I guess Stin has been foxhunting by this time. I think of it every cold spell we have. Tell him, if he would not write to me before,

he must write now and tell me of the chases—that will do me some good, just to hear of them.

Now, my dear Sister, you must be sure to write to me soon and tell me all the news. I hope our dear Mother's health has improved since you wrote your last. Tell her, now that the horses are idle, to ride about. I am certain it will be an advantage to her. Give my love to [the immediate family]. . . . Tell all the Negroes *howdie*.

. . .

Your Affectionate Brother, Axalla.

*(To be Concluded in the May Quarterly)*

## William C. Hook<sup>1</sup>

Judge of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals  
of the United States

THOMAS AMORY LEE

FOUR members of the Kansas bar—two from Leavenworth and two from Winfield—have been appointed to the federal bench and have added luster to their names, their profession and their state. Of the four, only one, Brewer, of Leavenworth, reached the supreme goal and sat upon the supreme court of the United States. Two of the remaining three each twice came close to the goal, and the fourth, much junior in service to the others, was seriously considered by President Hoover for the last vacancy upon the supreme court.

David J. Brewer was appointed to the supreme court bench in 1889, after having served as an associate justice of the supreme court of Kansas, and as a judge of the circuit court of the United States for the eighth circuit. William C. Hook, the subject of this sketch, also of Leavenworth, was appointed judge of the United States district court of Kansas in 1899, and sat upon it four years before being advanced to the circuit court in 1903. John C. Pollock, of Winfield, had been an associate justice of the supreme court of Kansas for several years before he was named as judge of the United States district court of Kansas to succeed Hook in 1903, and George T. McDermott, originally of Winfield although all of his practice had been in Topeka, sat as a trial United States judge for the district of Kansas for two years before he was appointed in 1929 to the newly created Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals.

As I have said, all of these men have added luster to their profession and to their state. When the writer of this sketch argued his first case before the United States supreme court, Justice Brewer was still in the thoughts of the older members of the court, and the writer well remembers the anecdotes which one of the justices of that court told him at the dinner table concerning the learned, keenly logical and sometimes controversial Brewer. No other man from our state has attained the supreme goal of lawyers and jurists, although both Judges Pollock and McDermott have been seriously

1. Address by the president, Thomas Amory Lee, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its fifty-eighth annual meeting, October 17, 1933.



considered for it, and any lawyer who has ever appeared before them knows that the appointment of either would grace the bench itself. But Hook came, perhaps, closer to an appointment to the United States supreme court than almost any man in history who was not appointed, and not only once, but twice.

William Cather Hook was born in Pennsylvania at Waynesburg, on September 24, 1857. He died at his country home at Plum Lake, Wis., August 11, 1921, after a service of eighteen years upon the federal appellate bench. He was the son of Enos and Elizabeth (Inghram) Hook, and was descended from Thomas Hooke, who settled near Providence, Md., in 1668. The family is of mixed English, Scotch and Irish descent. Judge Hook was the great nephew of Enos Hook, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, in the sessions of 1838 and 1840, and the great, great grandson of Capt. James Hook of the Continental army who saw active service in the Thirteenth Virginia regiment until the summer of 1778. His parents moved to Nebraska in 1863 and across the plains to Colorado by ox and mule team in 1866, and then back to Leavenworth where they finally settled in 1867, and Leavenworth was always thereafter his home. After he graduated from the Leavenworth high school he studied in the law office of Clough & Wheat, a famous firm for many years in eastern Kansas. Before he was twenty-one years old, he had been graduated from the law department of Washington University at Saint Louis, with the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and upon his majority, he was admitted to practice and at the same time admitted to the law office of Lucian Baker of Leavenworth. Baker, too, is famous in the legal history of the state. Much business of a varied character came to that law office, and young Hook learned quickly and well the fundamentals of successful practice. When Baker was elected to the United States Senate, the law firm of Baker, Hook & Atwood was formed, which continued until William C. Hook was appointed, in 1899, to be United States district judge for the district of Kansas. The other member of that firm was John H. Atwood, now practicing in Kansas City, Mo.

Four years after his admission to the bar, William C. Hook married Louise Dickson, daughter of Capt. James Dickson, and to them were born three daughters and a son, Inghram D. Hook, an able and prominent lawyer of Kansas City, Mo., and a captain of infantry overseas in the World War.

Although Judge Hook was a Republican, he was appointed city

attorney of Leavenworth by a Democratic mayor and served in that capacity for six years.

It was not long after Judge Hook's appointment on February 13, 1899, to succeed Judge Cassius G. Foster who had resigned, that Judge Hook's first opinion appears in the *Reports*. On April 29, 1899, in the 93d *Federal*, at page 865, Judge Hook's opinion in the case of *Grove et al. v. Grove et al.*, for the circuit court of the district of Kansas, second division, is printed. From then until his death, his opinions are scattered through 176 volumes of the *Federal Reporter*, the last one being at page 150 of the 269th volume. His first opinion is in Judge Hook's characteristic style. The nature of the suit and the facts are clearly and shortly stated. The questions to be decided are logically considered and answered. His first printed opinion concerned itself with the important question of jurisdiction, and the following extract from his opinion is characteristic of the man:

The right of a court to retain jurisdiction by the dismissal of parties who are not indispensable is founded in good reason, for it would be an idle ceremony to deny the dismissal of objectionable parties and to dismiss the bill of complaints on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction, and then allow the complainants to recommence the suit, omitting the parties whose presence would oust the jurisdiction of the court. The practice observed for so many years is in the interest of the speedy determination of litigation. (l. c. 867.)

A study of Judge Hook's opinions shows that they were, from the beginning to end, common-sense opinions. His keen mind was not only an analytical mind but a practical and constructive mind. The speedy determination of litigation appeared to him to be of more importance than an interminable wrangling over narrow and technical points of law. Preservation of the equities of the various parties in interest was more important than subservience to legal form. These characteristics were particularly observed in the reorganization of the Metropolitan Railway system, which, for almost the first time in judicial reorganizations under equity receiverships, preserved the stockholders' equity and served the public interest, as well as satisfied, in part at least, the lawful demands of creditors.

At the time that Judge Hook went on the bench, the famous old eighth circuit was headed by Judge Henry C. Caldwell, of Little Rock, Ark. Judge Walter H. Sanborn, of Saint Paul, for so many years Judge Hook's chief, and Judge Amos M. Thayer, of Saint Louis, were the two other judges. The circuit justice over the eighth circuit was Justice Brewer of the United States supreme court, and



other district judges included Elmer B. Adams, of Saint Louis; John F. Phillips, of Kansas City, and W. H. Munger, of Nebraska.

Judge Hook's first opinion which excited wide public interest was in the Western Union case (*Western Union Telegraph Co. v. Myatt, State Solicitor, et al.*, 98 Fed. 335). Judge Hook had been upon the bench less than a year when he announced his decision in this notable case, striking down the Kansas court of visitation. The Kansas legislature in 1898 had attempted to create a body which should have a combined legislative, judicial and executive power, contrary, of course, to the fundamental ideas of constitutional government in our country. The case was argued upon the one side by the State Solicitor Myatt, and Atty-gen. A. A. Godard, of Kansas, and upon the other side by the attorneys who for so many years were retained by the Western Union and Pullman companies, as well as by other great Eastern corporations, Rossington, Smith & Histed. George H. Fearons, L. C. Krauthoff and Frank Hagerman were also of counsel. The bill of complaint of the Western Union Company set forth that, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 28 of the *Special Session Laws of 1898*, a court of visitation had been created, subject only to review by the supreme court of the state, which should have the widest possible kind of executive, legislative and judicial powers over recalcitrant railroad companies and similar corporations. Upon the complaint of one Maxwell, who had tendered to the Western Union Co., certain messages and demanded the transmission thereof at the rates prescribed under chapter 38 (which subjected telegraph companies to the court), which had been refused by the company, the court of visitation sought to exercise its powers. The bill of complaint alleged that the act itself and the order of the court of visitation violated the due process and equal protection of the laws clauses of the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

After stating that the proofs upon the application for the temporary injunction clearly showed that the rates prescribed by the law were materially less than the actual cost of the service, Judge Hook granted the injunction, not only holding that the rates were confiscatory, but also holding that the law creating the court of visitation violated the constitution of the state of Kansas, which inhibited the conferring of inconsistent legislative and judicial powers upon the same body to be exercised in regard to the same subject matter.

This case attracted the attention of President Roosevelt, and



when the Senior Circuit Judge Caldwell retired, President Roosevelt named Judge Hook as a circuit judge, in 1903. Most of Judge Hook's service in the next nine years was upon the circuit court of appeals. Presently Judge Thayer retired and Judge Adams of Missouri was promoted to the circuit bench, and for a good many years, Sanborn, Hook and Adams rendered a great majority of the many notable decisions of the old eighth circuit which was the largest circuit in the country and included practically all of the territory between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains.

In 1908, Judge Hook wrote the opinion in the Omaha City Water Works Co. case (162 Fed. 225), holding, in brief, that the city of Omaha might acquire the private water works which extended into other communities and beyond the corporate limits. In this case, as in all of the Hook opinions which the writer has studied, the Judge took the most practical view of the situation. With all of his learning it might well be said that the foundation stone of Judge Hook's opinions was always practical common sense. In this particular case the termination of interminable litigation was most important, and Judge Hook terminated the litigation.

In 1909, the famous suit by the government to enjoin the Standard Oil Co., John D. Rockefeller, and many other individual defendants, as being in restraint of trade, was argued before the eighth circuit court of appeals. The court rendered a decree in favor of the government and enjoined the defendants. It was in this case that Judge Hook wrote the definition of monopoly and restraint of trade, which was quoted so frequently by Attorney-general Wickersham in his opinions, and which had much to do with President Taft's tentative selection of Judge Hook for a place on the supreme court. In his concurring opinion, Judge Hook said:

Magnitude of business does not, alone, constitute a monopoly, nor effort at magnitude an attempt to monopolize. To offend the act the monopoly must have secured by methods contrary to the public policy as expressed in the statutes, or in the common law.

Judge Hook went on to say that the question of violation of the law did not depend upon whether or not the monopoly was reasonable or unreasonable, but depended upon the result or effect. If the restraint were direct and appreciable, then there was a violation of the statute, but if the restraint were merely incidental then there was no violation of the statute. At this particular time the supreme court had not yet introduced into the law the so-called rule of reason, although, when the decision of the eighth circuit court of appeals in

this notable case was affirmed by the supreme court, the rule of reason for the first time appeared in the majority opinion as a dictum. His opinion in this case attracted the attention of the country and of the public press.

Shortly thereafter the famous Harriman merger case was argued before the eighth circuit court. In this case (188 Fed. 102), which was a suit by the government against the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific contract, Judge Hook stood alone and dissented from the majority opinion which held that there was no violation of the statute. Judge Hook's opinion was most forceful, as the following extract shows:

The combination was effected through the purchase by the Union Pacific of part of the capital stock of the Southern Pacific. Upon this two important questions arise. The first, which is one of law, is whether the purchase by one railroad company of corporate stock of another, less than the majority, but sufficient in amount according to the practical experience of men to enable the purchaser to dominate or control the policies and operations of the other, is a form of combination within the prohibitions of the Sherman act. The conclusion of the court being against the government on another ground, it was unnecessary to determine this question; but as I do not assent to the conclusion, and as the question lies at the threshold of the government's case, I should briefly express my view concerning it.

There is no substantial difference between the holding of the corporate stocks of two companies by a third, such as was condemned in the Northern Securities Case, 193 U. S. 197, 24 Sup. Ct. 436, 48 L. Ed. 679, and the holding by one of those two of the stock of the other. The form is somewhat different, but the effect, which is the chief concern of the law, is the same. If prior competition disappears as a direct and natural result, trade and commerce are restrained. If it is unlawful in one case, it must be so in the other. It would be idle to hold that, while two competing railroad companies cannot lawfully submit to a common control through a separate stockholding organization, they may do so by dispensing with that medium. That would be regarding shadows and letting the substance go. The language of the Sherman act in this particular is broad. It covers every contract and combination in restraint of interstate and foreign trade or commerce, *whether in the form of trust or otherwise*. The essential, effective character of the arrangement is to be regarded, rather than its casual vestiture; the substance, rather than the form. In *Harriman v. Northern Securities Co.*, 197 U. S. 244, 297, 25 Sup. Ct. 493, 49 L. Ed. 739, it was assumed that the act could be violated by the direct holding of stock of a competing corporation.

I grant it is a serious thing to disturb a great business transaction like that shown in the case at bar; but, given the power of congress to legislate, and clear words to express what a judge conceives to have been its purpose, his duty is plain, whatever he may think of the wisdom of the law. Even if public regulation is believed to be a wiser solution of the important economic problem than enforced competition, with its necessary wastes and burdens, nevertheless his judgment of a law embodying the latter policy should pro-



ceed as with distinct approval of its selection. It is quite clear that, with the growth and development of governmental regulation of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, there is decreasing reason for holding them subject to the Sherman act, and it may be that as regards rates of transportation the Interstate Commerce Commission could perform its duties with equal justice to the public and greater justice to the railroads if they were released. But certainly that is for congress, not the courts. The judicial function is properly exercised when the Sherman act is construed and applied as though it were the only legislative remedy on the statute books.

The other question in the case is decided by the court against the government. It is whether the two great transportation systems, the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific, were, in a substantial sense, competitors in interstate and foreign commerce. This question involves the relative location of their lines on land and sea, and not only the parts they actually performed, but also those they were naturally capable of performing, in the movement of traffic. Albeit in part within the domain of judicial knowledge, this seems to me to be a pure question of fact. Some hundreds of witnesses, practical railroad men and shippers of wide experience, testified upon it, and a great mass of evidence was taken, showing almost without dispute that, using the term "competition" as business men understand and use it, there was active, vigorous, and substantial competition between the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific before the former obtained control of the latter. But the court holds the question of competition to be one of mixed law and fact, not determinable by the evidence alone, and as such it is answered against the government.

Reduced to its simplest terms the conclusion of the court that the two companies were not competitors and the Sherman act was not violated is based on these two grounds: (1) Trade and commerce were not restrained, because before the combination the competitive interstate and foreign traffic of the two railroad companies was not a substantial percentage of their total traffic, including in such total the traffic entirely within the several states, over which congress had no control. (2) Trade and commerce were not restrained because before the combination one of the lines of railroad, the Union Pacific, was an intermediate one in a through route, and depended for competitive traffic upon the business interests of connecting carriers, and therefore could not by itself alone, unaided by the concurrence of its natural allies, make a joint through route over the entire route. In other words, each party to a contract or combination between railroad companies, which the government assails as being contrary to the Sherman act, must have owned or controlled an entire through route over which competitive traffic moved. That it may have performed an essential part, or have been a necessary factor, in the transportation, is insufficient. That connecting carriers may have voluntarily joined it in making through rates for the traffic is immaterial. (*United States v. Union Pac. R. Co. et al.*, 188 Fed. 102, at 120, 121 and 122.)

So forceful was this opinion, so logical and clear-cut that the attorney-general of the United States later stated it was the sole reason why he appealed this case to the United States supreme court. The United States supreme court reversed the eighth circuit court



of appeals, and upon the grounds set forth by Judge Hook. As a matter of fact, his dissenting opinion might well be the opinion of the supreme court in the case, so harmonious are they. It will be remembered that the government at this time, during President Taft's administration, was quite concerned with the question of monopoly, and Judge Hook's opinion in this case had perhaps more to do with President Taft's high regard for the man than any other opinion which he rendered.

As soon as Justice Brewer died, on March 28, 1910, followed very shortly by the death of Chief Justice Fuller, on July 4, 1910, there was an immediate public demand for the promotion of Judge Hook. After a careful investigation of the many eminent men who were recommended to the President for this position, the President determined to appoint Judge Hook to succeed Judge Brewer. He went so far as to authorize a prominent Kansan (who was then in the federal service and much interested in the promotion of Judge Hook) at the White House Saturday morning, to wire Judge Hook that his name would be sent to the senate on the succeeding Monday noon. The wire was sent, but, on the succeeding Monday noon Judge Hook's name was not sent to the senate for confirmation. It was Judge Willis H. Van Devanter, also a judge of the eighth circuit, who was nominated for the vacancy. Associate Justice Edward Douglas White of Louisiana was nominated for chief justice to succeed Chief Justice Fuller. Long afterwards the story became known. Saturday afternoon, Senator Clark of Wyoming, then chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Senator Warren of Wyoming, who was then serving his twentieth year in the senate, went to see the President on behalf of Judge Van Devanter, also of Wyoming. The Kansas senators, Curtis and Bristow had no such seniority. President Taft was very much interested in the promotion of Justice White and there seemed to be objections to the promotion on account of the fact that he was a southern Democrat, a Catholic and a former Confederate soldier, to say nothing of his age. The Wyoming senators thought that the objections to White *might* be overcome. It is said that President Taft later explained that the abilities of Hook and Van Devanter were equal, that either would make a splendid justice, and that if the promotion of Van Devanter would secure the confirmation by the senate of White as Chief Justice, he thought it advisable to promote Van Devanter.

On October 14, 1911, Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan of the United States supreme court died, and once more the President

was faced with the question of a successor. Within less than a month it was announced that the President was considering Judge Hook, Walter C. Noyes, United States circuit judge for the second circuit, Francis J. Swayze, justice of the supreme court of the state of New Jersey, and Frank H. Rudkin, United States district judge of the state of Wisconsin. The press considered it very significant that two of the names upon the President's list had figured in important anti-trust suits, Judge Noyes in the American Tobacco Co. case and Judge Hook in the Standard Oil case. On December 19, in a special dispatch to the Boston *Herald*, it was stated that,

Information from reliable sources to-day is to the effect that President Taft has practically determined to appoint Judge William C. Hook of Kansas, now on the bench of the eighth United States circuit, to the vacancy in the supreme court caused by the death of Associate Justice John M. Harlan.

There is still some chance that the appointment may go to Charles Nagle, Secretary of Commerce and Labor. It is understood that Attorney-general Wickersham has endorsed the candidacy of Secretary Nagle with exceptional vigor, and is making a great effort to secure his colleague's promotion.

President Taft has a distinct fondness for Judge Hook, whom he estimates highly. Moreover, he has made a personal study of the more important opinions rendered by Judge Hook, and is in accord with them. The President was much pleased with the opinion written in the Standard Oil case, and liked even better Judge Hook's dissenting opinion in the Harriman merger case.

From that date until December 30 there were frequent reports in the press that the President had determined to appoint Judge Hook, although it was stated that the attorney-general was strongly for Nagle. Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagle, however, was sixty-two years old, and President Taft had announced that he would appoint no justices to the supreme court who were over sixty years of age. (He made only one exception to that rule, the promotion of his former colleague of the fifth circuit, Judge Lurton.) Judge Hook was only fifty-four years of age and in the full sweep of his powers.

On December 30, however, protests against the appointment of Judge Hook from the Corporation Commission of Oklahoma were sent to the President, and Governor Aldridge of Nebraska announced that he would at once wire a protest against the appointment. Then the Minnesota Railroad & Warehouse Commission protested. The chairman of the Kentucky Railroad Commission joined in the protest and Senator Gore of Oklahoma made a most virulent speech against Hook. Notwithstanding these facts, the press announced on December 30 that the President had decided to name Judge



Hook, and two Western senators quoted the President as saying, "It's no use. I have decided on Judge Hook for this appointment."

The opposition to Judge Hook at this time came almost entirely from more or less radical railroad commissioners who were opposed to Hook on account of the fact that he had granted a temporary injunction against the enforcement of the Oklahoma two-cent rate upon a proper showing therefor, the injunction being later sustained by the circuit court of appeals, and by the United States supreme court in that it refused to grant *certiorari* in the case. At the same time, the radical press announced that he was the candidate of great railroad corporations. This was extraordinary, because in 1899, when Hook was first appointed to the bench by President McKinley as a staunch gold man, it was the railroads—Bailey P. Waggener, general counsel for the Missouri Pacific; M. A. Low, general counsel for the Rock Island; A. A. Hurd, general counsel for the Santa Fe, and Archibald Williams, general counsel for the Union Pacific—who had fought his appointment so vigorously and had tried to secure the appointment of Chief Justice Horton of the Kansas supreme court, and in 1910, there was some complaint against the promotion of Judge Hook to the supreme court, on the ground that he was not sound enough from the corporation point of view. Before his appointment to the bench, Hook had been very successful in suits against the railroads. Indeed, it is said that there were protests in Washington from Wall Street about the appointment of the Kansas "Populist," and now the radical press and radical politicians were condemning Hook as being the friend of Wall Street. The truth about the matter, of course, is that he was a well-balanced judge and neither a pro- nor an anti-corporation man.

Notwithstanding these protests the President had determined to appoint him, but at the last minute and on the very day when his name was to have been sent to the senate, a new protest was made. On January 31, the Massachusetts branch of the Massachusetts Political League and the New England Suffrage League, interested, in equal rights for negroes, protested Judge Hook's appointment on the ground that he had rendered a decision in the 186th *Federal* denying negroes the same rights in traveling as other Americans and upholding the Oklahoma Jim Crow car law. An assistant United States district attorney, the negro appointed by President Roosevelt, was very active in the fight against him on this ground. Although the plaintiff in the Jim Crow case and the attorneys for the plaintiff in that case all wired the President that they were not opposed to



Judge Hook's promotion and considered him to be the friend of the negro, Taft determined not to appoint Hook and suddenly appointed Mahlon Pitney of New Jersey on the 20th day of February, 1912. The facts in regard to the Jim Crow case were that Judge Hook concurred in an opinion by Circuit Judge Adams which dismissed a suit by McCabe against the Santa Fe to enjoin the railroad from obeying the law requiring every railroad company doing business in Oklahoma as a common carrier to provide separate coaches for the accommodation of white and negro passengers equal in all comforts and conveniences. Judge Adams said that the statute did not violate the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and that the enforced separation of the negro race from the white race in railroad cars and waiting rooms did not deny to it the equal protection of the laws, because the supreme court of the United States in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 113 U. S. 537, 41 L. Ed. 256, had foreclosed further discussion. There was, however, a proviso to section 7 of the act, which read as follows:

Provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent railroad companies in this state from hauling sleeping cars, dining or chair cars, attached to their trains to be used exclusively by either white or negro passengers, separately, but not jointly.

Judge Adams thought that such accommodations were luxuries, and that the ability of the two races to indulge in such luxuries were so dissimilar that the railroad companies might find it profitable to supply them for the white race and not profitable to supply them for the colored race. Judge Sanborn dissented, believing that the statute abridged the privileges and immunities of the colored citizens of Oklahoma and deprived them of the equal protection of the laws.

The furor made by this decision determined the matter against Judge Hook, in spite of all that Senator Curtis and Representatives Anthony and Campbell could do, and in spite of the fact that even the Progressive Senator Bristow and the Progressive representatives in congress from Kansas either endorsed Hook or at least did not join in the protests against his appointment. Representative Fred S. Jackson, who as attorney general of Kansas, had conducted much anticorporation business before Judge Hook, announced that he had always found the Judge fair and impartial. It is interesting to note that although the nomination of Chancellor Pitney was kept a dead secret until the day that he was nominated, namely, February 20, there were immediate and many protests as soon as the

selection became known. It is also interesting to note that when Charles Evans Hughes (the present chief justice of the United States supreme court) was governor of New York, he had vetoed the two-cent law without arousing the same animosity against his appointment as accompanied the announcement of Hook's pending appointment. The matter was so close that the *National Tribune* stated,

If the senate week before last had not adjourned Thursday over the following Monday, probably Judge Hook would now be upon the supreme bench and attending to his duties as an associate justice there. . . .

"Well, I will appoint Hook," the President said to a senator who was much interested in the matter and who had been to the White House to see him about the nomination several times. "I will send it up right away."

That was Thursday morning. The President's statement meant that he would send the nomination in that day, or the day following. But the senate met at two o'clock Thursday afternoon and after a little adjourned to the following Monday.

In the meantime, somebody dug up a decision by the federal court of the eighth circuit whereby Judge Hook upheld the Oklahoma statute providing for Jim Crow cars. The Judge did not write the decision himself, but approved one written by Judge Sanborn, so that Hook and Sanborn made a majority of the court of three members. The negroes got wind of that decision and by Saturday protests from negroes were pouring in upon the White House. By Monday, when the senate first convened, a great storm was brewing among the colored brethren of the country.

Shortly thereafter the 1912 Republican National Convention took place and the following November the great Roosevelt-Taft fight resulted in the election of Woodrow Wilson.

In 1915 Judge Hook built the great monument of his judicial career. For more than three years the Metropolitan Railway system of Kansas City, Mo., had been in the hands of receivers. It was on June 3, 1911, that Judge Hook had appointed Robert J. Dunham, of Chicago, and Ford F. Harvey (of the Fred Harvey system), of Kansas City, as receivers for the Metropolitan Street Railway Co. and its allied companies, the Central Electric Railway Co. and the Kansas City Elevated Railway Co. The receivers operated these companies for more than four years, vainly trying to reach an agreement with the attorneys representing the various interests for the reorganization of the company. In the course of the receivership Judge Hook had increased the pay of the street railway employees, without being petitioned to do so, as a matter of justice to the employees, and had also taken steps to improve the service. At the time that the bonds were issued, the law required the maintenance of



streets between the tracks and twelve inches outside of the rails, and this had been sadly neglected by the company itself, thus giving rise to the city's claim that the obligation to maintain was ahead of the specific lien of the bonds. During the receivership there had been much dissension between the representatives of the city and the receivers with regard to the maintenance and improvement of service, including among other matters, a dispute as to the necessity for connecting traffic across the Twelfth street viaduct with the Street Railway Co. of Kansas City, Kan. Finally, on June 4, 1913, the receivers reported to Judge Hook that no agreement could be reached, and appealed to him to arbitrate the differences between the city and the receivers. In this appeal to arbitrate the mayor joined. The result of the Judge's efforts was a new franchise in 1914, granted by the city, conditioned upon a reorganization which would meet with the approval of Judge Hook. There was a tremendous dispute between the holders of different classes of securities, the representatives of tort judgment creditors and the representatives of stockholders committees as to the terms of the reorganization, and Judge Hook himself drafted a plan of reorganization which was presented to the various representatives of the various interested parties in Chicago on July 27, 1915. The plan did not meet with the approval of the bondholders, as Judge Hook had determined to protect stockholders' equity and the public interest. When it came, however, to the point of giving up the new franchise of 1914 or approving of the essential principles of Judge Hook's plan, it was, of course, promptly approved by the bond holders. The electric-light company was divorced from the street railway company, the New Jersey holding company was abolished, and under the terms of the plan, the stockholders and the city itself reaped the benefit of the liberal provisions of the 1914 franchise which, for the first time in the history of American utilities, guaranteed the mortgages underlying the bonds to the end of the term of the franchise. This reorganization was so novel as to attract the attention of legal scholars and those interested in civic matters, in addition to that of judges and lawyers.

James N. Rosenberg, of New York, in an article in the *Columbia Law Review* for November, 1920 (20 *Col. Law Review*, p. 735), entitled "The *Ætna Explosives Case*," wrote:

Up to the time the *Ætna* case came into court the most notable blazing of the way toward a sound economic handling of reorganization was, it is believed, that done by Judge William C. Hook of the United States court for the eighth circuit. The Missouri Pacific reorganization (138 Fed. 812)



was before him in 1916, and in one of the litigations that arose in that case he had said:

"It has sometimes been claimed that plans of reorganization formulated by bondholders and stockholders of a railroad in the hands of receivers are exclusively of private concern, free from judicial action or interference. But for various reasons the view cannot be sustained in principle. After all that can be said from the standpoint of theory and strict right, the fact remains that many railroad receiverships, and the one here is typical of them, are but instruments for consummating plans of reorganization, and courts have come to realize that such use of their jurisdiction and processes entails a correlative duty to those affected by the result. . . . The relation between the receivership . . . and the plan of reorganization agreed upon is close and intimate. So far as properly can be, the judicial proceeding is conducted in harmony with the plan, and the success of the agreed readjustment is promoted by the orders of the court and the acts of its receivers. Generally the judicial course would not be different if the court were carrying out a plan of reorganization of its own making or one affirmatively adopted by judicial order or decree. . . . While it is the settled doctrine that reorganizations will be encouraged, yet, on the other hand, a court of equity will not lend its aid to one that is inequitable or oppressive. . . . The conclusion is manifest that the general duty of a court in a railroad foreclosure suit to take cognizance of a plan of reorganization by the bondholders and stockholders which is to be aided by its decree, and to protect the equitable rights of all, becomes specific and imperative upon the complaint of an interested party."

So successful was Judge Hook's handling of this receivership that when the Kansas Natural Gas Co. litigation arose and Judge Thomas J. Flannelly, now of the Prairie-Sinclair Co., but then judge of the district court of Montgomery county, Kansas, appointed state receivers and other parties took the case before the federal court, Mayor Edwards of Kansas City, Mo., begged Judge Wilbur Booth, of the eighth circuit court of appeals, to take charge of the situation and settle it in the same way and along the same lines as Judge Hook had terminated the Street Railway Co. receivership.

Judge Hook was also concerned in other important reorganizations and receiverships, including amongst others, the reorganization of the Terminal Railroad Association of Saint Louis, the Denver Water Works Co., Vulcan Sheet Metal Co., and during the war, the Missouri Pacific receivership, in which his rulings on the matter of the Kansas City-Northwestern intervention were praised by the *Yale Law Journal* as a landmark in receivership proceedings, and the Missouri-Oklahoma Gulf Railroad Co. Most of that company's bonds were owned in Belgium and France, and on account of the war beyond the seas, the owners of those securities were largely not represented in court. It was due to Judge Hook's protecting hand that their rights were secured just as though they had been represented in court before him in the reorganization of the company.

The last great decision of Judge Hook which attracted nationwide attention was his ruling on November 22, 1916, that the Adamson eight-hour act was unconstitutional. It was in the course of his receivership of the Missouri-Oklahoma Gulf Railroad that this ruling was made. It is quite true that the United States supreme court reversed this ruling of Judge Hook and upheld the constitutionality of the act, but many lawyers to this day feel that the reversal might not have obtained under other circumstances, and that Judge Hook's ruling was correct.

Judge Hook's opinion in the Standard Oil case was largely written at Plum Lake, in the beautiful lake district of northern Wisconsin. Here, about 1900, he had built a slab cottage on a point jutting into the lake and almost inaccessible by land. Later he built a log house of the large pine trees cut principally from his own property. The French windows on three sides of the first floor of the house looked out upon the lake or the adjoining pine grove, and on the fourth side was a great fireplace, many stones of which were sent to the judge by his friends from all parts of the United States.

Occasionally lawyers interested in the various railroad receiverships which the Judge was conducting, would come to his home at the Lake to present various matters and secure various orders. At these times, court was held in the pine grove and justice rendered far away from the noise of the city.

When he arrived, in July, at the Lake he usually brought with him some four or five government mail sacks of briefs and records. While he was on vacation, the Judge usually spent his mornings at his library in the cabin working on the briefs and records which he had brought with him. His afternoons on vacations were partly spent in the planting and cultivation of his beautiful flower garden which thrived luxuriantly in the damp, sandy soil of a knoll not far from the house. Judge Hook took pride in his flowers, knew their botanical names, and himself did almost all the work of their cultivation.

This sketch of Judge Hook would not be complete without a description of his personal qualities and appearance. He was moderate and temperate in his habits. Although slight in physique, he had great physical endurance, which matched his great and effective mental and nervous strength. His appearance indicated physical and mental alertness, energy and determination.

Herbert S. Hadley once of Kansas and later governor of Missouri, in his book entitled *Rome and the World To-day*, said:



The Romans glorified courage, steadfastness, virtue, and that significant quality of the mind and heart which is described by the word *gravitas*.

It is probable that the same process of racial development produced the Romans as has produced our own people. I believe it can be said that there is a striking resemblance between the busts and statues of the leaders in Roman history of the later years of the Republic and the early Empire and many of the public men of the United States a generation ago. I knew a former federal judge who could have sat for a bust of Julius Cæsar.

In mentioning a federal judge, Governor Hadley was referring to Judge Hook.

Some of the description of Julius Cæsar in Froude's *Cæsar*, is especially applicable to a description of Judge Hook's physical appearance: "In person, Cæsar was tall and straight. His features were refined. The forehead was wide, high, the nose large and thin."

While, perhaps, not a man of striking appearance, yet Judge Hook was a man whose face and features were always remembered.

Judge Hook was buried at his old home in Leavenworth, Kan., but services were held at his summer home in Wisconsin, in the beautiful pine grove on Plum Lake for those of his many friends who had known him there for a generation. The late Dr. Thomas W. Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, presided at the services. In speaking of his old friend, Dr. Goodspeed quoted from the 92d Psalm, saying: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon," and then said, "Verily, my friends, one of the Cedars of Lebanon hast this day fallen in our midst." This might have been paraphrased, in the writer's judgment, by saying, "One of the tall pines has fallen."

In the memorial of the proceedings before the eighth circuit court of appeals on September 5, 1921, having to do with Judge Hook, it was ordered that a committee consisting of Mr. C. W. Bunn, chairman, Saint Paul, Minn., Mr. Frank Hagerman of Kansas City, Mo., Mr. Edward J. White of Saint Louis, Mr. John H. Atwood of Kansas City, Mo., partner for many years of Judge Hook, and Mr. George H. Williams of Saint Louis, later Senator Williams, should present suitable resolutions at a session to be held on December 5, 1921, at which Judge Sanborn presided. There was talk amongst the lawyers attending the memorial meeting of Judge Hook's manner while upon the bench. It was said that his manner upon the bench was ideal, that it happily blended dignity and courtesy, that he always gave patient attention to an argument, that he grasped the point of counsel with great rapidity, and that while reserved



and somewhat aloof, his gentleness to an inexperienced practitioner created a real affection for him, and yet, that Judge Hook was firm. When John F. Phillips, former United States judge of the district court of Missouri, who frequently sat upon the court of appeals with Judge Hook, was presenting the Kansas Natural Gas litigation in Denver before the eighth circuit court of appeals on October 1, 1913, he constantly interrupted John S. Dawson, then attorney-general of Kansas and now a valued member of the Kansas supreme court, who was arguing the case for the state. Among other things he complained that the attorney-general be required "to read the whole paragraph in the brief," or some such similar matter. Judge Hook mildly replied, "Maybe he doesn't wish to read it. It is his argument. Let him proceed in his own way." Finally Judge Hook, in a manner which could not be mistaken, turned to the attorney-general and said: "Mr. Attorney-general, in making further statements you will address the court alone and pay no attention to any one who interrupts you," turning at the word, "interrupt" toward his former colleague.

Perhaps this sketch of the learned judge and citizen of Kansas who attained such great distinction and high place in the federal judicial annals of our country, can best be closed by a quotation from the response of Judge Sanborn, the presiding judge on the occasion of the memorial of the eighth circuit court of appeals in memory of Judge Hook:

He was endowed with an extraordinarily powerful intellect, as keen as a Damascus blade; a wise and imperious will, to whose behests every movement, emotion and passion of his mental and physical being bowed with reverential deference; with a cautious, sound judgment, and with an impartial considerate temper. His mind was stored with a profound and accurate knowledge of the law, an inexhaustible fund of general information, a comprehensive and intimate acquaintance with general literature, a refined and artistic taste, and gifted with a canny, experienced insight into the objects, intents and purposes evidenced by the acts and sayings of men.

## Historical Collections and Public Entertainments

O. W. MOSHER, JR.

AT THE present time there appears to be such a cultural interest in historical documents, the creation of school museums and private collections, as well as in the giving of entertainments with a historical basis, that the writer trusts that the following suggestions will be of value to those interested.

During a recent meeting of the Research and Public Archives division of the American Historical Association the point was stressed that there are in the hands of private individuals many valuable documents and relics that would contribute much toward correcting and clarifying incidents in our history, especially biographical material of priceless value that historical investigators would love to use—if they only knew where to lay their hands on it. Unfortunately there is nowhere a central depository where the records of documents in private hands can be filed, and the investigator, once he has exhausted the national and state collections, which may be meagre, is at a loss where to look further. One of the speakers asserted that there are enough Abraham Lincoln letters scattered in the hands of private individuals to serve as a basis for writing a new and more accurate account of the life of the emancipator. Another brought out the point that the main lines of our history are preserved in the public archives and that these have been utilized over and over again—that after all there is not a great deal that has not already been gleaned from the well-known sources. In consequence, the search of the future for historical material should be directed to uncovering those resources in private hands that are so fast disappearing. Every day from lack of expert knowledge, materials of real value are lost or carelessly thrown away. Resting in the dust and silence of garrets are old diaries, letters and relics that would throw intimate light on the past.

All of us know of such cases of valuable documents in private hands, which, unless viewed by the trained and appreciative eyes of a person who understands their worth, will be lost forever.

If the writer may be permitted to cite a personal experience, on one occasion an uneducated family brought forth a lot of old books that were believed to be valueless and were to be given away. True, most of the books were worthless, but, one turned out to be the rare

Ranby's *Diseases, Instructions for the Treatment of Gunshot Wounds and Army Diseases*, issued by the medical staff of the Continental army. Through the Anderson Galleries a great medical library was found that was anxious to secure the volume. It was sold for \$50 for which the family was thankful enough—"Just like finding money in the street," they said. Think, too, of the value of throwing open to the medical students this buried information.

Many private collections about Kansas contain more or less valuable material. From a very casual examination of Emporia and neighborhood the writer has observed in private hands an original of the *Boston Gazette* containing the first account of the Boston massacre by the British, the diary of a Civil War officer, Napoleon's signature on a Legion of Honor, a document of the French revolution, an old religious anthology in Latin dated 1560, an early account of the voyages of Raleigh in which he asserts that oysters grow on trees in America, the *Memoires of Anne of Austria*, old medical books and letters of early Kansas days. In the field of relics of an archæological nature many farmers have specimens picked up on their farms, some unusual pieces such as the spear head with triple notches found by the Ronigers. Of frontier days the hammered-iron tomahawk, and the head of a Spanish halberd picked up in the Flint hills are silent witnesses. If all these are to be found around Emporia what treasures for a historian might not be found were Kansas to be surveyed by experts! The time may yet come when as a result of better economic adjustments and more leisure, the state authorities will be enabled to spend more time in discovering and evaluating these materials.

#### SCHOOL MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

In the meantime much good work is being done through school museums and private collecting. Almost everyone is a collector at heart, but as yet this very worthwhile interest has been scarcely touched. Wherever there have been meetings at which someone competent to discuss the various fields of collecting has been present, the response has been spontaneous. At the Clements Community Center, in Chase county, the farmers for miles around brought in Indian relics discovered on their farms and followed with keen interest the discussion of how the aborigines made and used their ancient implements.

There are, already, numerous school museums and private collections about the state and there is scarcely a town that does not



have some enthusiastic collectors who are anxious to be advised as to their collections and told how to classify them. The following advice from Mr. A. E. Graf, associate director of the United States National Museum in Washington, in his contribution to this article, says:

The starting of school museums or private collections is a matter dependent largely upon the enthusiasm, persistence and personality of the interested individuals. The first item in such a movement, naturally, is to be assured of a suitable room or other space in which material collected may be so exhibited as to attract the interest and coöperation of all concerned. Usually the enthusiasm of a single individual or a small group is responsible for the initial movement which may result in the securing and exhibiting of a few articles which serve as a nucleus to attract the collection and display of other specimens. Having secured suitable space, a local historical series might be started with a spinning wheel or other household appliances showing the development of handicraft; an Indian axe or arrowheads for the beginning of archæology; and a piece of Indian beadwork for ethnology. Such specimens placed on exhibition, labeled clearly as to their origin and use and bearing the name of the donor or collector, or both, will frequently serve to awaken the interest of students in acquiring more and better specimens along similar lines.

For those schools or individuals that already have collections the following advice with regard to classification may be helpful: Secure a *Manual for Small Museums* by Laurence V. Coleman, Smithsonian building, Washington, D. C. This will give a general treatment of various exhibits. For those who have Indian relics (stone artifacts, pottery and the like) the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., has a number of bulletins that will aid greatly in the understanding of the nature and uses of the pieces that you have discovered. Although the famous Bulletin 30, commonly known as the *Book of the American Indian*, is out of print as a whole, nevertheless certain valuable pages are printed separately, and with a little assistance through your congressman, may usually be obtained without cost. The most valuable suggestions are as follows: Aboriginal agricultural implements (pages 26-27); archæology (76-77); arrowheads, bows, quivers (90-91); basketry (132-135); beadwork (137-139); ornaments (149-155); pictographs (242-245); utensils (601-603); the making of stone arrow-heads, spear-heads and axes (638-643); moccasins (916-917); Indian mounds (943-945).

Other pamphlets such as Krieger's *Aspects of Aboriginal Decorative Art* (37 plates), Publication No. 3102, and instructions as to excavating prehistoric sites—the proper, scientific manner in which to do your exploring, may be procured from the same source.

As to the proper arrangement for archæological relics Mr. F. M. Setzler, assistant curator of archæology, Smithsonian Institute, in his statement for this article, says:

Archæological artifacts should be arranged either by state or by culture area.

All specimens representing a recognized archæological culture can be grouped under various divisions depending entirely on the nature of the exhibit. Various phases of a culture might be exhibited under art, material culture, ceremonial objects, food, dress and personal ornaments, burial methods, etc. Under material culture one should exhibit examples of all artifacts characteristic of the culture. Then, too, much depends on the adaptation of archæological material to the exhibit cases, room and lighting facilities. Detailed and attractive labels play an important part in any exhibit.

Coming now to a more recent period, collections of utensils employed by the early settlers of Kansas, may frequently be procured by exchanges or gifts. Here are some suggestions, both valuable and amusing, for the building of collections of local interest: whisker combers, butter and sausage presses, turn-keys for pulling teeth, sconces, steelyards, corn-huskers, pill-makers, boot-hooks and boot-jacks, red-top and copper-toed boots, wool-cards, pocket and foot stoves, sap spiles, candle snuffers, tuyeres, sand shakers, ox shoes, frows, bullet molds, gun flints, niddy-noddies, bedstead wrenches, lynch pins, puncheon lanterns, conch-shell dinner-horns, tar-buckets, Indian beadwork, etc.

For literature with regard to the arrangement and classification of these articles, the Smithsonian Institute has much material such as Bulletin 141 on *Collections of Heating and Lighting Utensils*. Clifford's *The Junk-Snappers* (Macmillan Co.) is also valuable for general information.

An effective arrangement may be made from the tracing of the Indian bow and arrow through early fire arms to the modern rifle. Other ingenious sequences can be thought out by the exhibitor. The possession of the pamphlets and books described, together with the specimens illustrating them, thus gives the basis for a choice and valuable collection.

#### THE HISTORICAL ENTERTAINMENT

It is not necessary to go far in Kansas to discover models for historical exhibits and entertainments, for quite a number of schools present them each year. At Coffeyville, the high school invites the general public to participate in an annual program and exhibition. It calls for lists of exhibits needed under five different classifications

—and the people from all over the city and surrounding country make their contributions. The specimens desired are as follows:

1. Maps, charts, books, letters, old newspapers, tin-types, manuscripts, stamps and coins.
2. Aboriginal stone relics; modern Indian relics.
3. Revolutionary War and colonial objects.
4. Civil, Spanish and World War materials.
5. Relics of the early settlement of Kansas, period costumes.

The results greatly interest everyone, especially when the exhibits are carefully explained by an attendant who speaks with authority. These exhibitions are noteworthy and each year may be perfected by a more scientific approach, and by the use of period music.

Eventually, it is fair to predict that these centers of interest in historical matters, whether they be public or private, will be welded into a coöperative organization that will not only aid in preserving for their local communities the records of their past, but will collaborate with the United States and state authorities in bringing to light valuable documents and materials for research in the field of American history. This is indeed a healthy cultural movement. As yet few states have gone far in such organization—possibly it may be for Kansas to point the way.



## The Annual Meeting

THE fifty-eighth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and the board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 17, 1933.

The meeting of the board of directors was called to order at 10 a. m. by the president, Thomas Amory Lee. The first business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1933

The past year has been one of continued growth and progress in all departments of the Society. Accessions of manuscripts, documents, books and relics have been large and of unusual interest and value, particularly in the archives and manuscripts department, where the new material received was outstanding. There was a marked increase in the number of persons who have used the Society's collections.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee met regularly every month with the exception of July. The advice of the members has been sought in all matters of consequence, and in accordance with the constitution and by-laws they have approved all expenditures. President Lee appointed Sam F. Woolard, Wichita, and T. M. Lillard, Topeka, for two-year terms ending October, 1934. The terms of W. W. Denison, chairman, E. A. Austin, and H. K. Brooks, all of Topeka, expire with this October, 1933, meeting.

#### APPROPRIATIONS AND THE LEGISLATURE

The 1933 legislature was pledged to economy, and when it convened the friends of the Society were fearful that our work might be crippled by ill-advised reductions in salary and maintenance appropriations. Some of the proposals which received support both in the House and Senate were indeed radical. Thanks to the assistance of the president of the Society, Thomas Amory Lee, and the unselfish work of a number of other officers and members, the final appropriations were not too drastic. The fact that the staff of the Historical Society was already inadequate made it seem important not to receive a reduction in the personnel. The secretary and the other officers of the Society wish to express their thanks again to the members who so generously and promptly gave their assistance.

#### LIBRARY

The library received over three thousand requests for information, mostly regarding Kansas subjects or genealogy. A large number of students have used the collections of the Society, both for theses and general research. Some of the thesis subjects on which research was made are: gubernatorial elections, 1930, 1932; national banking system, 1865-1875; property tax delinquency in Kansas; place of the comic strip in newspapers; Congressman Hatch of Missouri and his contribution to agriculture; Paddock, Nebraska and agriculture; history of education in Kansas; Populist delegation in the 52d Congress; Haskell Institute; Lindsborg and Bethany College; development of

newspapers; Federal Land Act, 1891; Desert Land Act, 1877; Sherman anti-trust act, 1890; history of religion in Kansas, Nebraska and western Missouri; trend of kindergartens in Kansas; and history of Elk county.

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

#### ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Accessions to the archives for the year ending June 30, 1933, were 12,503 manuscripts, 563 manuscript volumes and 74 manuscript maps. A large part of the post-office accessions, mentioned later, go into this department. The bound manuscript volumes received from the post office are included in these figures.

The smallest and most interesting manuscript volume received is only 5 x 7½ inches. It is the leather-bound original field notes of a survey of a United States mail route along the Santa Fé road from Independence, Mo., to a station on Pawnee Fork in west central Kansas. This survey was made in 1858. It is interesting to know that years ago the Society acquired the original map of this survey. Now by a strange circumstance the field notes come to light after seventy-five years in private ownership.

One of the valuable bound volumes included in the post-office collection is a tome of 632 pages, labeled "Journal A," which is a record of pleas in the United States district court of Kansas from 1862 to 1872. Two exhibits filed in this journal are a copy of a map of Indian reservations surveyed by Isaac McCoy and assistants from 1830 to 1832; and a copy of a map of Fort Leavenworth reservation in 1862.

An entertaining accession was a volume recording accounts of "The National Marriage Aid Association," whose headquarters were Topeka and whose secretary and treasurer was the Rev. John D. Knox. These records date in 1881 and 1882.

A collection of about 12,000 manuscripts came from the law department of the Union Pacific Railway in Topeka, through the courtesy of T. M. Lillard, a director of this Society. While much of this will doubtless have to be discarded, a preliminary inspection indicates that it includes some valuable material. There is a map of the southern branch of the road from Junction City to Humboldt, based on a survey of 1866. This map shows the location of Cottonwood City in Chase county, a forgotten townsite started in 1857 by French immigrants.

The recent state treasury scandal has prompted an inspection of original impeachment trials and investigations for the years 1862, 1874, 1891 and 1905. The archives department has original proceedings of these, either in bound volumes or manuscripts.

Fortunately for the manuscripts department the two clerks authorized by the legislature of 1931 were continued by this year's legislature, although for a time it appeared this very important work would be stopped. The work of organizing and repairing the thousands of manuscripts has gone forward steadily. One hundred and forty-nine boxes of papers have been examined and placed in chronological or alphabetical order. Valuable papers have been repaired. Approximately 30,000 pieces were handled.



One of the important collections belonging to the Society is the John Brown papers. The Society's original John Brown collection, numbering 137 papers, had been pasted in a bound volume. This was the approved method of handling manuscripts years ago; but now many of these pieces were in imminent danger of disintegration. All these valuable letters were removed from the volume, repaired, and reinforced with silk gauze according to the best modern practice. They are now more legible than they were in the bound volume and are preserved from further deterioration.

There have been many interesting and valuable accessions in this department during the year. What is probably the most important single accession of manuscripts and documents ever received by this Society came early this year from the Topeka post office. In the attic of the old federal building were several large rooms full of post-office records and other government papers and records. When this building was about to be razed instructions were received by the local post-office authorities to dispose of this accumulation of material. It had been sold to a waste-paper dealer when by accident the secretary learned of its existence through a man who had secured old stamps from some of the documents and letters. Postmaster R. C. Caldwell kindly permitted the Society to inspect these records, and when it appeared that there were documents of value he allowed us to remove them to the Memorial building. In all, seven small truck loads of books and papers were transferred to the Society's archives.

While it is not yet possible to classify this huge collection in any detail, much of it unquestionably is invaluable from a historical standpoint. There are a large number of original territorial court records, most of which originated at Lecompton in the 1850's, hundreds of pieces bearing the signatures of Judges Lecompte, Cato and Elmore. These relate to most of the controversial questions which arose in the territorial conflict. There are thousands of papers, including letters and official records, relating to district courts, circuit courts, bankruptcies, pensions, land offices, war-time alien-enemy registrations, United States marshal's activities, war-time Red Cross work, together with a great many miscellaneous government documents, pamphlets and bulletins. These date from 1854 down to the time of the World War, and some later. Each of these general groupings will, of course, lend itself to extensive subdivision, if more detailed handling indicates that it is of sufficient value to justify being retained. We have only begun to organize this collection. Preliminary examination already indicates that the territorial documents will throw a new light on the history of that period. With our limited staff it will be many months before the worthless material can be discarded and an inventory made.

#### NEWSPAPER SECTION

The issues of 735 newspapers and periodicals, 79 being school and college publications, were being received regularly for filing on October 1. Of these, 58 were dailies, 11 semiweeklies, 505 weeklies, 27 fortnightlies, seven semi-monthlies, four once every three weeks, 73 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 23 quarterlies, 10 occasionals, two semiannuals and two annuals. In the list were included 452 weekly community newspapers. On January 1 the Kansas newspaper collection totalled 41,216 bound volumes.

Historians, journalists and students find this collection inexhaustible for accounts of Kansas events. Statistics for the operation of the wheat allotment



plan of the federal government have been published in almost every newspaper in the state the past few months. This and publicity for other governmental innovations should make the 1933 file of newspapers the most important of recent years to the historian.

The 1933 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* received by the Kansas State Historical Society was published in July. The edition listed the editors and publishers of 735 publications.

To the 186 volumes of newspapers shipped to the Fort Hays State College in 1931 is added a shipment to Wichita University in January, 1933. Over five hundred bound and unbound volumes of duplicate newspapers of comparatively recent date were included.

Newspaper accessions for the year include an incomplete file of the Topeka *Daily Legal News*, 1913-1932, from Nanon L. Herren, Topeka; sixteen bound volumes of the Cawker City *Public Record*, 1883-1916, and the Cawker City *Camp Fire*, 1882-1883, from A. G. Alrich, Lawrence; fourteen bound volumes of *The Argentine Republic*, Kansas City, 1909-1921, from the Kansas City, (Mo.) Public Library; twenty-two volumes of the *International Book Binder*, Indianapolis and Washington, D. C., 1911-1932, from V. S. Boutwell, Topeka; six bound volumes of Harper newspapers, 1878-1885, from H. M. and J. P. Sydney, Anthony, and three unbound volumes each of the *Hoard's Dairyman*, Ft. Atkinson, Wis., *Breeder's Gazette*, Chicago, and *Wallace's Farmer*, Des Moines, Iowa, 1929-1931, from the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

#### THE PICTURE COLLECTION

In its fifty-eight years the Society has accumulated over 15,000 pictures, ranging from tintypes less than an inch in size to the more than life-sized oil painting of territorial Gov. Andrew H. Reeder. A few of these pictures are hanging on the walls of the building, but thousands have been stored in an inadequate and antiquated filing system of albums and folders. In order to make this fine collection of use it was essential that a complete card catalogue be instituted.

With the approval of the executive committee E. H. Young was employed to begin this work. Our cataloging system was adapted from those in use at the Wisconsin and Minnesota historical societies, who have pioneered in systematizing picture collections, with modifications recommended by the Library of Congress. This card index will contain descriptive matter sufficient to identify each portrait and scene. Extensive cross referencing will make illustrations of every subject immediately available. This plan will make the best possible use of our present storage facilities, and it is elastic enough to take care of picture accessions for many years to come without reorganization.

Unfortunately for the Society Mr. Young recently received a position in a New England college and the work has been temporarily delayed. Mr. Nyle Miller, our newspaper clerk, will devote half time to this task in the future.

One of the outstanding portrait accessions of the year was the gift of an oil painting of Betty Woolman by her son, William J. Woolman, of New York. Mrs. Woolman was a pioneer Kansan who entertained Lincoln in her home at Leavenworth when he visited the territory. Mr. Woolman and several members of his family made a trip to Kansas to present this painting to the Society. It now hangs in the first floor foyer.

The oil painting of Charles Curtis, former vice president, painted by the late George M. Stone, was sent to the Society by Mr. Curtis when he vacated his government office. This excellent likeness hangs in the first floor foyer.

## MUSEUM

The museum gained both in attendance and in the number of accessions. It is, of course, the most popular department with the general public, the visitors during the year numbering 32,943. There were 157 items accessioned.

One of the largest collections was given by Rev. A. F. Johnson, of Leavenworth, who was chaplain of the 140th infantry, Thirty-fifth division. This collection included forty World War pieces. A set of cooper tools used in early-day Kansas was sent from Hollywood, Calif., by Mr. W. G. Cracraft. Among the gifts from the Woman's Kansas Day Club was a hatchet used by Carrie Nation in a raid on a Topeka joint in 1901. A saddle purchased by Mr. A. J. Bellport in San Antonio, Tex., in 1867, and used by him in driving cattle over the Chisholm trail, was donated by his daughter, Miss Abbie Bellport. A hitching post in the form of a negro stable boy now holds the horse which is hitched to a victoria. Oddly enough, the horse, hitching post and victoria attract as much attention as any display in the museum. The new stable boy is a replica of the type that was popular in the South in slavery days. It was a gift of the Castrite Foundry Company, Topeka.

## ACCESSIONS

Total accessions to the Society's collections for the year ending June 30, 1933, were as follows:

## Library:

Books .....	965
Pamphlets .....	3,739
Magazines .....	665

## Archives:

Separate manuscripts .....	12,503
Manuscript volumes .....	563
Manuscript maps .....	74
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	134
Newspapers (bound volumes) .....	942
Pictures .....	297
Museum objects .....	157

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

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	346,938
Separate manuscripts .....	924,784
Manuscript volumes .....	27,216
Manuscript maps .....	490
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	10,279
Pictures .....	14,936
Museum objects .....	32,686

## KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

The *Quarterly* is now completing its second year. It has proved popular beyond expectation. At first it was difficult to secure suitable contributions, but in recent months the magazine has attracted an increasingly large number



of first-class articles. For this reason the editors believe that forthcoming issues will be of exceptional interest. Much credit for the high standard of the *Quarterly* is due to Dr. James C. Malin, associate professor of history at the University of Kansas, who is associate editor of the *Quarterly*.

#### PUBLICITY

The collections of this Society are a continuous source of newspaper and magazine feature stories. No small part of what is written about Kansas, both in state and in national publications, is based on research done in the Historical Society. The authors of a number of current books received assistance last year. Within the past year special writers for *Collier's* magazine, *Saturday Evening Post* and the *New York Times Magazine* visited the Society. Articles in the *Quarterly* are summarized or reprinted in Kansas newspapers and in a number of other out-state publications. Many Kansans who do not appreciate the importance of history but who do appreciate the economic value of publicity would be surprised to learn how large a proportion of what is said about Kansas originates in this Society. It would be difficult to appraise the commercial and advertising value to the state of its historical records.

The secretary is constantly being called upon to make talks about the Society or Kansas history. Last year he addressed nine organizations in Topeka, two in Lawrence and one each in Hutchinson, Abilene, Kansas City, Kan., Overland Park, Bancroft and Republic. It is astonishing to discover how little Kansans know about the Historical Society and the extent of its resources.

#### OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

The budget director approved the Society's request for \$4,000 a year for the maintenance of the Old Shawnee Mission. The legislature reduced this to \$750 a year, which was the amount allowed by the legislature of two years ago. Much work that had been planned, therefore, cannot be done. Last year it was found necessary to replace the caretaker. Dr. T. G. Vernon and his wife, of Paola, were employed, and they have done much to improve the buildings and grounds. The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society and the Shawnee Mission Floral Club have been of great assistance. Work is now being done to repair the rooms which were assigned several years ago to the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of American Colonists and the Daughters of 1812. When these rooms are furnished, the east building, which contains the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society museum, will be one of the most interesting historical buildings in Kansas. This mission, with the three old buildings which looked down on the Santa Fé and Oregon trails, was for many years the last outpost of civilization for the hundreds of thousands of pioneers who peopled the far West. It is one of the outstanding historic sites in the West.

#### FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol building, on Highway No. 40 east of Fort Riley, continues to attract many visitors. For the year ending October 1, 1933, there were 11,546 visitors as compared with 13,216 the preceding year. The salary of the caretaker, who is required to be in attendance every day including Sundays,



was reduced from \$600 a year to \$450 a year, or \$37.50 a month, by the last session of the legislature. This reduction is felt to be too drastic.

#### FORT HAYS FRONTIER HISTORICAL PARK

This park, which was created by the legislature of 1931, is managed by a board of which the secretary of the Historical Society is a member. There are an old stone blockhouse and guard house which were used by federal troops in 1867. Beginning last spring a Reforestation camp was established, and a crew of nearly 200 men has been at work on the federal project, which includes landscaping and road making on land belonging to the park and to the adjoining experiment station and Fort Hays State College. The project was secured largely through the work of Congresswoman Kathryn O'Laughlin McCarthy, of Hays. The work is being done under the general supervision of the park board in accordance with plans which are approved by federal authorities.

#### PIKE PAWNEE PARK

On September 29, 1933, a crowd estimated at over 10,000 assembled at the Pike Pawnee park and monument near Republic, Kan., to celebrate the 127th anniversary of Pike's visit to the Pawnee chiefs on this site in 1806, when the American flag was first raised in the territory that is now Kansas. Addresses were made by Congresswoman Kathryn O'Laughlin McCarthy, Congressman W. P. Lambertson, Gomer Davies, the secretary of the Historical Society and others. The occasion for so large a gathering was the effort which is being made through Mrs. McCarthy to secure a federal appropriation for damming the river and creating a national park. If this is done it is proposed that the eleven acres now belonging to the state of Kansas in the name of the Historical Society will become a part of the national park. The Kansas legislature appropriated \$3,000 for a memorial monument which was erected in 1901.

#### KANSAS ARCHÆOLOGY

There are several well-informed amateur archæologists in Kansas and a number of others who make up in enthusiasm for what they lack in knowledge. Kansas is a rich archæological field. There are many village sites which have not yet been despoiled by curiosity seekers. In order to preserve these sites your secretary has suggested the formation of an archæological group within the society. If sufficient interest develops and enough responsible members can be secured it is hoped to organize such a group this year.

#### LOCAL AND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Since the last annual meeting two county historical societies have been organized and have affiliated themselves with the state society by taking out life memberships. The Society has assisted organizers in several other counties which have not yet affiliated. Several of the local and county societies in the state are doing good work in gathering historical documents and relics. At Dodge City the nucleus of an excellent museum has been brought together. The McPherson County Historical Society has done outstanding work in recording the history of the early day settlers. The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, largely composed of residents of Johnson county, were

assigned the main room in the east building at the old Methodist Shawnee Mission for a museum. Within two years this society has succeeded in placing on display a remarkable collection of documents, relics and pictures. While it is impossible for the state Society to take an active part in the organization of local societies, the encouragement of such associations is essential to the preservation of the history of the state. Members of this Society are urged to lend their assistance to local associations.

This report would be incomplete without mention of the members of the staff of this Society. They are uniformly courteous, loyal and conscientious. The secretary acknowledges his indebtedness to them for what has been accomplished in the past three years.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

Upon the conclusion of the reading of the report of the secretary it was moved by W. W. Denison that it be approved and accepted. Seconded by Sam F. Woolard. Carried.

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

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER

##### STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND FROM AUGUST 17, 1932, TO OCTOBER 13, 1933

Balance August 17, 1933.....	\$919.75
Annual memberships received.....	250.00
Life memberships received.....	210.00
Refund of money expended.....	341.60
Subscription to <i>Quarterly</i> and single numbers.....	3.77
Interest on Liberty bonds.....	297.50
Liberty bonds held by Society (par value \$6,000).....	5,911.63

Total amount on hand.....	<u>\$7,934.25</u>
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##### Expenditures:

Traveling expenses .....	289.06
Money advanced for postage.....	412.00
Subscriptions and dues.....	105.05
Manuscripts and letters purchased for Society.....	100.70
Pledged by Society for marker at Trading Post.....	70.00
Insurance .....	15.25
Flowers .....	11.75
Museum relic .....	2.50
Replacing glass .....	1.60
Gifts to janitors.....	13.50
Western Typewriter Company, repairs.....	10.00
Rent of safe-deposit box for 1932 and 1933.....	6.60
Refund of memberships.....	4.00
Expense of annual meeting, 1932.....	14.50
Extra clerk hire.....	235.00

Total expenditures .....	<u>\$1,291.51</u>
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Balance October 13.....	6,642.74
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	<u><u>\$7,934.25</u></u>
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Liberty bonds .....	\$5,911.63
Cash .....	731.11
	<u>\$6,642.74</u>
Bank balance October 13.....	\$813.41
Less outstanding checks.....	92.30
	<u>721.11</u>
Life membership not deposited.....	10.00
	<u>731.11</u>

## JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, Liberty bonds.....	<u>\$950.00</u>
Balance August 17, 1932.....	\$30.64
Interest from August 17, 1932, to October 13, 1933.....	42.52
Total amount received.....	<u>\$73.16</u>
Expenditures:	
Frank B. Kingsbury, New Hampshire history.....	10.50
Balance on hand October 13, 1933.....	62.66
	<u>\$73.16</u>

## THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

Principal, Liberty bond (interest included in membership fund)....	\$1,000.00
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## JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, Liberty bonds.....	<u>\$500.00</u>
Balance on hand, August 17, 1932.....	\$44.10
Interest from August 17, 1932, to October 13, 1933.....	22.38
Total amount received.....	<u>\$66.48</u>

No expenditures for the year.

Examined by committee October 13, 1933, and approved.

EDWIN A. AUSTIN,  
W. W. DENISON,  
HENRY K. BROOKS.

On motion of W. C. Simons, seconded by W. W. Denison, the treasurer's report, as approved by the committee appointed from the executive committee to audit the books, was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason, chairman:



## REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

*To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:*

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

For president, H. K. Lindsley, Wichita.

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

For second vice president, F. H. Hodder, Lawrence.

Respectfully submitted,

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

*Committee.*

On motion of Mrs. Bennett R. Wheeler, seconded by W. W. Denison, the report of the nominating committee was accepted.

This concluded the scheduled business for the morning meeting. The president, Thomas Amory Lee, made some suggestions regarding the work of the Society. He called attention to the need of bringing the annals of Kansas down to date, beginning where Wilder's chronology left off. He stated that in his opinion it would be well worth while for the Society to spend more time and money on this undertaking. He recommended the purchase of photographing or phostatizing equipment which would make possible the reproduction of newspapers and other material becoming too fragile for constant use. Mr. Lee commented on the calendaring of manuscripts and hoped it would be possible to do more of it in the future. He particularly called attention to the fact that Kansas has made no effort to compile a history of the participation of the state and its citizens in the World War. He urged that the Society, through its officers, recommend the formation of a state commission looking toward the preparation of a Kansas World War history. Mr. Lee closed his remarks with a word of appreciation for the loyal and efficient work of the members of the staff of the Society.

On motion of Sam F. Woolard, seconded by W. W. Denison, Mr. Lee's suggestions were referred for action to the executive committee.

There being no further business for the board of directors, the meeting adjourned.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

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

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

The secretary displayed a campaign hat which had been worn by Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf while a major with the Twentieth Kansas in the Phillipines, who was present at the meeting. In the hat was a hole made by a bullet which had also cut a piece from one of General Metcalf's ears.

Thomas Amory Lee read, as the annual address of the president, a paper on the judicial career of the late Judge William C. Hook. This paper appears as a special article elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Robert Taft, of the University of Kansas, presented "A Pictorial History of Kansas," which consisted of picture slides of early Kansas scenes and persons, accompanied by explanatory comments. Mr. Taft's pictures and talk were of exceptional interest. "A Pictorial History of Kansas," appears as a special article elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was read by the secretary as follows:

OCTOBER 17, 1933.

*To the Kansas State Historical Society:*

Your committee on nominations beg leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1936:

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

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON,  
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,  
ERNEST A. RYAN,  
JAMES C. MALIN,  
E. E. KELLEY,  
*Committee.*

On motion of W. W. Denison, seconded by Thomas F. Doran, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1936. Justice John S. Dawson administered the oath of office to those who were present.

The president called on Mrs. Ottis W. Fisher, president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, to read the annual report of the work of her organization. Following the reading of her report she asked Mrs. Bernice Fraser, a member of the Society, to read an original poem on the Old Shawnee Mission. The secretary read a report of the Marion County Historical Society, forwarded from Mrs. Jane C. Rupp, secretary. On motion the two preceding reports were accepted to be placed on file.

Rev. Josiah E. Copley called the attention of the Society to the celebration commemorating the founding of the Presbyterian mission at Highland in 1837.

The members adjourned to the foyer, where Mrs. Bennett R. Wheeler, in behalf of the Colonial Dames of Kansas, presented to the Society a bronze plate bearing the profile of George Washington and selections from his farewell address. The plate was accepted for the Society by its president, Thomas Amory Lee.

With this ceremony the annual meeting of the members of the Society adjourned.

#### MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by the president. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The following officers were then unanimously elected:

H. K. Lindsley, president; T. F. Doran, first vice president; F. H. Hodder, second vice president.

President Lee requested Professor Hodder, the newly elected second vice president, to say hello to the meeting. Professor Hodder complied with a bow and a laconic "hello."

Mr. Lee requested T. F. Doran to take the chair in the absence of the newly elected president, H. K. Lindsley. Mr. Lee moved that the executive committee be instructed to prepare plans for the organization of a World War historical commission for the purpose of compiling a history of the participation of Kansas and her citizens in the World War, with further instructions to present the project at the proper time to the legislature. Seconded by Mr. Mechem. Carried.



Mrs. Henry F. Mason moved a vote of thanks to President Lee for his services to the Society and particularly for his work in the Society's behalf during the meeting of the legislature. Seconded by Mrs. A. M. Harvey and unanimously carried.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

# DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1933

## DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1934

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

## DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1935

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Bowman, Noah L., Garnett.	McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
Cory, C. E., Fort Scott.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Crosby, E. H., Topeka.	Mason, Mrs. Henry F., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Denison, W. W., Topeka.	Morehouse, George P., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Harvey, Mrs. Sally, Topeka.	Spratt, O. M., Baxter Springs.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Hodder, F. H., Lawrence.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H.,
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.	Leavenworth.
Humphrey, H. L., Abilene.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Johnston, Mrs. W. A., Topeka.	Wilson, John H., Salina.

## DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1936

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

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

Lyons history has been featured in a series of articles by Frank Hoyt, Rice county pioneer, which have appeared almost weekly in the Lyons *Daily News*, for many months.

"Charley Reynolds—Hunter and Scout," by E. A. Brininstool, was the title of an article printed in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* in its January-April, 1933, issue. Mr. Reynolds was a member of the Tenth Kansas Volunteers.

Special historical articles appeared in the Miltonvale *Record* preceding the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the city's naming, held October 6 and 7, 1933. Miltonvale was first called Zahnsville. Titles of a few of the stories included in this series are: "A Pioneer Story—Incidents of Sixty-Five Years Ago," by G. W. Gray, September 7; "The Founding of Miltonvale," September 14; "The Rain Makers," and "The Passing of the Old Town Well," September 21; "The First Settler in Starr Township," and histories of the Miltonvale schools, September 28, and "Thoughts in Keeping with the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration," October 5.

The Lyons Presbyterian church celebrated its sixtieth anniversary September 17, 1933. A short account of the organization was published in the Lyons *Daily News*, September 18.

A brief history of the Palco *News* appeared in its issue of September 27, 1933. The Palco *News*, formerly the Palco *Enterprise*, was established in March, 1905.

Names of Smith county old settlers registering at their annual meeting in Smith Center, September 27, 1933, were published in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, September 28.

"Walter F. McGinnis Tells of Early Days," "An Interesting Letter From California," by Frank L. Randolph, and "M. A. Harper Tells of Moving to Kansas," were special features of the Pioneer edition of the Potwin *Ledger* issued September 28, 1933.

Names of old settlers registering at the Southwest Free Fair at Dodge City, September 27, 1933, and the dates they came to Kansas, were published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, September 28.



"Reminiscences of An Old Timer," was the title of an article reviewing the highlights of Weir history which appeared in the *Weir Spectator* in its issues of September 28 and October 5, 1933.

The ninetieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian church of Highland was observed with a week of special services from October 15 to 22, 1933. Excerpts from the diary of Father Irvin, 1841-1844, as presented to the church meeting by Mrs. Margaret Hubbard Morton, were a part of the historical articles printed in the *Highland Vidette* during October and November, commemorating the event.

A history of Vance Post, No. 2, of the Grand Army of the Republic, Hays, was published in the *Hays Daily News*, October 6, 1933. The post was organized at Hays City by a special order from the department commander dated February 1, 1878.

Headlines of stories by W. F. McGinnis, Sr., appearing in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, in recent months were: "The Elephants and Ox Teams Recall Many Old Time Incidents," October 6, 1933; "Memories of the Past Revived in the Life of an Old Timer," October 13 and 20, and "Dean of Rail Engineers [Merton Stewart] to Retire at Seventy," November 17.

An article describing the struggles in early-day Lawrence, and the preservation of a chair brought by the Eldridge family from Massachusetts through the Jones and Quantrill raids, was published in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, October 7, 1933.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Clyde Christian church was observed October 8, 1933. Special historical articles were printed in the *Clyde Republican* preceding the event.

Historical notes on the organization of the Olathe Methodist Episcopal church were published by the Olathe *Mirror* and *The Johnson County Democrat* preceding the seventy-fifth anniversary week of services October 22 to 29, 1933. S. T. Seaton reviewed the history of the church in the *Mirror* for October 12.

Toronto history, as printed in a pamphlet entitled *Woodson County Hand Book* (1883), was reprinted in the *Toronto Republican* in the issues of October 12 to November 16, 1933, inclusive.

Dickinson county history was reviewed at a meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society held at Abilene, October 16, 1933. A two-column summary of the speeches presented at the meeting was reported in the *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, October 17, 1933.

The reminiscences of E. T. Wickersham, of Fall River vicinity, were published in the *Fredonia Daily Herald*, October 17, 1933, and *The Western Star*, Coldwater, November 3. Mr. Wickersham settled in Elk county in 1862.

"Some Wolf Creek History," by John W. Manners, Sr., appeared in the *Lucas Independent*, October 18, 1933.

A history of the Sylvan Grove Presbyterian church was published in the *Sylvan Grove News*, October 19, 1933. H. C. Bradbury held the first preaching service.

Winona newspaper history was reviewed by J. G. Felts in the *Logan County News*, October 19, 1933.

Lecompton history was recalled by J. Frank Kerns in an article printed in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, October 19, 1933. The article, as published, was read at the annual meeting of the Douglas County Old Settlers' Society, September 14.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Cheney was officially observed October 20, 1933. Special historical notes were printed in the *Cheney Sentinel* in its issue of October 19 and 26, commemorating the event.

A history of the Hiawatha Methodist Episcopal church was briefly sketched in the *Hiawatha Daily World*, October 20, 1933. The seventy-fifth anniversary was observed with a special program at the church on November 26.

Oswego historical notes, pictures of pioneers, first buildings and early-day scenes were published in issues of the *Oswego Democrat* and the *Independent* of October 20, 1933, preceding the old settlers' meeting held in the city October 21. Both newspapers on October 27 printed a list of the old settlers registering for the event who had been in the vicinity forty years or more.

A historical sketch of the Paola Methodist Episcopal church was printed in *The Miami Republican*, Paola, October 20, 1933, preceding the seventy-fifth anniversary program held October 27 to 29. A review of the pageant presented at this meeting was printed in *The Western Spirit*, Paola, November 3.

Stories relating the history of floods along the Kansas river and the part the proposed Kiro dam would play in the nation's flood-control program have frequently appeared in newspapers of the state in the past few months. Three were: "The Story of the Kiro

Dam," by Charles H. Sessions, in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 22, 1933; "Kiro Dam and Lake," by W. H. Fernald, in the Florence *Bulletin*, October 26, and a page article, "How Kiro Dam Would Benefit Kansas, Midwest and Nation," by William Wallace, in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 17.

Lincoln county teachers and district school officials for 1933-1934 were named in the Sylvan Grove *News*, October 26, 1933.

The histories of Sublette and Satanta were reviewed in the Sublette *Monitor* and the Satanta *Chief* in their issues of October 26, 1933. The first buildings in the two cities were moved in from Santa Fé twenty-one years ago.

"Memories of Early Claflin," as written by Mrs. R. L. Hamilton and read at a club meeting in October, 1933, was published in the Claflin *Clarion*, October 26. Claflin was founded in the spring of 1887.

The history of the Salem Evangelical Church was briefly reviewed in the Leavenworth *Times* October 26, 1933. The church celebrated its forty-fifth anniversary October 29.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Glasco celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the completion of its church building October 29, 1933. The history of the organization was briefly noted in *The Sun*, Glasco, October 26.

"About Getting Grub Stakes," was the title of the October 27, 1933, installment of the "Just A Thinking" stories by W. V. Jackson which are printed from time to time in *The Western Star*, Coldwater. In this article Mr. Jackson recalled the exchange of cedar posts from southwestern Barber county and southeastern Comanche county, for food.

The history of the Women's Relief Corps, Department of Kansas, was published in the Baxter Springs *Citizen*, October 30, 1933. The Kansas corps was organized at Topeka, February 6, 1884.

An article describing the late Mary Elizabeth Lease as James M. Mickey knew her, was featured in the Leavenworth *Times* of October 31, 1933. Mr. Mickey was the editor of the Osage City *Free Press* during the campaign of 1896, and recalled several anecdotes of her life. Sketches of other incidents in the life of this famous Populist orator were written by B. J. Sheridan for *The Western Spirit*, Paola, November 3, and by D. D. Leahy for the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, November 5.



The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Abilene Grace Reformed church was observed November 5, 1933. The history of the organization was published in the Abilene *Daily Chronicle*, in its issues of November 1 and 5, and in the Abilene *Daily Reflector*, November 3.

Coal mining in Russell county was discussed by L. C. Brown in the Lucas *Independent*, November 2, 1933. Mr. Brown reports that a Mr. Matthews mined the first coal in the county in 1871. The article was reprinted November 9 in the Bunkerhill *Advertiser*.

A list of the old settlers attending the Paola celebration held in their honor, October 25 to 31, 1933, was published in *The Western Spirit*, Paola, November 3.

"When Finn Founded Wichita's School System," an article by Bliss Isely relating the experiences of William Finn, Wichita's first school teacher, was printed in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, November 5, 1933.

Life in Lincoln county from the years 1871 to 1877 is revealed in the diary of J. Z. Springer, which was published in the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* in its issues of November 9, 16 and 23, 1933. Mr. Springer came to Lincoln county from California in May, 1871.

Sabetha's Methodist and Congregational churches celebrated their seventy-fifth anniversaries recently. The Methodist Church held its services November 5, and the Congregational Church, the week starting November 19. A brief historical sketch of the Methodist Church appeared in the Sabetha *Star*, November 9. Stories of the founding of the Congregational Church were printed in the Sabetha *Herald*, November 22, and in the *Star*, November 23.

Names of pupils and teachers in a Lawrence school during the month of May, 1863, as written by William Duncan on the margins and fly leaves of a copy of *Ray's Arithmetic*, were published in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, November 15, 1933. The names are of especial interest since the Quantrill raid on Lawrence occurred only three months later.

"Who Was First in Business in Cheney," an article naming the pioneer business men, was printed in the Cheney *Sentinel*, November 16, 1933.

The early history of the First Methodist Church in Wichita and the dedication of its church bell was reviewed by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in its issue of November 16, 1933.

A prairie fire scare in 1887 in Comanche county was recalled by Mrs. S. A. DeLair, writing in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, November 17, 1933.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Cottonwood Falls First Methodist Church was observed with special services during the week starting December 3, 1933. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, November 22.

A "Review of an Inheritance—With Reference to Kansas Autumn Sundays, Scenery, Pioneer Motives and 'Way of Life,'" by T. W. Morse, was printed in the *Emporia Times*, November 23, 1933. Augustus Wattles, who settled in Linn county in 1857, was the writer's grandfather.

A story of the establishment of the first rural mail delivery route out of Wichita was written by Victor Murdock for the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, November 23, 1933.

Brief histories of Eminence, former county seat of Garfield county, were printed in the *Garden City News*, November 23, 1933, and the *Sublette Monitor*, November 30. The *Monitor* story was republished in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 3.

Notaries of Russell county are being named by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in his "Russell Rustlings" column published in the *Paradise Farmer*, starting with its issue of November 27, 1933. Judge Ruppenthal also listed some of the early settlers of the county, and the date they arrived, in this column during November and December. Several other Kansas newspapers are publishing this series. Among them are the *Waldo Advocate*, *Luray Herald*, *Natoma Independent*, and the *Wilson World*.

The fiftieth anniversary of the *Baldwin Ledger* was commemorated November 30, 1933, with the issuance of a twenty-page historical edition. A detailed history of Baldwin's newspapers was prepared by J. A. McFarland, Jr., present editor of the *Ledger*. Letters from former editors still living and their photographs were published. The founding of Baker University, as described by J. C. Hall, first graduate; the early history of Baker, by H. W. Johnson; a list of prominent graduates of the college, and the biography of Dr. A. T. Still, founder of osteopathy, were other features of the edition.

## Kansas Historical Notes

Plaques honoring fourteen Kansas women have been placed in the seven congressional districts of the state under the supervision of the Woman's Kansas Day Club. Miss Stella B. Haines, of Augusta, president of the club, assisted the district leaders with the unveilings. Names of the women receiving the plaques and the date of the dedicatory ceremonials are as follows: First district—Margaret Hill McCarter, Topeka, novelist, December 7; Amelia Earhart Putnam, Atchison, first aviatrix to fly across the Atlantic ocean, December 8. Second district—Celia Dayton, Spring Hill, first woman physician in Kansas, December 10; Clarinda Howard Nichols, Kansas City, first Kansas woman to sit in a territorial legislature and contend for property rights of women, December 11. Third district—Esther Clark Hill, Chanute, poet, November 27; Osa Leighty (Mrs. Martin) Johnson, Chanute, African and South Seas explorer, November 27. Fourth district—Mary Jane Watson-Sort, Emporia, first woman school teacher in Emporia, December 4; Eliza Ann Huffaker, Council Grove, missionary teacher to the Kaw Indians, December 5. Fifth district—Addie Cowley Bradley, El Dorado, first white girl child born in the district, October 28; Susanna Madora Salter, Argonia, said to be the first woman mayor in the United States, November 10. Sixth district—Mary A. Wade, Ellis, one of the first woman mayors to serve with five women council members, November 22; Mary Calkins Bissell, Phillipsburg, mother of the first white child born in the district and coeditor of the Phillipsburg *Herald*, November 23. Seventh district—Carrie A. Nation, Medicine Lodge, temperance crusader, November 9; Minnie Tamar Johnson Grinstead, Liberal, first woman to serve in the Kansas legislature as a member of the House of Representatives, November 20.

The following persons will serve as officers of the Dickinson County Historical Society for the ensuing year: Mrs. A. B. Seelye, president; Mrs. H. L. Humphrey, vice president; Mrs. O. L. Thisler, Jr., treasurer, and J. H. Giles, secretary. It is planned to house relics and records of the society in the Abilene Public Library when the proposed addition to the library building is completed.

Recently elected officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society are: Mrs. Walter E. Gresham, president; Mrs. R. R. Sandmeyer, vice president; Mrs. A. H. Buckley, recording secretary; Mrs. C. C. Terry, treasurer; Mrs. Ottis Fisher, custodian, and Mrs. A. E. Fraser, historian.



New officers of the Lindsborg Historical Society are: John A. Holmberg, president; H. J. Thorstenberg, vice president; Henry Olson, treasurer, and G. E. Eberhardt, secretary.

Clare A. Coe, of Topeka, was elected president of the Twentieth Kansas infantry organization at the annual election held in Topeka, October 9, 1933. Other officers elected were: Fred Recob, Topeka, vice president; Jerry Springstead, Topeka, secretary and treasurer, and Frank B. Dodds, of Lawrence, historian.

At the annual meeting of the Chanute Old Settlers' Association held in Chanute, October 19, 1933, the following officers were re-elected for another year: J. W. Heminger, president; Mrs. W. W. Alcott, vice president; Mrs. Minnie Carter, secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Letha Hawkins, registrar.

The granite stone marking the site of Wichita's first school at Twelfth street and Jackson avenue was dedicated November 9, 1933. William Finn, the teacher, conducted the school during the winter of 1869-1870.

At the December meeting of the Southwest Historical Society of Dodge City in "The Corral," historical museum at the Merrit Beeson home, H. B. Bell was reelected president and H. F. Schmidt was reelected secretary and treasurer.

Sen. Arthur Capper addressed the annual meeting of the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association held in Topeka December 5, 1933. Officers elected to serve during the ensuing year are: Emery Brobst, president; Miss M. L. Addis, vice president, and Miss A. A. Woodward, secretary and treasurer.

In celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary year of the founding of Salina, the Saline county chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas, erected a marker at the site of the landing of the first free ferry over the Smoky Hill river, near the west approach to the Iron avenue bridge, Salina. The marker was unveiled December 10, 1933, by Mrs. Christie Campbell Loomis, of Omaha, daughter of the late A. M. Campbell and Mrs. Campbell, who operated the ferry.

Other 1933 old settlers' meetings which were announced in the press and not previously mentioned in this magazine were held in Ohio Grove and Roy school districts, of Ottawa county, October 1; Palmyra township, Douglas county, October 10; Iola, October 10; Brownville community, near Colby, October 22; Rush Center, November 8; Petrolia, Neosho county, November 15, and School District No. 1, Osborne county, November 17.

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Kansas Historical  
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Volume III

Number 2

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## Contributors

GEORGE A. ROOT is curator of archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE, a grandson of Lieut. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A., is an assistant graduate instructor at Duke University, Durham, N. C.

MRS. HORTENSE BALDERSTON CAMPBELL is reference librarian at the Wichita City Library.

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



# Ferries in Kansas

## Part III—Blue River

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Big Blue river, the Kaw's largest tributary, rises in Hamilton county, Nebraska, close to the Platte river. Probably one of the earliest mentions of the stream is to be found in the account of the expedition of Stephen H. Long. Prof. Thomas Say, a member of that expedition, in 1819, paid a visit to a village of Kaw Indians located near the junction of the Big Blue and the Kaw, at which time he referred to the character of the country between the "Blue Earth" and the Vermillion rivers. Rev. Isaac McCoy who, with his sons, Dr. Rice McCoy and John C. McCoy, surveyed Indian reservations embracing territory watered by the Blue, calls the stream "Moh-e-ca-to" or Blue Earth creek. Another early mention is found in Fremont's surveys. The river in modern times has become better known as the Big Blue, to distinguish it from its principal tributary, the Little Blue, which also rises in Nebraska and joins the larger stream in Marshall county, Kansas, about one mile west of Blue Rapids. The Big Blue flows through seven counties of Nebraska—Hamilton, York, Polk, Butler, Seward, Saline and Gage—entering Kansas in Marshall county, about due north of Oketo. From here its course is slightly west of south through that county, then forming the boundary line between Riley and Pottawatomie counties, uniting with the Kansas river at the eastern limits of the city of Manhattan. The Big Blue is approximately 285 miles long, about 100 of which are in Kansas.<sup>1</sup>

The first ferry location on the Big Blue above its mouth was at Manhattan. The name of the person receiving the first license at this point has not been learned, as early records of Riley county commissioners have not been available in the preparation of this article. The earliest ferry notice located in the newspapers appeared in the *Manhattan Express*, February 2, 1861, in a published table of receipts and expenditures of Riley county for the previous year. One item in this list recited that M. J. Gore had paid Riley county \$50 for a ferry license. During 1861 Mr. Gore must have

1. Long, Maj. S. H., *Expedition to Rocky Mountains, 1819 and 1820*, v. 1, p. 136; "Survey of Indian Lands in Kansas," by Rev. Isaac McCoy and sons, 1830-1836, MS. volume, p. 120, and original manuscript map of Indian Reservations in Kansas, in Archives division of Kansas State Historical Society; topographical map of the road from Missouri to Oregon, compiled from the field notes and journal of Capt. J. C. Fremont by Charles Preuss in 1846, and published by authority of the United States Senate.

had some sort of an agreement with the merchants of the town, for he was carrying the following advertisement in the home paper early in the fall:

FREE FERRY!!      FREE FERRY!!  
Free Ferry Across the Big Blue River at Manhattan.  
M. J. GORE, *Proprietor*.<sup>2</sup>

During the special session of the legislature of 1860, two measures were introduced in the House of Representatives for the establishment of ferries across the Big Blue—bills numbered 250 and 310. Rep. George G. Pierce, who sponsored No. 250, also presented a petition signed by Samuel Loomis and others, asking for a ferry. This petition was referred to the Committee on Roads and Highways, but on motion of Mr. Pierce it was withdrawn from that committee and referred to the Committee on Incorporations and Banking. Bill No. 250 was passed by the House and sent to the Council where it was accorded a first and second reading and referred to the Committee on Incorporations. It was evidently smothered there.<sup>3</sup> Bill No. 310 was passed by both houses, but for some unexplained reason failed to become a law.<sup>4</sup>

No further mention of the Manhattan Blue River Ferry has been located other than a short item from the *Manhattan Standard* of April 23, 1870, which stated that the ferry was located at the foot of Poyntz avenue, and the following from a paper in a neighboring county on the opposite side of the Kansas river:

The ferry at Manhattan is in charge of a perfect gentleman, assisted by another man, a perfect numbskull, but neither gentlemanly cleverness nor numskulling could run the boat over without all hands pulling hard, which we did till our hands were blistered, and the sweat ran down like rain, but received the consoling assurance that it would not always be so as the contract for the stone work to a bridge had just been awarded to Messrs. Allison for less than nine thousand dollars, that being the lowest bid by three thousand six hundred dollars than the highest. The iron work was let to Mills of Topeka. I was told that the whole cost of the bridge would be less than thirty thousand. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Manhattan was located on the old military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. Up to 1855 the bulk of the supplies for Fort Riley were hauled over this road, crossing the Blue at a point about four or five miles above the mouth of that stream and about a

2. *Manhattan Express*, September 2, 1861.

3. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 217, 226, 236, 297, 338; *Council Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 321, 336.

4. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 320, 329; *Council Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 496, 520, 632.

5. *Alma Herald*, July 7, 1870.

mile below what was known then as Rocky Ford. A bridge had been built at this place by the government in 1854, which was carried away by a flood in 1855. From that time on travel crossing the stream depended on ferries. By 1860, however, plans were maturing for a bridge at Manhattan to care for this traffic. Bills were introduced in the House of Representatives during the special session of the legislature that year, granting franchises for bridge companies, but they failed of passage.<sup>6</sup> However, work started on a toll bridge some time during the year, which was completed in the spring of the year following. The *Manhattan Express*, of April 20, 1861, stated that the bridge was nearing completion. This structure was opened to travel on May 20, and on May 25 the *Express* printed the following:

Travelers, the new bridge is in the crossing order; the citizens prefer to cross the bridge—the reason why: 1st. It is safe, easier and more expeditious mode of traveling than the antiquated way of ferrying. 2d. It cuts off one mile of travel from Manhattan to the junction of the bridge and ferry roads. 3d. The toll is only one-half the ferry rates. Z.

In 1864 high water and ice in the Blue must have damaged the bridge, which was, evidently, a pontoon affair, thereby somewhat disrupting mail service. A local paper early that year said: "The ice is out of the river and the bridge back in its place, and the mud has in a measure dried up, so we hope for no more delay of the mails." <sup>7</sup>

About three weeks later the same authority had this mention: "The cold snap which commenced a week ago to-day, formed so much floating ice in the Blue river, that it became necessary to swing out the floating part of the bridge. Spring has come again and the bridge will be returned to its old position to-day." <sup>8</sup>

By 1867 plans were formed for a new bridge. On January 21, 1867, the Manhattan and Blue River Bridge Company was organized for the purpose of building a bridge over the Blue river to be located between the mouth of the river and a point one and one-half miles upstream in T. 10, R. 8, and at or near the foot of Poyntz avenue, or between the foot of Blue Mont Hill, or a point between the aforesaid named places. The company was capitalized at \$40,000, with shares \$100 each, and proposed to erect a first-class Howe truss bridge near the present highway north of the Union Pacific railroad. The company was composed of representative Manhattan business

6. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 212, 400.

7. *Manhattan Independent*, February 8, 1864.

8. *Ibid.*, February 29, 1864.



and professional men, which included Isaac T. Goodnow, Josiah M. Pillsbury, S. D. Houston, S. G. Hoyt, John W. Pipher, John Pipher, and Joseph Carney. Their charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 6, 1867.<sup>9</sup>

On the organization of the new bridge company, a local paper commented:

Another bridge is to be built over the Blue river at this place. Under the general corporation act of the state, a company has been formed for the purpose, and soon and joyfully we can take a final leave of ferries and boat bridges. They were valuable in their day, and served a useful purpose, but we have outgrown them and are prepared for better and bigger things.<sup>10</sup>

High water in the Blue again disrupted mail service in 1867, and the newspaper summed up the situation thusly:

We have received no eastern mail since Wednesday; the floods have so fiercely asserted their power. The railroad bridge over the Blue at this place stands against the marvelous power of the onrushing flood. The bridges to the west of us have not been so fortunate and their being swept away makes Manhattan the present terminus of the Union Pacific.<sup>11</sup>

By early March the pontoon bridge was running again,<sup>12</sup> and it served the community for the next few years.

In 1870 a demand for a free bridge was being agitated. The old bridge company at this time was building a new toll bridge, and apparently did not look with favor upon the free bridge proposition. They applied to the court for an order restraining the township from building a bridge at this place. The court, however, refused to issue such an order. A pontoon bridge, spoken of as the Leffer pontoon bridge, had been placed across the river to care for traffic while the new one was being built. Construction work went ahead during the summer and early fall, but when the fall rains commenced work was seriously impeded by high water which carried away the railway of the contractors doing the work, delaying completion several weeks. On the completion of the new bridge the Leffer pontoon was moved up the river and located where the old Barnes ferry operated. One of the local papers was of the opinion the pontoon bridge would be a benefit to the people of that section even though it was a toll bridge, for a toll bridge was better than a toll ferry.<sup>13</sup> The toll bridge was completed early in the spring of 1871.

9. Corporations, v. 1, p. 301.

10. *Manhattan Independent*, February 9, 1867.

11. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1867.

12. *Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, March 2, 1867.

13. *Manhattan Standard*, October 23, 30, November 18, 1870; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 13, March 31, 1871.

Following the flood of 1903 in the Blue and Kaw rivers, persons owning small boats did a land-office business transporting individuals across the raging waters of both the Blue and Kaw. Ferry boats were in demand at this time and there were none, so Manhattan city and Riley county shared the expense of building one for use on the Kaw, as every bridge in this vicinity over that stream had been carried away. The bridge over the Blue survived the flood, but it was left in an unsafe condition, needing repairs before it could be used.<sup>14</sup>

The following ferry item is taken from Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, p. 99. As no location is given and no further history located, the entry is given herewith: "On October 8, 1878, John Cook applied for a ferry license for the Big Blue river. He was required to give a satisfactory bond, when he was to receive a license without cost. His toll rates were to be as heretofore established."

Pittsburg, slightly above Manhattan and almost opposite, had the next ferry. This town was laid out in 1857 and was eight miles west of Eldon. When Jones and Russell established their Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express line, which ran to Denver, Pittsburg became a station on that line. Albert D. Richardson, correspondent of the New York *Tribune* mentions passing through the village while on his way to the mountains.<sup>15</sup> In 1859 John Flagg received a license from Riley county commissioners to operate a ferry at this point, the settlement in March, that year, having but three houses.

The following is the only other reference we have found of the Pittsburg ferry, and is taken from the printed diary of Christian L. Long, of Selinsgrove, Pa., formerly of Newport, Pa., written in 1859, on his trip to Pike's Peak:

Tuesday Morn, April 26th. Left Eldon 6½ o'clock 8 miles to Pittsburg till 11½ o'clock where we had a stream to ferry which is called the big blue could not cross on account of storm storm ceased at 4 o'clock crossed Encamped on the west bank of the same on the outskirts of a town called Manhattan.

Pittsburg was last shown on maps of about 1860, and has long since been numbered among the dead and forgotten towns.

The next ferry project above Pittsburg was an enterprise known as the Kansas Bridge and Ferry Company, organized March 9, 1866, with a capital stock of \$50,000, divided into shares of \$50 each. The incorporators were Isaac D. Clapp, John J. Boyd, John Landon, John G. Otis and William P. Douthitt, and the principal office was

14. Manhattan *Nationalist*, June 4, 6, 8, 1903.

15. Richardson, Albert D., *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 161.

at Topeka. This company was formed for the purpose of constructing, operating and maintaining bridges and ferries across the Big Blue river where the township line between 9 and 10 crossed the river in Range 8, and within four miles above said point and below to the point where the Blue forms a junction with the Kansas river. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 9, 1866.<sup>16</sup> This location is approximately seven miles above the mouth of the Blue, following the meanderings of the river. If the above company built a bridge or operated a ferry, no record has been located by the writer. Otis and Douthitt were prominent early residents of Shawnee county, the former a paymaster in the United States military service in 1863, and later a member of congress from the fourth district. The latter was a prominent attorney of Topeka for many years.

The next ferry upstream was located at the point where the road from Manhattan to Cedar creek crossed the Blue. Cedar creek is on the east side of the Blue and joins it in S. 30, T. 9, R. 8, about one and one-half miles above the location of the Kansas Bridge and Ferry Company, and approximately one mile almost due east of the Juniata crossing. After having operated a ferry in the immediate vicinity of Rocky Ford for several years, J. H. Barnes secured a license for the Cedar creek location and established his ferry at that point. The county commissioners on granting his license prescribed the following rates of ferriage: "For four-horse team, 25 cents; two-horse team, 20 cents; one-horse team, 15 cents; horseman, 10 cents; cattle, per head, 5 cents; footman, 5 cents."<sup>17</sup>

Dyer's ferry, close to three miles above the Kansas Bridge and Ferry Company location, and about four miles from Manhattan by the old military road, was the next ferry location up the river, established in 1853 by Samuel D. Dyer, a six-foot Tennessean, for the use of the government. Dyer had previously been employed by the government at Fort Scott. He was an old man at this time, was the first settler in Riley county, and built the first house, which has been described as "one story high and three stories long." Dyer was proslavery in sentiment, of the Methodist church, South, and said to be upright, honest and of a kindly disposition.<sup>18</sup> He had two sons, Abraham and James, who helped with the boat. This ferry was located on the east side of the Blue, on S. 30, T. 9, R. 7. A little

16. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 102.

17. Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, p. 411.

18. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, pp. 246, 247; v. 12, pp. 426, 427.



settlement sprang up at this place, known as Juniata, and sometimes called "Dyer's town," the town consisting of a store or two and a few cabins, in all about nine houses. Dyer operated this ferry for a year or two, when the government built a bridge across the river here, the first to span the Blue. The ferry was then discontinued, travel going over the bridge. Early in 1855 a flood carried away the structure.<sup>19</sup> The quartermaster at Fort Riley built a new boat and again asked Dyer to operate it. This Dyer did, beginning operations without first having secured a license from Riley county as required by law. He was penalized \$200 by the county for this neglect. This case was pending in the June, 1856, term of probate court of Riley county, when friends of Dyer started circulating the following petitions in his favor, which were eventually sent to the governor:

*To His Excellency the Governor of Kansas Territory:*

We, the undersigned citizens of Riley county, would respectfully represent that there is now a judgment now in the courts of said county which was rendered at the last June [1856] term of the probate court by confession on the part of S. D. Dyer against S. D. Dyer for keeping a ferry without a license, and said judgment is for two hundred dollars. Now, we, the undersigned citizens of said county, do not think that it was the intention [of] said Dyer to violate any law or statute of this territory. And as he is an old and poor man with a large family we would respectfully pray your Excellency to remit said fine and judgment, or at least the largest portion of it, as it would be extremely hard for him to pay the sum of two hundred dollars for so trivial an offense when it was as he says unintentional [on] his part by remitting the said fine you would do a favour to an old and good man and reflect the wish of the people of Riley county.

Respectfully submitted this August the 16th, 1856.

Henry Whiteside

C. R. MOBLY, one of the county commrs.

A. A. GARRETT, a justice of peace.

WM. C. DYER.

J. W. DYER.

A. C. ALLEN.

WM. F. ALLEN.

C. N. WILSON.<sup>20</sup>

*To His Excellency the Governor of Kansas Territory:*

We the undersigned citizens of Riley county and Territory of Kansas, would respectfully represent to your excellency that a judgment for two hundred dollars is now pending against Samuel D. Dyer in favor of the people of Kansas, obtained from the probate court of Riley county at the June term 1856 of said court, as a penalty for keeping a ferry on Blue river in said county of Riley for a short time without a license from the commissioners of said county.

19. *Ibid.*, v. 12, p. 426.

20. Original document in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

Your petitioners would represent that the facts under which said ferry was kept are as follows: After the bridge across Blue river was destroyed the government built a ferry boat and the quartermaster at Fort Riley proposed to said Dyer that if he would attend to said boat and transport all government teams free of charge, he should have the privilege of taking pay from citizens. Your petitioners would further represent that while he kept said boat it was not his intention to violate any laws of the Territory, but honestly believed that the quartermaster had the power and authority to establish and protect said ferry, that he acted in good faith and without any other motive, as soon as he was convinced it was a violation of the laws said boat as a ferry was discontinued by your petitioners and a license obtained from the county and in view of these facts your petitioners would ask your excellency to remit the fine against him.

S. D. Houston  
Tunis I. Roosa  
Ira Taylor  
J. R. McClure  
John Pipher  
W. Chilton  
Chas. Barnes  
John W. Pipher  
Thomas Reynolds  
G. W. Lee  
E. M. Newell

A. B. Lee  
J. M. McCormick  
C. P. McDonal  
Grange Miller  
Samuel Fowler  
Phillip Weiner  
M. A. Garrett  
Jos. Legore  
George Tilton  
R. S. Hays  
G. W. Eubank  
A. Williams<sup>21</sup>

J. S. Williams  
S. B. Williams  
Zebulon Avey  
Henry Whiteside  
H. B. Nealy  
H. B. Naly  
C. N. Wilson  
David Hayse  
William Hanna  
Samuel Hayse  
William C. Dyer

It would be interesting to know the outcome of this matter, but no records of the governor's office turned over to the Archives division of the Historical Society have any further mention of the matter.

Samuel D. Dyer and family are listed in the 1855 census, pages 7 and 8, as residents of the tenth district. His occupation is given as farmer, age 50, born in Missouri. His wife's name was Pamelia, age 40, born in Missouri. Eight children were listed, as follows, all born in Missouri: William C., [over] 21; Abraham O., [over] 21; Lydia, [over] 21; Enoch P., James D., Martha Ann, Sarah, and Mary, minors. The census of 1857 lists two more of the Dyer family who were voters: John N. Dyer and E. P. Dyer. These records are in the Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

Dyer must have operated his ferry till about 1858, when a new bridge was completed across the Blue. The first election in what is now Riley county, on March 30, 1855, was held at his house. He was commissioned justice of the peace, October 15, 1856, for Dyer township, which was named for him. His death occurred sometime during the year 1875.

In 1867 necessity must have arisen for another ferry across the

21. *Ibid.*

Blue, for the *Manhattan Independent* of July 27, contained the following: "A new ferry is about to be established on the Blue, just below Rocky Ford. It will be a great convenience to travelers who frequent the Blue river valley. Judge Chaffee gives \$100 towards its establishment, and Mr. Collins, an old friend of ours from Exeter, N. H., is building the boat."

Reminiscent of the old ferry is the following from the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, of August 18, 1932, which gives the experiences of Dr. J. Seleen, pioneer pastor in the Swedish community of Mariadahl:

The Big Blue was a menace in those days. . . . In normal weather one could cross the river in places on horseback, but when high water came it was impassable. The first year I paddled across in a hollowed out tree trunk, which was a great risk at times. Later, some of the more progressive farmers got together and made a good row boat which held seven or eight persons. Then, after a year or two, came the ferry.

The site of Dyer's town or Juniata, later came into the possession of Gen. J. S. Casement, whose son, Dan Casement, owns it to-day, being known as the Juniata stock farm.

Dyer's ferry equipment appears to have been moved about a mile upstream, close to the Rocky Ford crossing,<sup>22</sup> after it passed out of his control. No clue to ownership has been located between that time and 1871, when J. H. Barnes was operating a ferry about a mile above the old Juniata crossing and a short distance below Rocky Ford.

Rocky Ford, something over a mile above the Juniata crossing, was the most important crossing of the Blue in Riley county, and within a mile or so above and below this point the bulk of travel reaching Manhattan and settlements beyond passed over the river between these limits. A dam was built across the river just below this ford to furnish waterpower for a mill. The "pond" produced by this backwater early became one of the favorite swimming holes for the young urchins of the very early 1870s. Their apparent disdain of swimming suits together with a reckless display of nudism virtually prohibited city ladies from riding out and crossing the river in the cool of the evening, which prompted a local paper to call on the city authorities to put a stop to the practice.<sup>23</sup>

A bridge with a 241 foot span was built at Rocky Ford in 1890.<sup>24</sup> Barnes' ferry must have played quite an important role in the

22. Location given in Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, p. 84, as S. 30, T. 9, R. 8.

23. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, June 23, 1871.

24. *Randolph Enterprise*, May 1, 1890.



business activities of Manhattan, for the *Independent*, of January 13, 1871, contained the following:

BARNES' FERRY.—The citizens of Manhattan township by a very decided majority voted to pay seventy or eighty thousand dollars to build bridges across the Blue and Kansas rivers. It was supposed to be a good investment for Manhattan, on the ground that it would lead great numbers to do their trading here who now go elsewhere. It is to be hoped that it was but the commencement of a systematic effort to improve the avenues leading to town. There is not a road leading from town but needs improvement. There are places in them all which, at certain seasons, are almost impassable for want of ditching or bridging. A little money spent in improving these roads would bring in a great deal of trade that we now lose, and would lead to a more rapid settlement and development of the country. But we commenced to write about a ferry—not roads.

Barnes' ferry, just below the Rocky Ford, affords the only convenient means that large numbers of people have of getting to town during high water. As many as five hundred teams have crossed in one month—besides those who crossed on yearly tickets. And yet there is no legal road leading from the ferry to town. The owners of the land can at any time fence up the tracts on which the road now runs. Moreover, there are two bad places in the road during wet weather, and no one feels encouraged to improve them because of the fact that the road may any day be forced elsewhere, or entirely closed. Mr. Barnes asks that a road be laid from the point where Mr. Phillips' line intersects the Blue river road, along said line to his ferry, and we have reasons to believe that if a road is once permanently located there, it will be properly drained and kept in order. He asks no money from us—only a right of way. Shall he not have it?

February and March, following hard winters, were anxious months for those operating ferries. A sudden warm spell, followed by a good rain, was almost sure to cause the ice to break, often forming dams, causing the river to rise rapidly, overflow bottom lands, and in many instances carrying away ferry boats as the ice went out. This condition obtained early in 1871, and is described in the following:

The rain of Thursday night, last week, raised the Big Blue considerably. Again ice from the upper waters of the stream formed at the horseshoe bend about seven miles north of the city, and the result was a general inundation of the riparian region thereabout, resulting in no serious damage, however, as far as we have learned. Monday night the ice gave way and swept in a flood down stream. The boat at Paul's ferry was torn loose from its moorings and carried down the river several hundred yards, where it fortunately lodged against a couple of trees in such a way as to be easily returned to its place, and that, too, uninjured. What became of the boat at Barnes' ferry we did not learn. The ice passed the piers of the new bridge here without doing any injury to them.<sup>25</sup>

25. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, February 24, 1871.

On March 16, 1871, the Barnes family and others formed a company for the purpose of operating a ferry at this location above Rocky Ford. The incorporators were J. H. Barnes, S. B. Barnes, Charles Barnes, S. V. Lee and N. D. Norton. Capital stock of the company was placed at \$3,000, with shares \$50 each. This location was in S. 30, T. 9, R. 8E., and Manhattan was the principal place of business. Their charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 17, 1871.<sup>26</sup>

J. H. Barnes apparently was out of the ferry business by 1874, at which time he was operating a lime kiln. This year there appeared to be need of another ferry north of the Juniata crossing, and *The Nationalist* of July 17 suggested that Mr. Barnes was the man to put it in operation as he had been in the ferry business before.

C. Gearhart probably succeeded to the ferry business at this point. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, early this summer, printed the following regarding the matter:

We understand that what is known as Barnes' ferry has been removed to a point above the dam at Rocky Ford, Mr. Gearhart still continuing to run it, however. We presume that this will result in the putting in of a ferry at the old Juniata crossing, east of the mouth of Cedar creek. To persons residing on the east side of the Blue above Cedar, a ferry at that point would shorten the round trip to Manhattan some three or four miles, which is certainly worth saving. We have heard it intimated that Mr. Downing may move his ferry to that point.

County commissioners' proceedings of July 21, 1874, recite that C. Gearhart petitioned to run a ferry on the Blue at a location about twenty rods above Rocky Ford. He filed the necessary bond and his petition was granted.<sup>27</sup>

The following is the last mention we have located of Gearhart's ferry:

GEARHART'S FERRY.—This ferry has been removed from the millpond back to its old place, (near Mr. Barnes') and is now in running order. Mr. Gearhart, who is a very worthy and industrious man, will be very happy to accommodate the traveling public who wish to cross the Blue in that neighborhood. We understand that there are now two outlets to the ferry—one by way of Childs' and one by Dodge's.<sup>28</sup>

John Johnson was the next person to operate the ferry near the Rocky Ford dam. He filed a bond for the faithful performance of ferry duties, was granted a license on August 7, 1876, and was allowed to charge the same rates of ferriage as were granted to C.

26. Corporations, v. 3, p. 211.

27. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, July 31, 1874.

28. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1875.

Gearhart. Two years later he applied for another license, filed the requisite bond, and was granted a license without cost. Ferry rates were to remain as already established.<sup>29</sup>

No record of ferry licenses for this location between 1877 and 1880 have been located. On November 12, 1881, John Chalmers was granted a license for the location known as the Rocky Ford dam.<sup>30</sup> No further mention of Chalmers' ferry has been located. It probably was discontinued at the expiration of its license in November, 1882.

Jefferson Brown, on October 6, 1884, presented a petition for a license to operate a ferry at or near the General Casement farm, known as the Rocky Ford ferry, which was granted, his ferriage rates to be the same as at the Joseph Hays ferry.<sup>31</sup>

Riley county records of 1888 contain the last mentions of the Barnes ferry. On January 5, that year, Sam Gardner was granted a ferry license and allowed to charge the following rates: "Crossing a two-horse team, one way, 20 cents; four-horse team, one way, 25 cents; horse and buggy, 15 cents; man and horse, 15 cents; footman, 5 cents; loose cattle or norses, per head, 5 cents."<sup>32</sup>

On October 11, 1888, William Harrison received a license to run the Barnes ferry, his rates to be as follows: "Four-horse team, 25 cents; two-horse team, 20 cents; one horse and buggy, 15 cents; footmen, each, 5 cents; loose cattle, per head, 5 cents; loose hogs, per head, 3 cents."<sup>33</sup>

Paul's ferry, operated by J. W. Paul, was probably the next ferry upstream. It was located at about the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 24, T. 9, R. 7, which was approximately one mile almost due north of Rocky Ford. This crossing was being operated as early as 1871—perhaps earlier—although no record of a license for it has been located. The earliest mention of this enterprise was in 1871. When ice in the Big Blue broke up in February, that year, the boat was carried downstream for some distance, finally lodging against some trees, where it was later retrieved and returned to its place undamaged.<sup>34</sup>

Early in March, 1872, an individual arrived at this ferry while the ferryman was at dinner. Being impatient to cross at once he hopped into the skiff to work his own way across. When in mid-stream the boat went off and left him hanging onto the cable. His

29. Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, pp. 28, 99.

30. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 233.

31. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 368.

32. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 11.

33. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 49.

34. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, February 24, 1871.



calls for help attracted the ferryman who arrived and wanted to know what had become of the boat. The unfortunate victim pointed down stream, whereupon the ferryman exacted a promise to pay \$6 for the old cottonwood boat before he would take him out of the water. The promise was given and faithfully carried out.<sup>35</sup> This ferry is shown on the map of Riley county, in Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, pp. 84, 85. Mr. Paul is listed in the census of Riley county for 1875 as a resident of Grant township, a farmer, age 37, born in Missouri; wife, Nancy J., age 33, born in Missouri; six children—Charles, 13, born in Missouri; Mary E., 11; John W., 9; Hester J., 5; Martha, 2; and Julia  $3\frac{1}{12}$ , the last five being natives of Kansas.

Downing's ferry, run by J. M. Downing, apparently was the next one functioning at this point, being operated early in 1872. The first mention of this ferry we have located is the following:

We learn that Mrs. Legore and her three sons, in returning from Manhattan to her home on McIntire creek, Pottawatomie county, on Monday night, lost three horses, under the following circumstances: They reached Downing's ferry, on the Blue, at about 10 o'clock, and went down the hill pretty fast, the ferryman says. It is said the boat has no apron, and when the wheels struck its front beam, which was high from the ground, it was pushed out into the river by the concussion. The wagon on not rising into the boat dragged the horses back into the river, and they with the running gear, were carried under the ice by the current. The wagon box floating enabled the occupants to save their lives by jumping upon the ice.<sup>36</sup>

A subsequent issue of the above paper stated that but two horses were lost, and that there was but one of Mrs. Legore's sons and a young man along at the time of the accident.

In July, 1873, Mr. Downing presented his petition for a license to run a ferry on the Big Blue on the line between the farms of Joseph Hays and Charles Sturgeon.<sup>37</sup> His petition was granted and rates of toll fixed as follows: "Two horses and wagon, 25 cents; each additional horse, 10 cents; one-horse buggy, 10 cents; single horse, 15 cents; loose cattle, 10 cents; foot passengers, 10 cents."<sup>38</sup>

In 1873 an effort was made to get a bridge across McIntire creek, in the immediate vicinity of Downing's ferry. The following communication gives an idea of what one of the taxpayers thought of the proposition:

35. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1872.

36. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1872.

37. This location is on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 24, T. 9, R. 7, and is shown in *Historical Plat Book of Riley County*, p. 64.

38. Riley county commissioners' proceedings, in *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, July 18, 1873; *Historical Plat Book of Riley County*, p. 64.

## SHALL THE BONDS BE VOTED?

To the Voters of Blue Township:

An attempt is to be made, on Monday, Sep. 8, to vote bonds to build a bridge over the lower crossing of McIntire's creek for the benefit of Downing's ferry. Movements are on foot to establish a ferry a few miles above, and another at the Rocky Ford mill, at points where depots on the M. & N. railroad will be located—and when they are established Downing's ferry will have to be abandoned, thus rendering the bridge utterly useless.

If it was proposed to build the McIntire bridge where the main road up the Blue crosses the creek I would not object, for one would always be needed there, but it does seem foolish—or worse—to build one where it is certain to be speedily abandoned. The proposed bridge across Cedar is also needed, but the desire to secure it ought not to lead the voters to absolutely throw away a large sum.

Let us then vote down this proposition and build bridges only where they are needed. And also insist that hereafter such bridge proposition stand on its own merits. ELBOW.<sup>39</sup>

Another item about this time stated that Downing's ferry would probably be moved to the old location of the Juniata ferry crossing.

In 1875 a license was granted to A. Johnson to run a ferry at this point, the permit also fixing rates of ferriage. For some reason, not recorded in commissioners' minutes, this license was canceled, and on the petition of Joseph Hays (or Hayes) the license was issued to him. This location is recorded as on lot 5, S. 24, T. 9, R. 7E. Rates of toll were to be the same as prescribed for Mr. Johnson.<sup>40</sup>

Mr. Hays, apparently, was running the ferry as late as 1885, although no record of licenses issued to him for the years 1883 and 1884 have been located. His license was dated April 13, 1885.<sup>41</sup>

M. E. Bush was the next operator in charge of this ferry, his license being dated October 5, 1885. Ferriage rates allowed by the commissioners were: Four-horse team, 25 cents; two-horse team, 20 cents; one-horse team, 15 cents; footman, 5 cents; cattle, per head, 5 cents.<sup>42</sup>

Apparently the ferry was not running during the year 1886, at least no record was found of any license issued. The next year W. W. Graves obtained a permit, his license being dated April 11, 1887, and authorizing him to collect toll rates as heretofore established.<sup>43</sup>

G. W. Sigman was next operator at this location, his license being dated April 9, 1888, with same privileges as were accorded the pre-

39. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, September 5, 1873.

40. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1875.

41. Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, pp. 3, 51, 83, 114, 160, 199, 225, 402.

42. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 423.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 539.

vious year. Mr. Sigman had scarcely operated his ferry for three months when complaints were filed against him. On July 5, following, a petition was presented to the county board, asking that Sigman's license be revoked. The board listened to the sworn testimony of George Washington, D. A. White, G. W. Hill, Jacob Springer, Rude Springer, Frank White and a Mr. Ninch, all of which was against Mr. Sigman. The board laid the matter over to Saturday, July 7, 1888, the action at that time being set forth as follows:

The matter of revoking the ferry license of G. W. Sigman came up for hearing. The board had listened to the testimony on the day before of the parties who wanted the license revoked, and after hearing the sworn testimony of G. W. Sigman, the board decided to revoke the license of the said G. W. Sigman. And the board made an order revoking said license from and after the expiration of Saturday, July 7th, 1888.<sup>44</sup>

M. F. Osburn received the next license for this location, which was dated October 1, 1888.<sup>45</sup>

Two more changes in operators are of record for 1889, the first license being issued to L. C. Wiley on January 11, and the last to Theodore DeNoyer, on October 16, who filed a \$500 bond for the faithful performance of his duties, and was allowed to charge rates as heretofore fixed for this crossing.<sup>46</sup>

Unadilla, Pottawatomie county, was incorporated in 1858 by Arnold B. Watson, Lorenzo Westover, M. C. Keith, Ambrose Todd and S. Newells, and was mentioned in early *Gazetteers* as late as 1866-'67. In 1859 the legislature granted to Zach Curtis the right to establish a ferry across the Big Blue at this place, having a five-year privilege, with the right and power to land on either side of the river. He was required to furnish a bond for \$2,000, with good and sufficient security, and collect ferriage rates as allowed by the county board. This act was to take effect and be in force from and after its passage. It received the approval of Gov. S. Medary on February 2, 1859.—*Private Laws, Kansas, 1859*, pp. 100, 101.

Stockdale had the next ferry upstream. J. H. Callahan established a ferry near there in 1887, receiving his license from the county on April 11. While his license failed to state the location of the ferry, Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, page 84, indicates the ferry was located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 33, T. 8, R. 7E, this being between five and six miles northwest of Rocky Ford by wagon road, and approxi-

44. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 19, 36, 39.

45. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 49.

46. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 77, 119.



mately two or three miles farther following the river. Callahan's ferry was authorized to collect tolls as follows: Four-horse team, 25 cents; two-horse team, 20 cents; one-horse team, 15 cents; one man and horse, 5 cents; loose cattle, per head, 5 cents; footman, 5 cents.<sup>47</sup>

Riley county records show that Callahan took out licenses for the years 1888, 1890, and the last in 1896.<sup>48</sup>

A ferry was operated for a time at the town of Garrison, Pottawatomie county. This crossing was about eight miles by river above Stockdale, and a little shorter by road. The village dates back to territorial days, Dr. J. P. Root introducing a bill in the council during the session of the legislature of 1858 for its incorporation. No mention of ferry licenses for this location has been found, but a ferry is indicated on a plat of the county, located on the NW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 7, T. 8, R. 8E., the west landing being on land owned in 1881 by R. G. Allen.<sup>49</sup>

Apparently other ferries operated at or near Garrison at different times. Under the head of "Garrison Locals" the Randolph *Echo* of May 2, 1883, printed the following: "The ferry boat recently purchased by Mr. Webber is now in good running order."

Randolph, about five and one-half miles by road and a mile farther by river, had the next ferry. This ferry was different from any other on the river, inasmuch as it was a community affair instead of a private one. The charter, as filed with the secretary of state, was as follows:

#### RANDOLPH FERRY

We, the citizens of the town of Randolph in Riley county, Kansas, assembled on this 3d day of June, 1878, do organize ourselves into a ferry corporation to be known as the Randolph Ferry Company, for the purpose of legally holding any real estate or other property that may come into its possession for the use of said company.

The place in which all of its business shall be transacted shall be in the town of Randolph, Riley county, and state of Kansas.

The term for which said corporation is to exist shall be for (20) years.

The number of trustees of said corporation shall be five, to be elected annually by ballot, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in April each year.

At a meeting of said company held in the said town of Randolph on the third day of June, 1878, the following-named trustees were duly elected: Milton Foreman, John Chelander, John W. Nelson, Axel Axelson and Wm. Pierson. The residence of said trustees is in Randolph, Riley county, Kansas.

47. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 540.

48. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 19, 90, 170, 496.

49. *Council Journal*, 1858, p. 83; *Historical Plat Book of Riley County*, p. 55.

The capital stock of said company shall be five hundred dollars, to be divided into one hundred shares of five dollars each.

The aforesaid company was organized for the purpose of operating a ferry across the Big Blue river, at or as near as possible or practical to the said town of Randolph.

Signatures of five members of said company.

A. WIKANDER,  
JOHN W. NELSON,  
MILES REED,  
JOHN F. BECKMAN,  
C. A. CHAPMAN.

State of Kansas, } ss.  
Riley county, }

Be it remembered that on this 8th day of January, 1879, before me a notary public, in and for said county and state aforesaid, came A. Wikander, John W. Nelson, Miles Reed, John F. Beckman and C. A. Chapman, to me personally known to be the same persons whose names are affixed to the foregoing instrument of writing, and duly they acknowledged the same.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my notary seal on the day and year last above written.

[Seal]

Wm. Condray, Notary Public.

Filed with the secretary of state, January 24, 1879.<sup>50</sup>

While the foregoing charter mentions no specific location for the ferry, it is more than likely it was located on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 12, T. 7, R. 7E., as the *Historical Plat Book of Riley County*, page 73, shows a ferry for Randolph located at that point. Whether the community ferry was a going concern or not we have not discovered. However, on November 12, 1881, the ferry seemed to have passed into other hands, for Elijah Holden was granted a license for a ferry near the town where the public road leading from Randolph to Olsburg crosses the river.<sup>51</sup> The next license, dated April 8, 1884, went to Elijah Holden and Joseph Hays.<sup>52</sup> In 1885 and 1886 it went to Mr. Holden, the ferry being located between sections 12 and 13, T. 7, R. 6, ferriage rates for 1886 being as follows: Footmen, 5 cents each; man and horse, 10 cents; two-horse team, 20 cents; loose cattle, per head, 5 cents.<sup>53</sup>

Holden's connection with this ferry apparently ended in 1887.<sup>54</sup>

On July 8, 1887, Peter Jacobson was granted a license for a ferry at this location, being allowed to charge the same rates as accorded to Holden.<sup>55</sup> In 1888 the license was issued to N. S. Bergman.<sup>56</sup> It is probable this ferry was discontinued after 1888, as no further

50. Corporations, v. 9, pp. 310, 311.

51. Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, p. 233.

52. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 345.

53. *Ibid.*, v. 2, pp. 401, 446.

54. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 539.

55. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 586.

56. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 44.

mention of Randolph ferry matters is recorded in the commissioners' proceedings until July 6, 1903, the year of the big flood, when an entry in the record recites:

The board agreed to make a donation of \$200 for the erection of a ferry-boat to be located over the Big Blue at Randolph, and further agreed to pay the sum of \$15 per month for the running of the same after February 1, 1904, until such time as the bridge can be constructed and ready for travel.<sup>57</sup>

A move for a bridge at Randolph was started during the summer of 1889. Bonds had been voted, materials ordered for the structure, and work commenced that fall. A neighboring community paper, which evidently had not kept posted on the situation, printed the following:

Report reaches us that the bridge company to whom the Randolph bridge contract was awarded will not accept the Jackson township bonds for security. The reason for this we do not know and it may be a rumor. However, their time is rapidly passing and no move is being made to build the bridge.—*Olsburg News-Letter*, September, 1889.

This item called forth the following reply from the *Randolph Enterprise*, of October 4, 1889: "This is somewhat of a surprise to the people of Randolph and vicinity, as one carload of material is here and work has been commenced. It will be quite a difficult task to make us believe that we are not going to have a bridge."

Construction was pushed that winter, the *Randolph Enterprise* of January 23, 1890, reporting that work was going ahead nicely—the ice on the river facilitating the work. This bridge was completed and thrown open for travel about the first of May, 1890, served the community for a number of years, until it was so damaged by floods and the passing years that it had to be replaced.<sup>58</sup>

Mariadahl, between three and four miles by land and about twice that distance by river above Randolph, had the next ferry. This was being operated early in the spring of 1883, perhaps earlier. The first mention we have located is the following item from the *Randolph Echo*, of March 7, 1883:

One of our esteemed fellow citizens and an ex-captain of the Garrison ferry boat had a slight unpleasantness last week. The difficulty growing out of a settlement of accounts. It seemed there was a small balance due from our citizen, but the question was, who was entitled to receive this money, the owner of the boat or the ex-captain, part of it belonging to the former and part to the latter.

The late commander concluded he would take his share in meat, and wrapped his mouth around our citizen's nose. This plan of adjusting accounts

57. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 236.

58. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 363, 494; *Randolph Echo*, March 13, May 1, 1890.



has failed in this instance to give satisfaction. The said captain hasn't been seen around to any considerable extent since. He bites like a beast.

Another mention of the ferry by the same authority, about a month later says: "George Sender is tending the ferry here and the traveling public can now be accommodated."

A petition for a ferry at or near Mariadahl was presented to the Riley county commissioners in April, 1885, by E. Kallberg and others, praying that Kallberg be granted a license to run a ferry. Kallberg was granted a license upon his promise to furnish a good and satisfactory bond, and was to be allowed to charge the same rate of toll as the Holden ferry was charging. At the July, 1885, meeting of the county commissioners, this license was revoked as the said Kallberg failed to file a bond. It was ordered that the part of the minutes of the April meeting granting license privileges to Kallberg be stricken from the journal.<sup>59</sup>

On July 8, 1885, Peter Nelson applied for and was granted a license for a ferry at or near S. 5, T. 7, R. 7. This location is virtually at the village of Mariadahl. In 1887 he also was given a license.<sup>60</sup>

A ferry at Mariadahl is shown in Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, p. 84, as located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 32, T. 6, R. 7.

Riley county "Commissioners' Journal," volume 4, pages 295, 297 and 308, recite that in 1906 an effort was made to secure a bridge for Mariadahl for the convenience of residents on the Pottawatomie county side of the river. Riley county commissioners were willing to put up \$1,500 towards the project. Evidently this amount was not deemed sufficient to induce township officials in either county to enter into any contract work, and at the October meeting of the county board this offer was rescinded.

Cleburne, about three and one-half miles above Mariadahl by land and about four miles by the Blue, had the next crossing. On October 4, 1886, Magnus Vilander was granted a license to operate a ferry at a point about eighty rods south of where the center line running east and west of S. 15, T. 6, R. 7, crosses the Big Blue river. The county board prescribed a scale of ferriage charges, but the records do not give the particulars.<sup>61</sup> Vilander also received licenses for 1887 and 1888, which apparently were his last. A bridge was under construction at Cleburne in 1890. During the flood of 1903 an emergency ferry was put in operation there, but details are lacking.

59. Riley county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, p. 402.

60. *Ibid.*, v. 2, pp. 411, 539.

61. *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 476.

On July 3, 1867, a charter affecting Marshall county was taken out by a company known as the Western Bridge and Ferry Company, the incorporators being Rufus R. Edwards, Joseph R. Staley, Thomas W. Waterson and Jerome D. Brumbaugh. The company's headquarters was located at Marysville, and the capital stock of the enterprise was \$50,000, with shares at \$50 each. The company's object was to build bridges over the Blue river from the point where the south line of the Oto Indian reservation crossed the Blue to a point southward where the township line between townships five and six crosses the river, this being the southern boundary line of Marshall county. The corporation also was granted the privilege to build and maintain bridges on the Little Blue from the point where the north line of Washington county crosses that river to the mouth of the stream, or its confluence with the Big Blue. The charter also desired exclusive privilege to build and maintain ferries between the points above named. This document was filed with the secretary of state July 6, 1867.<sup>62</sup> Further history of this project has not been located.

A ferry at the town of Merrimac, Marshall county, is shown on a plat of that town surveyed in 1858 and filed with the United States land office at Ogden. John P. Hatterscheidt, of Leavenworth, was president of the Merrimac Town Company, and O. P. Barbour, secretary. This townsite was located at the junction of the Black Vermillion and Big Blue, about one and one-half miles north of the Pottawatomie-Marshall county boundary, and approximately thirteen miles up river from Randolph, Riley county. No further history of this ferry has been located.<sup>63</sup>

Irving, about three and one-half miles north of old Merrimac, had the next crossing, known as Shipp's ferry. The legislature of 1859 passed an act granting to James W. and William E. Shipp the right to establish a ferry on S. 18, T. 5, R. 7, with exclusive authority to land on either side of the Big Blue for one mile up and one mile down from said point. They were to keep a good boat or boats at the ferry sufficient to accommodate the traveling public. They were to pay the usual tax to the county for this privilege, and the county commissioners were to prescribe ferriage charges not less than the rates usually charged at ferries. This act was approved by Gov. Samuel Medary and was to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.<sup>64</sup>

62. Corporations, v. 1, p. 357.

63. Printed plat in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.

64. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1859, pp. 100, 101.



The Shipp brothers, Ambrose, Easton, Martin and James, settled on the south side of the Blue in what is now Blue Rapids township in 1857, not far from Irving of the present time. The following year A. Barry, representative from Riley county, introduced a bill—No. 331—in the house of representatives, to incorporate the Shipstort Town Company. James and W. E. Shipp and Geo. W. Brown were the incorporators. The bill also provided for the establishment of a ferry, which was to be located between the mouth of the Little Blue and the mouth of the Black Vermillion, in S. 18, T. 5, R. 7E., the same location as the ferry incorporated in 1859.<sup>65</sup> House Bill No. 5, also introduced by Mr. Barry, likewise provided for a ferry for Marshall county.<sup>66</sup>

No official record of a ferry at Blue Rapids has been located, although one may have been run temporarily, as the following item from the Blue Rapids *Times* of May 17, 1877, indicates: "Orville Cooley launched a boat on the billowy Blue this week. It was demanded in the interest of commerce and agriculture."

A pontoon bridge across the Blue at the Rapids served the needs of the public during the summer of 1870. This, however, was swept away during a flood late in October following. A neighboring town's newspaper, describing conditions at this place shortly after, said: "Since the pontoon bridge has been carried away at the Rapids, foot passengers are carried over in a row boat. A cable ferry is contemplated."<sup>67</sup>

Marshall county is especially rich in historical associations. Through this section, in territory included in townships two and three, the vanguard of Oregon pioneers under Marcus Whitman and others passed during the 1830s, marking a route known for many years as the Oregon trail. Fremont passed through this section in 1842, while searching out a route for a railroad to the west, and mentions passing a train or two of emigrants bound for Oregon. The great Mormon exodus of 1847 also passed through the county, opening a road while on their way to Utah. In 1847 and 1848 these pilgrims rolled along this highway by the thousands, the throng being increased by tens of thousands in 1849, when the immense army of gold seekers started on their way to California. This travel had scarcely begun to lag when it received new impetus in the year 1858 through the discovery of gold in western Kansas in

65. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report 1877-1878*, p. 298; *House Journal*, 1858, p. 198.

66. *House Journal*, 1858, pp. 23, 67, 306.

67. *Waterville Telegraph*, September 30, November 4, 1870.



the Pike's Peak region. There was no let-up during the days of the Pony Express and the Overland Stage, and not until the era of railroad building, which followed closely on the termination of the Civil War, was there any perceptible slump in travel going west.

Independence crossing was the earliest established on the Big Blue, the name no doubt attaching from the large numbers of Mormons from Independence, Mo., who crossed the river here on their memorable trek to the west. All the early traffic through this section crossed the river here, the travelers no doubt being obliged to build their own ferry boats when the river could not be forded. In 1849 Francis J. Marshall established a ferry at this point, having first received permission from the Indian agent to establish a trading house, and authority from the military authorities at Fort Leavenworth to put in ferry boats also. This crossing is described as being on S. 30 or 31, T. 3, R. 7E., being about five and one-half miles south of present Marysville, and about one-half mile south of Shroyer.<sup>68</sup> There was a ford close to this point, but it was passable only when the water in the river was low. Edwin Bryant accompanied an Oregon and California party over this route in May, 1846. The Blue was at flood stage, and his party being anxious to proceed without delay, they set to work to build their own ferry boats, fashioning two dugouts each twenty-five feet long from cottonwood logs about three and one-half or four feet in diameter. These immense canoes were fastened together with a framework that allowed the wheels of the wagons to fit into them. The ferryboat being completed, the craft was launched, ropes fastened to each end and floated down stream to the point of embarkation. As fast as the boat was loaded men on the opposite side of the river pulled the ferryboat across, this mode of transportation being kept up until everything was taken across. On account of the rapidity of the current, and the great weight of the wagons, much difficulty was experienced. "One of the canoes was swamped on the western side in drawing the third wagon from it. The damage, however, was soon repaired and the work resumed. Nine wagons and their contents were safely ferried over during the afternoon." . . . The next day "the business of ferrying was resumed at an early hour, and continued with vigor until nine o'clock at night, all the wagons, oxen, and horses were safely landed on the western bank of the river, where our corral was formed."<sup>69</sup>

68. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1870; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report 1877-1878*, pp. 295, 296.

69. Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, pp. 62-65.

The Independence crossing was also known as the "lower crossing." Marshall did a flourishing business here up to about 1853.<sup>70</sup>

In 1849 Lieut. Howard Stansbury, surveying the route from Fort Leavenworth to Great Salt Lake, located a more practicable crossing on the Blue, about six miles above the Independence crossing. The government opened a road to this place in 1850, and by 1851 and 1852 this upper road and crossing became the favorite one with the traveling public. Here early in 1851 Marshall established his second ferry, built a blacksmith shop, erected a store building and established a store, carrying on a thriving business up to 1853, travel up to this time being divided between his two ferries. The ferry at this new location was situated about 100 yards below where a bridge later spanned the river, while his trading houses were about the same distance above the bridge location. Mr. John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, in a letter to the author, says the ferry "was about thirty rods above the present old bridge and sixty rods above the ford in S. 29, T. 2, R. 7E." Marshall's store was as convenient for the Otos and Pawnees as it was for emigrants to the west, and many a dollar of the red man's money was spent at Marshall's for ammunition, whisky, red flannel, bright-colored calicoes, and other essentials to Indian life. Marshall spent his winters at his home in Missouri, coming out to the Blue in early spring and operating his ferries and trading business during the period of California emigration. Only an eye witness can have any idea of the magnitude of the travel at this time, or any conception of the stirring scenes and incidents transpiring in the vicinity of Marshall's during those eventful years. A traveler starting out from St. Joseph in the spring of 1852 said there were thousands of people there awaiting their turn in crossing. The throng was so great that Marshall would cross only wagons and people, compelling owners to swim their stock or ford the river. His ferry boat accommodated three wagons at a time, for which, up to 1852, he charged \$5 a wagon, his rate this year being \$3 each. Fording stock was something of a risk at times. Cholera had broken out along the road at this time, probably having been brought by emigrants from the Missouri river boats. A number of victims of this scourge had been buried this spring in the vicinity of Marshall's.<sup>71</sup>

A California emigrant who reached Marshall's in mid-May, 1852, wrote:

70. F. G. Adams, in *Marshall County News*, Marysville, February 22, 1873; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 914.

71. *Marshall County News*, Marysville, February 22, 1873; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, pp. 917, 918.



Upon the banks of this river is a post office, carried on, I believe, by private enterprise. There is also a store, groceries, and many articles whereby a person can refit if he is out of such articles that's necessary for the journey. The Big Blue river is quite a stream of water and when it is high has to be ferried. At the time of our crossing the water had fallen so as to be fordable. Although a cold and wet morning the boys took to water like young ducks. The ferry charges are \$3 per wagon for crossing. At this point the traveler begins to learn the reality of high prices, especially if he notices the diminution in the weight of his pocketbook from time to time as he has to use it. There are many new made graves upon the banks of this river, perhaps fifteen. We overtook a large train at the ferry. They have near 100 passengers and have lost (we have been informed) ten or fifteen. Put in wood and water and pushed out into the open prairie, and near good grass. . . .<sup>72</sup>

Marshall was sole operator and owner of his ferry up to 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was signed. The next year he took a partner, one Albert G. Woodward, and applied to the territorial legislature for a charter, which was granted. This act authorized them to establish and maintain a ferry across the Big Blue at the crossing of the great military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Forts Kearney and Laramie, and also a ferry at the crossing of the Independence and California road across the Blue, with special privileges from the south line of the Oto Indian reservation to a point one mile below the crossing of the Independence road.<sup>73</sup>

Marshall's ferry charter gave him a monopoly on the business along this most widely traveled route. In 1856 he was operating both ferries, and his license granted by county commissioners sitting at Palermo on June 2, that year, prescribed the following schedule of rates for his two ferries: Loaded wagon and team, \$3; empty wagon and team, \$1.50; carriage and two horses, \$2; loose stock, per head, 25 cents.

These rates were materially reduced this year by the commissioners, the new schedule being: Crossing a loaded wagon, \$1.50; man and horse, 50 cents; footman, 25 cents; all stock at 25 cents per head.<sup>74</sup>

In 1859 Marshall paid a tax of \$25 for his ferry license, and the commissioners on March 22 established the following rates: Four-horse team and wagon, \$1; two-horse team and wagon, 50 cents; man and horse, 15 cents; footman, 5 cents.

The above figures were again reduced by the commissioners at a meeting held June 4, following: Two-horse wagon, 50 cents; four-horse wagon, 75 cents; six-horse wagon, \$1; loose cattle, per head,

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

73. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 777.

74. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 918.



10 cents; hogs and sheep, 5 cents per head; footman, 5 cents; man and horse, 30 cents.

On January 21, 1860, a new schedule affecting all ferries operating in the county went into effect and established the following as the legal rates:

One yoke of cattle and wagon, \$1; two yokes of cattle and wagon, \$1.20; three yokes of cattle and wagon, \$1.65; four yokes of cattle and wagon, \$2; five yokes of cattle and wagon, \$2.25; six yokes of cattle and wagon, \$2.50; two horses and wagon, \$1; four horses and wagon, \$1.50; six horses and wagon, \$2.50; loose animals, per head, 12½ cents; horse and rider, 25 cents; horse and buggy, 50 cents; freight, per cwt., 3 cents.

By 1862 there must have been a demand for lower ferry charges, for at the January meeting of the county commissioners rates were again revised, this time downward, as follows:

For United States mail coach, 40 cents; two yoke of cattle and wagon, 75 cents; four yoke of cattle and wagon, \$1.25; six yoke of cattle and wagon, \$1.50; two horses and wagon, 50 cents; four horses and wagon, 75 cents; loose cattle, per head, 5 cents; horse and rider, 10 cents; footman, 5 cents.

Marshall was connected with the ferry business until about 1858, when he joined a party of gold seekers and set out for the Pike's Peak region, leaving his brother-in-law, Henry D. Williams, in charge of his trading house and ferry. After the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express route was moved north from the Kaw Valley to the old Oregon-California trail which ran through Marysville, Mr. Williams was made a division superintendent of the line.<sup>75</sup> Williams, a native of Missouri, was twenty years old in 1860.

The town of Marysville had been laid out by Marshall in 1855, and the territorial legislature that year passed an act incorporating the Marysville Town Company. Franklin G. Adams, a resident of Marshall county in the early 1870's, gives this description of early Marysville and Marshall's ferry:

During the Pike's Peak rush in 1859, Marysville was a lively place. Early in the spring the ferry was thronged with travelers to the gold regions. Later these travelers began to return. Thousands started back, without ever reaching the mountains. Supplies they had bought to take along with them were sold and almost given away at Marysville and elsewhere. At the ferry this spring a tragedy occurred. Several hundred returning Pike's Peakers had gathered on the west side of the river. Incensed at everybody who had profited by what had proven their misfortune, they charged that General Marshall, the owner of the ferry, had been one of the leading instruments in circulating the fabulous accounts of the riches of the Colorado mines. He had, they said, done it in order to make traffic at his ferry and at his town. They therefore

75. *Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 8, p. 232.

resolved that, as he had made money enough out of them as they went west, they had a moral right to free ferriage in returning. A part of them took possession of the boat, arresting and confining the ferryman. Word came of the fact to Henry Williams, brother-in-law of Marshall, in whose control the ferry had been left. Hastening to the boat, he demanded that it should be given up. His demand being resisted, he deliberately shot and killed two of the usurpers, when the others quickly abandoned the boat. Lawful ferriage was thereafter paid. Williams was indicted for the killing, but was not convicted.<sup>76</sup>

Marshall, in a letter to J. S. Magill, of Marysville, written during the summer of 1895, about four months before his death at Denver, November 23, 1895, gives the following account of the establishment of his trading house and ferry:

In the early settlement of Kansas, it is to be remembered, I established a trading post at the government crossing of the Big Blue river on the road leading to the great west, over which went all the travel starting from Fort Leavenworth and all other points below old Fort Kearney on the Missouri river to new Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie and all the Indian country, Utah, Oregon, Washington and the great emigration to California, which meant at least five thousand to ten thousand people a day from April to July. Over this route went the great Pony Express enterprise to California, which the country now knows partially led to the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. Most of the time the river could be forded, but often for six weeks at a time it could not be crossed except by means of the ferry. This was one of the greatest thoroughfares which the country has ever known.

I applied to the Indian agent for the privilege of establishing a ferry and trading post at the point where Marysville now stands. It was in the Indian country, and there was no particular agent having jurisdiction over this part of the Indian lands. He informed me that it was the battleground of the different tribes when at war with each other, hence a dangerous place for the establishment of a trading post, as I proposed.

I then applied to Major Ogden, the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, for a contract with the government to put in boats, build ware- and store-houses and to supply troops returning from the western forts in the winter time, and he protested that on account of its dangerous proximity to the ground described such an establishment might not last long without military protection. I expressed myself, however, as willing to arrange for my own protection, to which he afterward gave his consent. On securing his permission, I proceeded at once, bought a piece of artillery, mounted it, loaded my wagons and was on my way to the Big Blue crossing at the point referred to within twenty-four hours after my contract with the government. This arrangement was universally concurred in by the officers at Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Sumner, who then commanded the Second dragoons and who afterwards commanded a division in the late war, and Lieutenant Stuart, who was his quartermaster on expeditions into the Indian country in the spring and summer and afterwards known as the rebel General Stuart, of the Black Horse cavalry, on returning late in the fall crossed at this point, always required

76. *Marshall County News*, Marysville, March 1, 1873.



supplies for his soldiers and horses, knew of the facts in connection with my enterprise, and I had their hearty coöperation. . . . In 1851 the Big Blue river rose to the top of its banks, and perhaps this fact had something to do with the facility with which I secured permission from the government officers to carry out my plans for establishing a ferry, etc.<sup>77</sup>

Mrs. Forter in her history gives additional history of Marshall:

F. J. Marshall established a ferry at that point and for a time the place was known as Marshall's ferry. Business thrived and Marshall brought his wife, Mary Williams Marshall, to live here and named the place Marysville in her honor. It will be recalled that in his letter to Judge Magill, Marshall says, "There were five to ten thousand people at this point daily." A careful research shows that about seventy-five thousand people traversed this county and crossed the Blue river either at the lower crossing or at the crossing here, from 1846 to 1856. So it is safe to say Marysville has never had an equal number of inhabitants since that time.

Horace Greeley mentions an incident that occurred at this ferry in 1859. Writing from Manhattan under date of May 24, he said:

. . . Let me close with an incident which is currently reported throughout this region as having recently taken place at a crossing of the Big Blue, known as Marysville (of course not the Marysville of Bull creek), some sixty miles north of this place.

A party of disheartened gold seekers, it is said, were returning from the plains, and came to this ferry, which they insisted on crossing without payment, saying they had no money. The ferrymen refused to take them over until paid (another account says he asked them an exorbitant price) when they attempted to take the boat and put themselves across—whereupon he drew his revolver, they drawing almost at the same instant. He was, of course, riddled with balls, and fell dead, but not until he had either killed or severely wounded five of his assailants.<sup>78</sup>

Marysville was the most important point on the old Oregon-California road in Kansas after leaving the Missouri river. It was the starting point as well as the terminus of a number of roads. The legislature of 1855 established the first territorial road to this place, which started from a point opposite St. Joseph, Mo., to the town of Richmond, on the Great Nemaha, thence to the town of Woodson on the Vermillion, and on to Marysville.<sup>79</sup> Another ran from Marysville to Council Grove.<sup>80</sup> The military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie, as far as Marysville, and passing through the counties of Leavenworth, Atchison, Brown, Nemaha, and Marshall, was declared a territorial road.<sup>81</sup> Another ran from

77. Extracts from letter of Francis J. Marshall to J. S. Magill, secretary of the Marshall County Old Settlers' Pioneer Association, dated Denver, July 22, 1895, and published in Forter's *History of Marshall County, Kansas*, pp. 65, 66.

78. Greeley, *An Overland Journey*, p. 59.

79. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 957.

80. *Laws*, Kansas, 1857, p. 173.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 174.



Marysville by way of Richmond, or the geographical center of Nemaha county, thence to Claytonville on secs. 15 and 22, T. 3, R. 17, in Brown county, thence to Troy, Wathena, and Roseport, opposite St. Joseph.<sup>82</sup> In 1859 a road was laid out from Elwood to Marysville by way of Wathena;<sup>83</sup> another started from the Blue river, running west on the First Standard Parallel to the Republican river;<sup>84</sup> another, running from Elwood, up Peter's creek, by way of Troy, Lewis' crossing of Wolf river, Highland, Hiawatha, Seneca and Marysville was declared a territorial road;<sup>85</sup> another, established in 1861, ran from Marysville to New Hope, via Washington;<sup>86</sup> another ran from Atchison, via Kennekuk and Granada to Seneca, thence by one branch to Marysville, and, by another branch via Ash Point, Guittard and Oketo, to the Nebraska line;<sup>87</sup> another ran from Marysville, by way of St. George to Wabaunsee;<sup>88</sup> another ran from Fort Leavenworth to Marysville, by way of Holton and Nottingham;<sup>89</sup> another ran from Marysville via Washington, thence by a westerly course up Mill creek to some practicable point on the Republican river.<sup>90</sup> The legislature of 1863 passed an act declaring the road leading from Seneca, on the township line west to S. 36, T. 3, R. 7E., thence west by north to Marysville, to intersect the incorporated limits of Marysville on the east of Broadway street in that town, thence west to the most suitable point for a bridge across the Blue river, thence to follow the old military road to S. 2, T. 2, R. 5E., in Washington county, thence to follow the old military road to the north line of the state of Kansas, be made a state road.<sup>91</sup>

The next ferry location on the Big Blue was at Oketo, close to the Oto Indian reservation, this being about ten miles above Marysville by the river and about two miles less by land. The legislature of 1859 passed an act granting to Henry W. Poor, V. C. Poor and Robert M. Smith the right to keep a ferry at this town for a period of ten years, having exclusive rights from the north line of S. 14, T. 1, R. 7, to the south line of S. 26, T. 1, R. 7, including three miles up and down the river. Ferriage rates were to be fixed

82. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

83. *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 584.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 593.

86. *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 248.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

90. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 243.

91. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 86.

by the county. This act was approved by Gov. S. Medary February 10, 1859, and became effective from and after its passage.<sup>92</sup>

The following is the earliest mention of this ferry we have located:

A company, known as Poor, Whitehead and others, have built a ferryboat and laid out a town some ten miles above here, on the Blue, and have located a road from that point east, intersecting the military road at Ash Point, and are directing emigrants by their ferry, telling them it is twenty-five to thirty miles nearer than by the old road. Moses Blanchett, one of the principal men of Ash Point, was directing traffic right straight on the old road, which conflicted with the interest of those living upon the new road.

Last Wednesday a body of armed men arrived at Ash Point from the new road, and informed Blanchett that he must either quit working on the road or they would clean him out; and commenced pulling coats and making other fighting demonstrations. Blanchett then procured a shot gun and returned to the store where the mob was collected, when he was informed by them he must quit working for the old road or leave the country. Blanchett told them he should do as he pleased, when Wilson, with his coat off, approached him, and Blanchett told him to keep off, or he would shoot him. "Shoot and be d—d," was the reply, and Blanchett discharged the gun at him, the shot entering his breast and killing him instantly. Blanchett then fled and was pursued the next day by a large party who intended to hang him on the first tree if overtaken.<sup>93</sup>

Frank A. Root, in his *Overland Stage to California* mentions this ferry. He says that the Holladay stages, which previously had run via Guittard's station through Marysville, were, in the fall of 1862, run over a "cut-off" Holladay had built from Guittard's, via Oketo. This road was known as the "Oketo cut-off," and was laid out by Holladay to spite Marysville. About the middle of October, 1862, stages began running over the "cut-off" in spite of anything Marysville people could do about it. Holladay evidently had first secured permission from the Post Office Department to change the stage route to the new road on which he and other interested parties had expended a lot of money. He had a suitable ferry boat built for crossing the river during periods of high water; and had put in bridges and culverts over small streams and ravines. Naturally Marysville was indignant at the change. The town had been getting mail three times a week by stage. For a month afterwards they were almost without service. Then a man was hired to bring it from Guittard's by horseback three times a week. A petition to the Post Office Department asking for a daily service by coach brought a reply cutting the service to a semi-weekly delivery by horseback. A second petition was sent, when service was cut down to once a

92. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1859*, p. 114.

93. *Marysville Platform*, copied in *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 2, 1860.

month. A third petition was forwarded after which service was discontinued. For some time after that mail was forwarded by oxteam and freight train from Guittard's to its destination. Finally Marysville hired a man to carry it regularly between the two points. Missouri river papers from St. Joseph, Leavenworth and Kansas City were often a month old when received at Marysville. Marysville, however, got even for this injustice. During a flood in the Blue the ferryboat at Oketo was cut loose during the night and floated away, causing considerable annoyance and delay in the operation of the stage line. Later, parties unknown during the night dug a ditch across the cut-off road, and tore up a stone crossing in a bad slough. That night the west bound stage came along, and the driver not seeing the ditch in the dark, drove into it, the severe jolting that ensued throwing him off the seat and to the ground. A general of the United States army was a passenger at the time and received a good shaking up. He asked the cause of this sudden stop and the driver explained it was probably on account of the ill feeling of Marysville for Holladay. The general at once wrote to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth for troops to protect the overland mail line and stage company's property. A few days later a detachment of the Third Wisconsin cavalry was sent out, making its headquarters at Marysville, after which time further trouble ceased. The cut-off was abandoned after about four and one-half month's use and the stages again ran through Marysville on March 4, 1863.<sup>94</sup>

Mr. John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, furnishes the following regarding the Oketo ferry:

The Oketo cut-off was laid out in 1861 and 1862 by Ben Holladay, and his agents, no doubt, put in a ferry at old Oketo, one-half mile south of the present Oketo, in 1860 or 1861, and provisions were made to cross the stages over the Big Blue at that place especially during high water. There was, however, a good ford there. This point was located in S. 14, T. 1, R. 7E. Since Whitehead was in the employ of Holladay, no doubt the ferry company you speak of—Poor, Whitehead & Co.—were the employes of Holladay. That Poor was Val Poor who came to the Oketo country in 1857. So no doubt the first ferry at Oketo was started by October, 1862, when Holladay's coaches began to travel the Oketo cut-off.

The best living witness I could find at Oketo lately was Oscar De Lair. He said he came to Oketo in 1866; thought the ferry was then running and ran till the summer of 1867.

This was the northernmost ferry on the Big Blue river in Kansas.

94. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage to California*, pp. 200, 519-523.



## A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857

The Letters of Lieut. Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.—Concluded

Edited by WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE

My Dear Sister

Douglas, K. T., Nov. the 2nd., 1856

IT IS quite true there is very little of interest to write that I can think of at present, but perhaps I may be able to fill a couple of pages. . . . I know you are always glad to hear from us, so I have endeavoured always to write to some one every week since I left home. . . .

I guess you wish me to say something about myself, &c. Well, my health is still improving. I thought I was taking the rheumatism, but it has got well, and I suppose it was nothing more than taking cold in my shoulder while at Lecompton, by lying with it near a window where a pane of glass was out. I am quite well of it now. I am quite well at this time, but after eating, whether I eat much or little, I feel a choking sensation in my chest which sometimes turns me sick for a few minutes. . . . The Dr. advised me yesterday to get some whiskey, and make me some bitters, but I would have to give 75¢ or \$1 for a bottle full, and I dislike to spend so much money. Moreover, I don't like the idea of buying liquor anyhow. I am one of the *few* men in this Ter. who do not drink.

I have been making a bedstead and doing other work, trying to fix up the house, and other things comfortably for the winter. I tell you, we look quite stylish with our new bedstead (a teaster, at that) and the curtain all round. We intend to make us a mattress this week. We have the tick already made & a hackle ready for the hackling shucks. So you see we will soon be very comfortably fixed. Betsie has quilted a quilt, and we have two thick comforts besides.

Our purse is getting low, but I still think we will have enough to take us through the winter, so you need not fear of our suffering.

Court is still going on in Lecompton. One man tried for being engaged in the Hickory Point fight on Saturday, has been convicted and will go to the penitentiary, I guess. Four have been acquitted for that, but then they have to be tried again for being in the fight on the day after (Sunday). They are however getting on very slowly with the court. I went up yesterday and elbowed my way

into the court room. They were examining a witness, and though I stayed in there at least fifteen minutes, the lawyer only asked the witness three simple question. I should have remained in the room longer but I happened to cast my eyes on the head of the man standing by me, and it was so well speckled with nits that I thought it prudent to get away from him, for fear I might catch the *disease*.

There is very little regard paid here to the Sabbath. Now, while I am writing, the hammers of the carpenters are going just as if it were not Sunday, down at Lane & Co's steam-mill.

I don't know how many guns I have heard this morning. One of my neighbours killed a beef. Last Sunday some of them went driving, and so it goes on. I have sometimes thought that I could tell Sunday from any other day in the week by the number of guns. But then, I don't know but that I am doing as bad—as I generally take Sunday to write letters. But I have no other way to pass off the day. I get tired of singing and reading, in fact I can scarcely find time any other day, and on the whole, it is as quiet and as harmless a way of breaking the Sabbath as any other.

We have had no very cold weather yet, though the ground has been frozen over several mornings. It is now raining and the wind is bearing around to the north, so we may expect some cold weather. Provisions have taken a fall in price; bacon can now be bought at 10¢, corn at from 50 to 62½ cts., flour at from \$4 to \$5 pr. sack, butter is worth 35 cts. per lb., sugar and coffee are worth 20 cts. per pound, &c., &c.

Betsie joins me in sending love to you all. . . .

Your ever affectionate brother, A.

P. S. Tell Stin that Mr. Ellison & family are well, and that Mr. E. was one of those who went driving last Sunday. He had a shot at two large old bucks, and the dogs ran off after a wolf. . . .

My ever dear Sister Douglas, K. T., Novbr. the 20th, '56.

Yours of the 3d. inst. has just come to hand, and though it is now 7 o'clock at night & I am pretty tired, I have seated myself to answer it, as by doing so, you will get it four days earlier than if I should postpone till another day, the mail not leaving here after Saturday till Tuesday. I would not have time to write to-morrow and get it in the mail, as I am at work. . . .

I have made up my mind to remain here till next fall, and see another crop made, when planters will have nothing in a *political* way to contend with to throw them back. I wish also to endeavor

to get a claim, so that my trip here may not in the end be a final loss. Another reason is, I don't think that the difficulty is altogether over here. If the Abolitionists find that the Southerners are leaving, they will immediately begin to send immigrants, so that in the end we will lose Kansas, for which we have spent so much and suffered so much already. I don't think, on the whole, that I can lose much more than I have already lost by remaining here a year longer. That will be the time which I have said I would return home, from the first, and if nothing happens to change my mind, I will remain till then. . . .

I am now, and have been for some weeks, in as good health as I ever was in my life. 'Tis true at one time I thought that I had the rheumatism, but it lasted only a short time, and I have come to the conclusion that I must have hurt my shoulder, or taken cold in it. The choking sensation which I felt after eating is removed. I got a bottle of whiskey, and filled it half full of cherry bark, which cured me.

'Tis a pleasure for me to hear how much love all of our Negroes have for me. God knows they do not throw away their love away on me, who does not reciprocate their feelings. Remember me to them all, and also tell "Maum" Judy *howdie* for us. Tell Mary if we live to see next year this time, we may drink some of her locust-beer. I could fill a sheet in messages to them all, but I have not time, but they may all rest assured that I think of them a great deal.

There is an effort in progress to make me up a school here in Douglas, worth \$30 a month, but they don't go at it rightly. I have succeeded in making myself very popular so far as my acquaintance extends. All seems to think a great deal of me. I have been told that I was the *very man* for Kansas—I mend boots, make axletrees for wagons, work at the carpenter's trade, and in fact do any little thing of the kind, so make myself useful. Some have gone so far as to suggest me to the committee as a nominee for the legislature, but it was thought I was too little known in the county. But enough of bragging—! . . .

Don't fret yourself about me. . . . Were it not for *you*, my dear Sister, I would hear from home but seldom. I get the *Flag*, but there is very little news in that. I have received precious few letters besides yours since I have been here. Col. Wilson has written to me twice, once while in Virginia, and one I got from him today. He speaks in his last as if he would be glad to see me in Old Darlington, tho', like me, he fears the danger is not over. . . .



Well, my dear Sister, I am on the middle of the 4th. page, and I thought, when I commenced, that I would not write two. But I feel now that if I had the time, I could write another sheet, but it is time for one who rises before day to be in bed; it is nearly 9 o'clock. So I will close by sending love to [the family] and all inquiring friends. . . .

Your loving brother, A. J. H.

P. S. Tell Stin to ride Grant sometimes fox-hunting. I am afraid he will forget how to run in the woods before I go back.

Dear Mother

Douglas, K. T., Nov. the 30th, 1856

We are enjoying excellent health, tho I have had a cold for some days past, which is not unusual in all places. The weather has been pretty disagreeable for more than a week, cloudy and windy, but no rain. Yesterday was a very clear still day, and to-day it is fair but windy & cold. I have not felt the cold more severely than I do winters at home, but then we have had some as cold weather here already as it commonly gets in So. Ca.—

Dear Mother, I have had to lay down my pen for three or four hours. A young man came in, and asked me to go with him up to Lecompton, to preaching. So I dressed and went, but the preacher did not come, and we had our walk (about 6 miles) for nothing. I am astonished to see so little regard paid to the Sabbath, as there is here among people who seem to be enlightened in every other respect. When I went up to Lecompton today, the steam-mill was going just as if it were not Sunday, and all of the groceries were open, as on any week-day. But this is pretty much the case all over the Ter.—those who do not work go hunting, or do something else, not much better. For my own part, I generally take Sundays to write letters, but then I have very little other time to write, unless at night, and I don't feel able to afford to buy candles for this purpose. It is also a quiet way of spending the day. On the whole I don't see as there can any harm arise from it. It certainly disturbs no one.

I am regarded here as a very quiet, consistent, moral man, and one of the ladies said the other night that she had often thought that I ought to be a preacher. Would to the Lord that I was good enough to be one! A young man belonging to the Baptist church asked me yesterday to go with him to-day to see one of our neighbours, and on my refusing to go with him on the grounds that it was Sunday, he told me that I was not a Methodist, but a strict Presby-

terian. I have written the above, my Dear Mother, not to make you believe that I am any better than I was when I left home (for I feel truly that I am worse) but merely to let you know that I am not affected by the recklessness of those around me.

I and the young Baptist man (mentioned above) has some arguments on doctrine. He has read Graves' *Iron Wheel*, and argues for him, but I got him the other night. He came over to our house expressly to argue with me. I had told him to prepare himself before he came, and I suppose he had at least fifty passages of Scripture picked out, but I think I headed him on his own selections. He is the first male member of the church I have met with, that I know of (except the preacher) since I have been here. It is quite a treat for me to find some one to argue with on Scripture. But enough of this—

My dear Mother, I don't want you to fret yourself about me. I am afraid that you imagine that I am not getting along well, and conjure up a great many imaginary hardships, dangers, &c., that I have to undergo. Don't let such things disturb your mind. I am getting along very well; my health is good. I expect that I weigh as much at this time as I ever did. We have a plenty to eat, a pretty comfortable house, and on the whole are getting along finely. . . .

The neighbours around Douglas have been trying to make up a school for me, but I don't think they will succeed. . . . It is thought that everything will commence with new life [in the spring]. Money will be more plentiful and a greater demand for work of every kind. . . . I can live very comfortable until then, but I am deprived of many, yes, *very many*, luxuries that you all enjoy, such as agreeable company, church-going, &c., &c.

There is little or no excitement here. The Kansas militia were disbanded last week; the prisoners were put in charge of the regulars, and as was expected, 36 of those who had not been tried, and 3 that had been and condemned to five years' imprisonment, have escaped. Nothing else could have been expected, when a good many of the regulars are Abolitionists themselves. I saw a statement in the paper today saying that Lane says he is coming to Kansas in the spring with 10,000 men. I don't believe he will ever show his face in Kansas again. My impression is that there will be no more fighting here, but we need men more than ever. Those who are here should stay at least a year longer, and more should come. The balance of the fighting will be at the ballot-box.

Well, my Dear Mother, I have very little else to write. I write so often to some of you that I keep you posted as regards how things are going on here. . . . Sister writes that you are all very dull since I left. I don't see why that should be, for *my* company was not so very agreeable, nor was I so very cheerful that I should cause so much sadness by my absence. . . . If we all live, I expect we will spend the next Christmas after the one near at hand, together. God grant that we may all live to see it, and meet once more. My heart yearns toward the loved ones in Old Darlington, and if I find everything as I hope to find it, when I return, I don't think I shall leave home again soon—for any length of time. Give my love to all. . . .

Ever Your Affectionate Son, A.

Dear Jack<sup>21</sup>

Douglas, K. T., Dec. the 21, 1856

I guess by this time you have heard of the increase in my family,<sup>22</sup> as I wrote to sister more than a fortnight ago, and requested her to let you know all about it. . . . The little *brat* is getting along finely, but it sleeps almost the whole time. It (or rather *she*, I should have said) is very small, but *pretty good looking*. I don't nurse her much yet, but when she gets so that she can notice and laugh &c., I expect I will play with her a good deal—but enough of this.

We are all well and getting along fine, though the weather is very cold. The ground has not been clear of snow for more than three weeks; before one snow can melt, another comes; every time it clouds up, we have some snow, and the river has been frozen over so that people have walked over it for two weeks or more.

I have been working for Gen'l Clarke for the last two weeks. . . . I hear that I please him better than any one he has ever had to work for him. I don't know how long he will want me. I will finish what I engaged to do in another day, but he tells me that he is not nearly done with me yet. He wishes me to go to Missouri to buy provisions for him, and sundry other services which he cannot trust others in his employ to do. . . .

Jack, I get more & more out with the Ter. every day, and if it were not for the *great cause*, I would leave it as soon as I could. But I think that Southerners are needed here now as much as ever, and will be for the next twelve months, by which time I think that the political fate of Kansas will be decided. From what I can gather

21. John A. Brunson, b. March 3, 1828; killed, Second Battle of Manassas, August 31, 1862.

22. A daughter, Ada Constantia Hoole, b. December 12, 1856; m. W. H. Lawrence, September 7, 1881; d. August 30, 1904.



from newspapers &c., I am of the opinion that there will be a great many Northern emigrants sent here next spring, and it would not surprise me at all if we have more fighting. There is something brewing. Only last week a party of desperadoes went to a man's house, dragged him out of bed, and gave him fifty lashes on his bare back, telling him that, if he did not leave in ten days, they would kill him. They have also threatened others in the same way. These men who have been thus treated and threatened are free-state men, but law and order loving men, and the reason they have been treated thus is because they would not join Lane's band, but served on the jury in trying some of his robbers. This and signs convince me that there is something in the wind, but let it come. We will meet it like men. But the South should not rest on her oars and think all is safe. If she does, she will be sadly mistaken. The Abolitionists are going to work slyly and cunningly, and if our eyes are not wide open, Kansas will be lost at last.

I shall try and tough it out till next fall, and do all that I can to save it. Let as many go back as will. I may be the only representative of Old Darlington here now, for aught I know. I received a letter from Bill Huggins the other day saying that he has heard that Scarborough had gone back, and all of the others may be there. I wish you would try to ascertain who are gone home from here, and let me know in your next. I know from experience that it is hard getting along here (Kansas is a hard road to travel) but then I should think that young single men could have toughed it out, at least one year. I am afraid they did not have the great cause at heart sufficiently. If I live and nothing happens more than I can imagine at this time, Kansas will have one representative from Old Darlington next fall, at any rate, let others do as they may!

The corn crops here were light this year. In fact I don't believe that it yielded but very little better than it is generally at home, tho to look at it growing, it seems that it would more than double acre for acre. It is planted a great deal thicker than we plant it in So. Ca., but the ears are no larger. This year was not a good one to test it, as all corn was planted too late on account of the War last spring. Sweet potatoes do but poorly here on account of the shortness of the season. I have not tasted one since I have been in the Ter. I saw some not long since, the largest about as large as a man's wrist, but they were generally about as large as corncobs. Irish potatoes do fine. The sweet are worth \$2.50 a bushel, the Irish, \$1.50.

Brown sugar & the meanest Rio coffee is worth twenty cents a pound, cheese 30 cts, butter 40 cts, beef 78 cts, pork 6 cts, lard 15 cts, cornmeal \$1.25 a bushel, flour \$4.50 pr. sack of 80 lbs, molasses \$1.50 per gallon. So by the above you can judge of the cheapness of living here in Kansas. Everything else is in the same proportion, except salt, which is \$10 a sack.

There is one thing that I forgot to write in writing of the political state of affairs here. It is that Robinson (the Free State governor of the Ter.) has issued a proclamation ordering an election to fill a vacancy in the Free State legislature, and also ordering the legislature to meet at Topeka on the 2nd. Monday of January next, the same day that our legislature meets. Now we will see what Gov. Geary will do. This shows that the Abolitionists still do not recognize the existing laws of the Ter., and also that they do not consider Geary, but Robinson, as Governor.

Everyone who sees your rifle wants it. It is considered the prettiest little gun in the country. I went over the river not long ago with it and killed ten squirrels in twelve shots, and cut off the forefoot of the eleventh. A little before that I killed four in four shots, making fifteen times I hit in sixteen shots. But then I have been mad enough to break her several times—I have popped four caps at turkeys. It seems that every time I get a good chance to kill one, the cap pops without the gun going off. I came on a doe the other day which made a few leaps and stopped behind a cluster of vines and bushes. I shot through at her, and she ran off, though I thought I hit her. About a week after one was found dead, so I would not be surprised if it were not the same deer. . . .

You must let Mother know of your getting this as soon as possible. . . . Do write to me. . . . Ever Yours &c., A. J. H.

My Dear Mother—

Douglas, K. T., Dec. the 28th., 1856

It is now after night, but I must write you a few lines to let you know how we are getting on. My common practice has been to write to one of you every Sunday, but it happened that I could not write this morning. . . . We are quite well; Betsie is now by the fire holding our little one, which is growing finely. I think it will begin to notice and laugh in a short time. I have made a bet with a young lady that she will talk at six months old. All in fun, of course. Betsie makes a great to do over her, but it is too young for me to notice much yet. . . .

I have very little that is interesting to write, except that I should



go into detail of what has transpired in the Ter. in a political way, and that would be too great a task for me to undertake. Everything appears to be going on very quietly here, but I fear that the North is working secretly. I have suspicions that they are buying over the influence of some who have heretofore called themselves Proslavery men. There are some who were with us, that I feel pretty confident are now working with the North. I have always watched them with a suspicious eye; they are men that I never put much confidence in, tho others did. But you will hear more of this before long. I will now change the subject.

What sort of a Christmas have you all spent? For my own part, it has been very dull. I went over the river squirrel hunting, walked over the ice. After I got over I heard that there was to be a meeting of the settlers on that side about a mile above. So I went up to the meeting. There were about 12 or 15 men there; one got up and endeavoured to explain the object of it, and after getting up and trying to explain it about a half dozen times, making in all a speech about two hours long, I gathered enough to find out that it was to appoint a delegate to the Proslavery convention to be held in Lecompton on the 2nd Monday in January. The speaker was drunk. They had four bottles of liquor, and before the meeting broke up (for it did not adjourn) one got so drunk that he fell down; another got about a hundred yards off, and there he lay. Others got pretty boozy, but they kept their feet. At least they were up when I left. Thus passed my Christmas. Betsie went to our next neighbour and spent the day.

I have been working for one of our neighbours (Gen'l Clarke) for two or three weeks, and I intend going back to work for him in a few days, but I will have to go to Lecompton tomorrow to buy some flour or meal. . . . If provisions were not so high, I could make a very respectable living here. Flour has got up to \$6 pr hundred, meal \$1.37½ per bu., salt \$4 per bu., sugar and coffee 20¢ pr lb., &c., so you see this is a dear place to live in.

It has been colder here for a month past than I ever saw, tho I have not minded it much more than I did the winters at home. The river is frozen so thick that they are hauling logs across on the ice with two yokes of oxen, so you may know the ice must be thick. We have had eight falls of snow, but it has never fallen more than an inch thick. I tell the folks here that I would not make this my home for life, if I had the whole Ter. There is no way that one can enjoy himself. No matter how much one makes, there is little en-



joyment in it at last. I will stay till I see that there is no use in my remaining any longer, and then *Ho!* for So. Ca. . . .

In the meantime I will try to make all the money I can . . . don't fret yourself about me. I tell you honestly and sincerely that I am getting on well. Let us endeavour always to look on the bright side, remembering that the same One who watches over you there is watching over, and I hope, protecting me here. Let us endeavour to look to Him to spare our lives to meet each other again. . . .

Ever Your affectionate son, Axalla.

P. S. There is a weed here that they say put in whiskey will cure the rheumatism. I have been told that it has never failed to cure the worst cases. I intend carrying some home with me when I go. If you are not well of it, I will get some, pound it up, and send it to you.

My Dear Sister—

Douglas, K. T., Jany the 4th., 1857

Your very acceptable and agreeable letter of the 11th. Ult. came to hand in due time, and I now seat myself to write you one in return, as it is Sunday, which is my usual time for writing. . . .

I generally shave & clean up on Sunday mornings, just as if I were going to church, and then seat myself and write my letters, after which I spend the rest of the day in singing, and talking with Betsie. Now that I have a little fellow, I nurse and play with it, but it is too small to be interesting yet. Wait till it gets old enough to laugh & jabber; then I will have fun. She has begun to notice some already. . . .

I commenced a job of work for my neighbour (Mr. Ellison) on the 1st. inst. . . . When I get through with his work, I have another to do for Gen'l Clarke, up on the prairie. . . . We have had very cold weather here for a month, but I find that I can stand it about as well as any one else here, tho most were raised farther North than I was. The river is still frozen so that wagons can cross on the ice.

Everything is apparently going on quietly here, but I fear it will not continue so long. Several Proslavery men who held public offices have been turned out, and it is thought that the Gov. is at the bottom of it. There is a plan on foot to get him turned out, at least I think so. I heard some hints on Christmas day which will make me an important witness against him. My opinion of him, and I told my friends so from the first, is that he is a doublefaced Free-soiler. I have never had much faith in Pennsylvania poli-

ticians, *Buchanan not excepted*. Geary is an energetic Gov., but I believe that he is working for the Free-soil party here. I wish I may be deceived. One week more, I think, will throw light on his maneuvers. Robinson has issued his Proclamation, calling together the Free-soil legislature to meet at Topeka on the 2nd. Tues. in this month. If Geary permits them to convene, then he will admit by his actions that he is not *The Gov.* of Kansas, but that Robinson is *The Gov.* The Proslavery legislature convenes tomorrow week, so we will then have two law-making bodies in the Ter., assembled at the same time. *Time* will soon test the matter. But enough of this—

. . . I am glad to hear that you have so many potatoes. They would be a treat for us here; we have not tasted one since we came. I am sorry to hear of the short cotton crop, though it is just as I expected from the accounts I saw from different parts of the state, and that is why I fear that the Negroes' eyes magnify. . . .

Well, my dear Sister, I have written a very scattering, disconnected letter so far, and I have but little else to write. Now I must come back to myself again. . . . Everytime it clouds up here, it snows. The ground is perfectly white now, but the snow will not average more than two inches. The old settlers say this is a remarkable fall; the ground has not been clear of snow for a month. I have bought some pork that was killed last Friday week, but it is frozen so that I can't salt it, and if the weather continues thus, there will be no use. . . .

Give our love to [the immediate family]. Tell all the Negroes howdie, "Maum" Judy, Frank & Delia included; tell them to be faithful and do the best they can. If we all live and nothing happens, we will see each other next fall. . . .

Your loving Brother, Axalla.

Dear Cousin Billy

Douglas, K. T., Jany the 11th., 1857

I wrote a letter the other day to A. W. Sexton, stating to him how near I came to dying a few days before, which letter I presume he will get some days before you get this, and so I am satisfied he will tell you all about it. I will only say that I had a severe attack of the bilious cholic, but I now feel quite well. Betsie is also quite well, & so is the little one, which, by the bye, is growing finely and begins to notice a good deal. It has not been sick in the least yet. . . . Everybody praises it as the prettiest thing in the country, and you may know *we think* so. I think it is almost, if not quite, as pretty as Lizzie Cooper, and you know I always thought she was the

prettiest thing in the world. Our little one's hair is shedding out and I am afraid it will not be so pretty when it gets a little older. The women around here say they never saw a child grow faster, still it does not look blubberly and helpless as some children do, but looks firm and hard. . . .

Everything is *apparently* going on smoothly here in a political way, but I fear the storm has hardly commenced yet. I am getting to despond a good deal. I know they are going on in the north with their aid societies, &c., and I would not be surprised if they are not planning another invasion of Kansas next spring, and at the same time I hear of nothing being done by the South. Those who came out last year have mostly gone back, and I hear of no others coming. The South seems to have given us few over and has lost all care for the Ter. I fear Kansas will be lost yet, tho we now have the upper hand. For my part, I will try to weather the storm, and if we fall or fail, I may be found at my post. I will have the consolation of feeling and knowing that I did all I could for the South and our cause. But Kansas is a hard road to travel and God alone knows how I will weather it through. Few have made greater sacrifices than I have, as yet, but if we gain our object I will not regret what I have lost by the operation.

There have been two balls lately in which Proslavery and Abolitionists mingled together, and there is to be one in Leecompton next Thursday, of which The Governor is first manager, but in spite of all this, there is still bitter feeling existing between the two parties. Our legislature convenes tomorrow, I said our because the Abolitionist legislature was to have met at Topeka last Tuesday, but I have not heard from there. The great and engrossing subject here at this time, is the Gov. & his actions. The papers are full of him, most condemning him. There is also another topic in vogue, the bank. Some are in favor of chartering a bank, and some not. For my own part, if I were ever so much in favor of a bank, I would oppose chartering the one in contemplation, as the capital all comes from the northern states. We are to have a vote tomorrow on the subject in order to instruct the legislature. Several prominent Proslavery men have been turned out of office, and I have no doubt it has been through the representatives of the Gov.— I tell you, we are down on him in this section. I regard him as a double-faced free-soiler, tho I have had some of our party to find fault of me for viewing him in that light. That was my opinion from the first, for all he seemed at the time to be acting in our favor. Time will prove!



We have had very cold weather for some time. The snow is now from 4 to 10 inches deep. They say it is as cold here as it was any time last winter, and it will not get any colder. If it does not, I can stand it pretty well, though it is too cold for me to like to live here. I find that I can stand it as well as anyone else, and I believe I complain as little as anyone. The most I hate about it is, that when it is too cold to work, it is not too cold to eat, and so I am losing. I saw a prairie wolf this morning for the first. One of our neighbor young men caught it and called me over to see it. We are going out in the morning, if it is a good morning; they come to a dead ox a short distance from here, and he says he knows he can start one. I will not seal this letter till I can give you our success. . . .

P. S. Monday morning, Jany. 12th. Well, I went on the wolf chase this morning, and such a chase it was. The hounds were trailing it and one of the grey hounds saw it, and ran it about 200 yards, and caught it. It was a small one. The prairie wolves are great fools; they will run in the openist place they can find. This was on the ice on the river. I saw two more on the ice about one mile above us, but we didn't go after them. . . . I shot twice at prairie chickens this morning, but missed. . . .

Yours sincerely, A. J. H.

My Dear Mother

Douglas, K. T., Feby the 22nd., 1857

. . . I have been elected, by the legislature, a judge of the county court, which I have been told pays \$3 a day, for every day I serve. I was elected without any solicitation on my part, by the unanimous vote of both houses. It is however an office of more honor than profit. I go now by the title of *Judge*.

Quite a serious & shocking affair took place in Lecompton on last Wednesday (the 18th. inst.), the particulars of which I will relate in as few words as possible. Some two months ago the sheriff (Jones) resigned his office, and the judges of the county court, of which I am now one, appointed a young man named Shirard [William T. Sherrard] from Virginia to fill his place, but the Gov. refused to give him his commission. Shirard met him in the ante-room of the legislature about two weeks ago and spat upon him. The Governor's friends (Abolitionists of course) held a meeting of indignation against Shirard and commending the Gov.'s course. Shirard's friends (myself among the number) attended the meeting. The Gov.'s friends, convicts included, were all armed. After several speeches Shirard got up to explain his position to the meeting (so

I learned, for I had left the meeting and gone to a store about fifty yards off, to warm). In the course of his speech he said something, and a man by the name of Sheppard gave him the lie. Shirard dared him to repeat it, when they both drew pistols and commenced firing at each other, but neither receiving a mortal wound, they both closed in, when they were separated. At this time a young man of the Gov.'s household ran up to Shirard and shot him in the head. He was taken into custody, but gave bail, and has sloped [*sic*]. Shirard lived till yesterday evening. He is to be buried at 2 o'clock today. Shep[p]ard was shot through the body near the hip, but [it] is not considered dangerous. I am glad that I was off when the firing was going on. Ex-Sheriff Jones had his watch chain shot off, and another man was shot in the knee.

Monday morning, the 23rd.—My dear Mother, when I had written the above I was called to go to the burying of Shirard, and did not have time to finish, but we did not bury him, but concluded to send his body back to Virginia. It is the opinion of a great many here that the meeting on the 18th. was got up expressly for the purpose of killing Shirard, Cramer, & Ex-Sheriff Jones, and that the Governor was knowing to it, if not one of the plotters. There is one thing certain, he was solicited by persons on both sides to try and stop the meeting, as persons were fearful that evil would grow out of it, but he refused. He is charged as being one of the plotters, publicly by the paper here. Well . . . enough of this.

. . . I am going up to Lecompton this morning to take the oath of office, and get my commission, but Geary may refuse it, as he did poor Shirard, being as I am a South Carolinian. On the first of Sept. next we are to elect delegates to frame a state constitution, and if we succeed in making it a slave state, I can then return home feeling satisfied that my enduring hardships here have not been in vain. I feel pretty well satisfied that we have the majority in the Ter., but they can beat us in this county. Oh, how I wish that 1000 Southerners would come in the middle of March and settle in this county. . . . Well, my dear Mother, 'tis time I was going up town, so I must close. . . . Tell all the negroes howdie, howdie, howdie . . . and let me beg you not to fret yourself about me. Recollect that there is One who watches over us here in Kansas as well as those in So. Ca.—let me assure you that I will always try to keep out of danger as much as possible, but if we should never again meet on earth, let us try to meet where parting will be no more. Remember us in your prayers, is a request of your ever

Devoted Son, A. J. H.

Dear Jack

Douglas, K. T., March 22nd., 1857

Your very agreeable and acceptable, but very short letter, came to hand a few days ago. . . . We hear from home so seldom, that we can't help but feel sometimes uneasy. . . . I would like for you to tell us how they [the immediate family] are getting on, what each one is driving at, &c., &c. . . . You can scarcely imagine how anxious we are to know everything and a little more time and labor on the part of our dear friends, which would be of small sacrifice on their part, would be a source of great, Ah! *very great* satisfaction to us. . . . But enough—

One year ago yesterday we left old So. Ca., oh, how time flies! and still it seems long to me since I have seen my dear friends. But, thank God! if it is His pleasure, we will see you all again in eight months more, for, if nothing happens, I expect to leave here about the middle of Nov. It is impossible for me to make a decent living here. . . . I am to commence a job of work tomorrow that will be worth \$25 or \$30 when it is finished, which I think I can do in two weeks at least. And, if we should have no more difficulty this year with the plagued Black Republicans, I think that there will be a better prospect of making money. I fear however that we will (but this in its proper place). I have sent  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the money I had to Mo. to buy provisions, and when it comes, we will have enough to last us (without accident) three months at least, and I hope by that time to make money enough to send for another supply.

The Delaware lands, which I spoke of in my last letters home, have not been treated for, at least I fear so. So I shall have no hope of making such a speculation, as I hoped to do, that would remunerate me for my time and trouble in coming out here. Now for my reasons for fearing that we are to have more trouble here this summer, which will also inform you concerning the political state of the Ter.

In the first place, as perhaps you are aware already, we are to have an election on the 16th. of June to elect delegates to frame a state constitution. Well, the Black Republicans held a meeting on the 10th. at Topeka and have resolved not to vote on that occasion, [and] also that they will not allow themselves to be assessed for taxes, and will not submit to the laws. They also elected Chas. Robinson as their governor for the 2nd. time. It is also reported that Lane is in Lawrence and Old Brown<sup>23</sup> (the notorious Ossa-

23. John Brown (1800-1859), of Harper's Ferry fame.—*Cf. Dictionary of American Biography*, v. III, pp. 131-134.



wattomie murderer) brought in 100 men a few days ago. How true these things are I can't say, but it is generally believed. Gov. Geary left the Ter. secretly last week and took a boat for St. Louis. It is reported here, but I doubt its correctness, that he died at Jefferson City of bleeding at the lungs. He looked in bad health before he left, and some think he has a fast consumption.

A letter was received from Washington a day or two ago, saying that Geary would certainly be turned out of office. Few of our party will cry about it, as we certainly can't endorse his course since he has been Gov. of Kansas. I hear that he said before he left, that he was heartily sick and disgusted with these Abolitionists. I sometimes think that he really meant well, but for want of judgment and bad advice, he committed grievous blunders. He thought he could come here and pat these rascals on the back and in a short time all would be right, but he was grievously mistaken in his men—he is gone however, and joy go with him.

I heard yesterday that Secy Woodson, who is acting Gov. in the absence of the regular Gov., received despatches from Washington that there is to be two regiments of regulars stationed at Leecompton to be at the disposal of the Gov., [and] that some of them are to go around with the tax collector. If this is true, it is good news. This, Jack, is all the political news of importance.

. . . The mails have been irregular for the last month or more, which may account for your not hearing from us, as you said, for I am sure I write every week and sometimes twice a week. . . .

You said in your last that the Estate Negroes had been divided, and that Cousin Billy got Peggy and her children. If I recollect aright, that is the lot which he preferred, but you did not tell us of the others, who got such and such lots. All such as that would interest us. . . . Make a big crop of corn and potatoes, as I wish to buy my supply for next year. Oh, I wish I had a peck of sweet potatoes now; I have not tasted one in a year! . . .

Ever your friend & Brother-in-law, A. J. H.

Dear Jack

Douglas, K. T., Apl. the 12th., 1857

Your most acceptable letter of the 23rd. March came to hand yesterday, with a check on the State Bank of N. Y. for seventy-five (\$75). I doubt very much whether I can get it cashed conveniently anywhere near here, but perhaps I may be able to trade it off in Westport, Mo., or perhaps at Leavensworth City. If I fail to pass it off my hands without putting myself to too much expense and

trouble, I will enclose it back to you. I shall go to Lecompton tomorrow and see what I can do, but I have very little hopes, as neither of the merchants there trade in New York; two of them trade in Philadelphia, and the other in Kansas City & St. Louis. They are all rather of the dropshot sort of merchants anyhow.

I had the pleasure of hearing a sermon preached today in the City of Lecompton, the first I have heard since sometime about the middle of July last. The text today was Romans V, 1. It was preached by the Presiding Elder of the M. E. Church South in Kansas—by the way, a pretty good, plain, matter-of-fact sort of sermon. I enjoyed it pretty well, tho I had to stand the whole time during service, as there were only enough seats for the ladies.

Well Jack, I have very little to write except what I have written . . . for the *Flag*, which is political, and you will see it. I will tell you, however, that Betsie got bloodthirsty this evening. The news came that Jim Lane was at a house about 100 yards from the one we live in. So Betsie and some of the other "Border Ruffians!" women here talked about killing him. I saw him as he was going off about a mile from me on the prairie, which is the first time I ever saw him to know it, tho' I was once within 150 yards of him, but could not tell him from any of the rest of his men. I am firmly of the opinion that we will have more trouble here this year, if our new Gov. is not a man of the right grit.

Betsie & the baby are both quite well. We have named the little scamp Ada Constantia. What think you of that name? She grows remarkably fast, and some of the women think that her under gums are swollen as if about to cut teeth, but I think it is quite young. However, I know little about these things.

Betsie joins me in love to you, . . . Tell all the Negroes howdie, and give my best regards to all enquiring friends. . . .

Ever Yours sincerely, A. J. H.

My Dear Sister

Douglas, K. T., April the 19th., 1857

. . . I received the draft which you mentioned, from Jack, God bless him for his kindness. I have not yet got it cashed tho one of the merchants in Lecompton says he will take it at 1 pr. ct. discount, if I should happen in when he had money enough on hand to take it up. His clerk told me yesterday that if I had been there a day or two before, he would have taken it, as he was in want of one, but he had got one that suited him better, as it was for an even \$100. It would be worth 1½ pr. cent premium in St. Louis, but that would



cost more than it would come to, to take it there. . . . It may be that we will be able to get along without using the \$75 . . . until we start home. . . .

We still have winter weather here. On the night of the 17th Inst. the rain fell and froze on the ground, so that everything was covered with ice. It then snowed a coarse hominy snow till the ground was white. It all melted off however yesterday, but the wind still blows cold from the west, too cold for me to go to Lecompton to preaching. I went last Sunday . . . it was quite a treat to hear a sermon, not having heard one before since last July— The Presiding Elder (Bradford) called on Betsie and me last Friday. He appears to be a very clever man. He wants Betsie to send for her letter from the church, and deposit it here in Lecompton, but I don't know as there would be any use in that, as we are going back again. He hinted strongly at me about joining also, and I would do so, but I fear I am not fitting, and never will be, to join the church.

I begin to hope that we will have no more fighting in the Ter. Stanton,<sup>24</sup> the Lieutenant Gov., has arrived. He made a speech in Lecompton the other day, declaring most emphatically that the laws should be enforced. He came out boldly and asserted that he was born Proslavery, had lived Proslavery, and would die Proslavery. Walker,<sup>25</sup> the Gov., will be here about the middle of next month. He is also Proslavery. So I think the Abolitionists will be afraid to risk another fuss.

My health has been very good for more than a week, and I have been at work. . . . Little Ada is well and growing finely. She is a perfect prodigy, so pretty, smart, &c. . . . We named her Ada Constantia, tho I call her Snooks, Snipes, Zip, Snapp, &c. . . . Who could not be happy with the best of wives and the prettiest best, smartest, and most interesting [of] little babies?

I think I will leave this part of the Ter. after a while. Gen'l Clarke has been down to Fort Scott and speaks so favorably of that section, that I believe I will go there. He (Clarke) is going, and says he is going to carry me. He says they want a male academy there. They have a good female. It is a fine opening, and he says there are a good many vacant claims in that section. It is much

24. Frederick Perry Stanton (1814-1894), born in Alexandria, Virginia. In the spring of 1857 he was appointed secretary of Kansas territory. Later in the year he served as acting governor.

25. Robert John Walker (1801-1869), of Mississippi, though a native of Pennsylvania. He reached Kansas and accepted the post of governor, May 5, 1857, on the pledge of President Buchanan that the state constitution should be submitted to the vote of the people. But after rejecting the forged and fraudulent returns in Kansas, and opposing the Lecompton constitution, he resigned, November 16, 1857, and going before Congress, defeated the attempt to force the corrupt measure on the territory. Appleton, *op. cit.*, v. VI, p. 329.



warmer than it is here. . . . Give my love to Mother. . . .  
*Howdie* all the Negroes for me . . . and write soon, dear sister,  
to Your Affectionate Brother, Axalla.

My Dear Mother

Douglas, K. T., May 24th., 1857

I received a letter from Sister by Wednesday's mail, dated the 7th. Ult. which I will answer by writing to you, as I wrote my last to her. . . . I am sorry to hear that you will have no fruit this year, and I fear from all the accounts I can get, that the prospects for a crop are quite gloomy. Spring is very backward there as well as it is here. People are not done planting corn here yet, and what is planted does not seem to come up. We had just had a sprinkle of rain and it looks as if we will have more directly. I wish we could have a good rain, for then perhaps everything would come up and grow.

Tell Sister I thank her for the seed she sent me, but I wish she had sent me the cotton seed also, as there are a good many of my neighbours who have never seen it growing, and I am anxious to see what it would do here.

Times are very hard here at this time. I hear that there are some families down south of here, about 20 miles, who are on the point of starving. They are some of the northern emigrants, sent out by the Aid Society. The North has done more for her emigrants than the South has done; still I believe they are getting along worse. In some parts of the Ter. I hear they are generally quarreling and fighting among themselves, burning each other's house, &c.—

The Indians are playing the mischief out west of this. They have taken Fort Laramie, which is about 150 [?] miles from here, I believe. I have not learned what tribe or tribes. Eight hundred regulars left Fort Leavenworth last week for the scene of action, so I guess they will soon be brought to terms. Everything is going on quietly here with the exception of what I have told you above.

We are to hold a meeting in Lecompton to-morrow to nominate delegates for the convention. Gov. Walker has not arrived yet, but we are looking for him this week.

I did not go down to Fort Scott as I expected, but I asked Genl. Clarke & ex-Governor Ransom<sup>26</sup> to enquire what chance there would be for me there. . . . Betsie's health has not been so good for several weeks. She has a bad cold. . . . Our little one has

26. Epaphroditus Ransom (Democrat), state governor of Michigan, 1848-1850.—*Cf. Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13th. ed., v. XVII-XVIII, p. 377.

also had a cold and cough, which is the first time that she has been the least unwell since she has been born. She has cut four teeth and two more are almost through. She can sit alone, grows fast, &c., &c. Everybody says she is a prodigy!

Mr. Ellison had a Negro woman that died yesterday; she had been sick for a long time. . . . The Negro left an infant about a fortnight old, the poorest little object you ever saw. It does not weigh more than three pounds. There has been a great deal of sickness here in Douglas this spring, mostly from colds.

I killed a rattlesnake yesterday, but it was a small one, having only three rattles & a button. One was seen by the path I go to get water, *very large*, by a man yesterday and I was looking for it when I found the one I killed. There are not many snakes here, but I believe there are as many rattlesnakes as any other kind.

Provisions are still very high here; bacon has fallen a little, but I believe everything else is on the rise. Cows are beginning to mend, and milk is getting plentiful. My neighbours tell me to come after milk, but I do so very seldom—it looks too much like begging to me.

Well, My dear Sister, I have written all the news that I know of and some foolishness that I ought to have omitted. If I were with you, I could find enough to talk about for a week, but when I come to put it on paper, it is a different thing. . . . I hope in God's name we will see each other in about six months more. What I shall do when I get back to Darlington, I can't tell . . . but I guess I will try teaching again, and that will be a poor business, I fear. . . . Give my love to [the entire family]

Your Affectionate Son, Axalla.

Dear Sister

Douglas, K. T., July the 5th., 1857

I received yours of the 17th. Ult. the day before yesterday. . . . Betsie is enjoying very good health at this time. . . . As for my own part, tho I keep up and have worked every day. . . . I would perhaps have lain up some days, had it not been that I was (and I *am*) so anxious to get through with the job of work I have in hand for Col. Stanton. He is also in a hurry for it, as he says he wishes to get out of town. He wants me to occupy one of the rooms. . . . It would be much more convenient to live there than here, as wood and water are more convenient, and moreover, he wishes me to continue working for him. . . . I guess by the time Mr. Smith & I get through with the work, he (Stanton) wishes us to do

for him, we will be into his pockets about \$150. . . . I think I can get along here pretty well till I get ready to go home.

I fear, Sister, that coming here will do no good at last, as I begin to think that this will be made a Free State at last. 'Tis true we have elected Proslavery men to draft a state constitution, but I feel pretty certain, if it is put to the vote of the people, it will be rejected, as I feel pretty confident they have a majority here at this time. The South has ceased all efforts, while the North is redoubling her exertions. We nominated a candidate for Congress last Friday—Ex-Gov. Ransom of Michigan. I must confess I have not much faith in him, tho he professes to hate the Abolitionists bitterly, and I have heard him say that Negroes were a great deal better off with Masters. Still, I fear him, but it was the best we could do. If we had nominated a Southern man, he would have been sure to have been beaten, and I doubt whether we can even elect a Northerner who favors our side.

One of our most staunch Proslavery men was killed in Leavensworth a few days ago. It is hard to ascertain the facts in relation to the murder correctly, but as far as I can learn, there was an election for something. The man who was killed (Jas. Lyle) went up to the polls and asked for a ticket. An Abolitionist handed him one which he, Lyle, tore in two. The other asked him why he did that; he replied he did all such tickets that way. The Abolitionist told him he had better not do so again, when Lyle told him if he would give him another he would. It was given him, and he tore it also, at which the Abolitionist drew a bowie knife and stabbed Lyle to the heart, then ran a few paces, drew a revolver, and commenced firing at the dying man. The fellow was taken prisoner and eighty men were sent from Lawrence that night, by Jim Lane, to keep Lyle's friends from hanging him. Gov. Walker put out for Leavensworth on Friday to have the prisoner carried to the fort, in order to keep the Abolitionists from rescuing him, or prevent Lyle's friends from hanging him by mob law.

There was a big ball in Lecompton on the night of the 3d., but they had no celebration there yesterday. The Abolitionists had a barbecue at Bloomington, about 8 miles south of this, but it was a party thing, I hear. There was a big celebration at Tecumseh and all were invited to attend, tho it was given by Proslavery men. Judge Cato was the orator of the day. I celebrated the day by hard work . . . so you may guess I felt like sleeping last night.

We have had no rain here for more than two months, worth a name,



but the corn seems to grow some, dry as it is. My Irish potatoes look well, and are full of blossoms, but I have not tried them yet. My cotton grows fast, but the other seed you sent me did not come up.— Betsie is lying on the bed, reading the Bible & napping by turns, but I believe she does most of the latter. Ada is asleep. Oh, the sweet little creature. You may think I am only bragging, but I tell you she is the smartest child I ever saw, has the most sense, is the prettiest, and the best everything else. She can crawl, stand up and hold to a chair, has cut six teeth and will soon have two more . . . but she has precious little hair on her head. . . . Some of the ladies here don't call her anything but *Whitey*, she is so fair and looks so white. Enough of *this*—

You must give my love to all. . . . Tell all the Negroes a hundred Howdies for us. . . .

Your Affectionate Brother, Axalla.

P. S. 6th. Mr. Smith, the man engaged with me in work, was bit by a rattlesnake last night about midnight. He got up to give his child a drink of water, & stepped on the snake on the floor. He drank a pint of whiskey and got drunk. He has the Doctor with him this morning, and I hope he will be up in a day or two.

Dear Cousin Mary Douglas, K. T., Augst. 16th., 1857

. . . I suppose you are aware ere this that we have moved from the place we have been living ever since we have been here, and also that we have changed our manner of living. So Betsie, instead of complaining of the want of something to do, now is glad of a chance to rest. . . . Col. Stanton has bought a cow, and you would have been amused to see Betsie's first attempt at milking. If the cow switched her tail, Betsie would jump, and if she happened to look around at her, she was sure the cow would bite her the next thing. She was even afraid to shift the calf from one teat to another for fear it would bite her hand. . . . Oh, coming to Kansas has been a great school for my old wife. She has learned something about cooking, she has learned to wash, and milk cows, besides a good many other things. So when I go back it will save me one hand in the field, as I will have learned by then that in getting a wife I got a first-rate cook & washer, &c. Jestng aside, I really believe it will be of advantage to her, as she will be able to know how things should be done. . . . But to change the subject, I tell you. . . . I have the greatest little girl that ever was. . . . She is beginning to walk already and her mouth is forever

jabbering when she is awake. She hollows at everything that comes about, horses, cows, hogs, &c. Col. Stanton thinks she is a prodigy. I will be *dogged* if I know how many teeth she has— I will ask Betsie when she comes in. She beats everything in these parts—that is enough—

Sister wrote to me in her last, bragging what a nice dinner she and Mother ate at your house a few days before she wrote, and it gave Betsie and me fits, we wanted to be there so bad. You must not eat up all of your cabbages before the 1st. of Dec., as I guess that will be all the kind of vegetables you will be able to have at that time. . . . We have had no vegetables yet this year, except some beets which Betsie bought at 15¢ a dozen. As for chicken I have almost forgotten how they taste as I have not eaten any in almost a year. I bought a few hens the other day, but have not got them home yet. I am to give 30 cents apiece, and have to go after them this morning, Sunday. As it is I don't like to do it, but it is a kind of case of necessity, as the family I bought them of is going to move to a different part of the Ter. to-morrow. I went after them yesterday but they had neglected to shut them up the night before, and I could not catch them. If provisions were not so dear here, I think we would be able to live, but when meal is \$2.50 a bushel, flour \$13 a barrel, meat 20 cts. a lb., sugar & coffee 20¢, molasses \$1.50, eggs 30¢ a doz., salt from \$2 to \$3 a bushel, I tell you it takes money to live. We are doing, however, pretty well now. We have about \$120 . . . on hand now, which is almost enough to take us back to So. Ca., and I intend to try to keep that much on hand ahead, for that purpose. . . .

Well, I have very little more to write. We have had several good rains of late, which has improved the corn very much. There is a good deal of stir about politics at this time, but I cannot go into detail on the subject, as it would be too great a job. I will however say that the candidate we have nominated for Congress (ex-Gov. Ransom of Michigan) in one of his messages to the legislature of that state, was strong on the Free State side, which has been found out since his nomination, and he has been requested to withdraw. I don't know whether he will, or not—enough of this. . . . Give my love to . . . all of the relations and friends . . . and tell all the negroes *howdie, howdie, howdie* for me. . . . Hoping that you are well and that, God willing, I will see you in the course of about 3½ months, I subscribe myself. . . .

Your sincere and affectionate old Friend, A. J. H.



My Dear Sister— Douglas, K. T., August the 23rd., 1857

Your very acceptable and agreeable letter of the 5th. inst. came to hand yesterday. It is now 3 o'clock in the evening, when I now take my seat to write you. The reason I am so late commencing is that I have been attending a meeting to organize a Sunday School here in Douglas. A Sunday School missionary is going around in Kansas for this purpose. The day was so unfavorable that we had had a small turn out, but I think we will have a school of 25 or 30 children. I was elected Librarian, Secretary & Treasurer of the Society and also expect to take charge of a class, at least till we can get enough teachers, which I hope we will. It is to be held in the house I moved from in Douglas. . . .

I was in hopes that, if the peach and apples missed, you would have watermelons, but it seems you have not. I ate some yesterday for the first. I bought two small ones for 25¢ apiece. I also bought some beans & beets, and Betsie & I had a real old fashioned vegetable dinner today. I came near hurting myself, and Betsie complained of having eaten too much. We have to *buy everything* here— Great country this! !

Betsie & Ada are both well, but Betsie is still very thin. I will say nothing of Ada, as you will think I am only bragging, but you will see and judge for yourself, if God is willing, some day, whether I am only bragging or not.

We have had a few pretty good rains lately and it is now raining a slow rain. Crops are improving, my cotton I see is pretty full of offers, blooms and small pods, tho' it is so late, I fear but few bolls will mature.

The Col. [Stanton] is a very fine man personally, and I like him so far very much, but he and I don't agree in politics. He is too much of a Union man. We argue a good deal, and once or twice I saw he got pretty warm. We get along first rate. He comes home about sundown and leaves soon after breakfast, so B [etsie] and I are alone all day. . . . We get 1½ gallons at a milking from our cow, or three gallons a day. Betsie makes from half pound to a pound of butter at a time. . . . I tell you, we are living at fountain head now, if we do have to pay high for everything. Col. Stanton bought a sow and six pigs to eat the buttermilk and scraps; he made Betsie a present of two of the pigs. . . .

There is little of importance to write in the way of politics, though that is all of the topic here at this time, as it has always been. There



is to be a meeting tomorrow within a few miles from here to nominate another candidate for Congress. It is by the Conservative Free State Men, nominally, but I fear it is gotten up by the Black Republicans to divide our party, as they have learned that a good many of us are dissatisfied with our nominee. But what surprises me and rather puts me at a loss to guess what they are driving at is that the Abolitionists' nominee says that if Col. Moore<sup>27</sup> is the nominee tomorrow, he (Parrott) will not run, but will do all he can for Moore. Moore was a representative to Congress from New York about 18 years ago, and made a speech against the Abolitionists while in Congress. I have heard him express himself in favor of Slavery— 'Tis hard to tell what will be the result.

Our Convention meets next month to frame a State Constitution. I am satisfied that a majority of said convention are Proslavery, but don't know how they will make it. The time for deciding the great question will soon be at hand. What will be the future state of Kansas no one can tell. So much for politics.

It has been quite cool here for several days, and now it is comfortable sitting by a fire. . . . Betsie has just cut one of the watermelons I bought yesterday, and I must lay down my pen and eat some. . . .

You say that Cousin Billy says he will not write, but will give it to me when we return. Perhaps he may not have the chance of doing so in a *year yet*, for I may not go back this fall, but wait till next. So he had better give it to me by letter, for fear he may forget some by that time. . . .

Give my love to [the immediate family] and tell all the Negroes a *heap of howdies* for me. . . . Do write soon to

Your ever loving brother, Axalla.

Dear Sister

Douglas Co., K. T., Sept. 13th, 1857

Yours of the 25th Ult. came to hand a few days ago. . . . I have very little of importance to write. The constitutional convention met last Monday and organized, elected Genl. Calhoun<sup>28</sup> Presi-

27. Ely Moore (1798-1861), was born in Sussex county, New Jersey. From 1834 to 1838 he served in Congress, and won national fame in his reply to Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina. In 1853 President Pierce offered him the position of minister to England, but he declined; and accepted, on account of his health, an Indian agency in territorial Kansas. It is a part of the unwritten history of Kansas that he was to have been the first territorial governor, but his health forbade, and he recommended his friend, Andrew H. Reeder.—*Cf.* Albert R. Greene, "United States Land-Offices in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 4.

28. John Calhoun (1806-1859), appointed as surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska by President Pierce in 1854. He was made first president of the constitutional convention in 1857.—*Cf.* *Dictionary American Biography*, v. III, pp. 410-411.

dent, and after being in session a week, they have adjourned, not to meet again till the 3rd. Monday in Oct. after the election is over. I guess they don't wish to adopt a constitution until they ascertain what the Abolitionists intend doing in the coming election. The great subject of contention here now is not whether the convention will frame a slave constitution, for 'tis almost certain they will, but whether it shall be put to the vote of the people for ratification, or not, and who will be the legal voters. So far as Gov. Walker is concerned, some endorse his course of policy and some do not; even those who do, admit that they do not approve of some of his acts. For my own part, I . . . endorse nothing he has done, let alone his general course of policy. A good many of our party appear to be very sanguine about this being a slave state, but I am fearful 'twill not, though I am sometimes high in hopes. I wish 'twas decided, one way or the other. I am getting tired of it, and wish to leave the Ter. We had Genl. McLean with us last night, he is one of the same school of politics as myself, so he and Col. Stanton had it all the time. Stanton is one of the Walker & Buchanan school of politics.

Crops look very fine here at this time, the rains having set in about the right time, and if frosts should stay off long enough, there will be a good deal of corn made in this part of the Ter., and accounts from other parts of the Ter. are equally favorable.

We are all quite well at this time . . . getting along very comfortably. I think Col. Stanton doesn't want us to leave here this winter, [as] there is little prospect of his house being finished this fall, so that he can move his family here. . . . He has found out that we are not of the ordinary class of persons . . . and I know that he does not like the idea of parting with us.

So far as living high is concerned, as the saying is, we are living in clover, but I believe I gave an account of our living in the letter I wrote to Mother last week. Our Sunday School I fear is a failure, owing to the difficulty of getting the library. The agent said that he would send the books to me at Lecompton, but they had not come yesterday.

I thought I would say nothing about Ada, as I fear you will say I am only bragging, but I will tell you however that she can walk all over the house, has eight teeth, and her gums seem swollen as if she was about to cut jaw teeth. . . . Mrs. Ellison, who has had about a dozen children, and as many grandchildren, says that she never saw such a child in her life. Col. Stanton says she is

a prodigy; he never saw such a forward child in his life. Whenever he comes home, she commences jabbering to him, which pleases him very much. He makes a great deal of her.

Well, my dear Sister, I expect you will find this a disconnected affair. When I was on the 2nd. page, my Oddfellow's widow & her sister came in, and in a few minutes after, two of her other sisters came, and so I could not write steady with them talking around me. You must excuse it, if it is written badly. . . . Give my love to Mother. . . . Tell all the Negroes howdie, and my best regards to enquiring friends.

Your loving Brother, Axalla.



# Camp Beecher

HORTENSE BALDERSTON CAMPBELL

CAMP BEECHER was established at the junction of the Big and Little Arkansas rivers on the site of the present city of Wichita, May 11, 1868,<sup>1</sup> to protect the settlers from the attacks of the Indians, particularly from the terrors of the Cheyennes, who had been raiding the east central portions of Kansas. It was not an isolated camp, but was one of many forts built in Kansas to safeguard the settlers from Indian raids. Its primary purpose was as headquarters for a border cavalry patrol which extended northward to Marion Center.<sup>2</sup>

The necessity for establishing the camp here at this time is evident, for on the 17th of May, 1868, two men were massacred by Osages in Butler county on the Big Walnut. A dispatch from a Eureka correspondent in the *Kansas Daily Tribune* tells of this horrible event:

TWO MEN KILLED BY OSAGE INDIANS, ON BIG WALNUT, BUTLER COUNTY,  
THE BODIES FRIGHTFULLY MUTILATED

THE TRIBE SURRENDERS TWO OF THE GUILTY PARTIES FOR TRIAL

[From our Traveling Correspondent]

Eureka, May 27, 1868.

EDITOR TRIBUNE: On the evening of the 17th inst. Mr. Sam T. Dunn and James Anderson, living on what is known as the Government Strip, were examining a corner stone, near their residence, when they suddenly were surrounded by fourteen Indian warriors.

Mr. Dunn was killed, it is supposed, instantly. Mr. Anderson was first disabled by a tomahawk and then shot.

Their heads were both cut off and scalped, that of the former being left several rods from the body. The fingers were also cut off from one of the bodies and taken away.

After the massacre was completed, the party let down the fence to an eighty-acre field nearby, and drove off two mules; they also chased a horse to within a hundred and fifty yards of the house.

They were followed by a party of white men some twenty-five miles, far enough to convince them that they were Osage Indians. They were recognized by the cut of their hair, their clothes, and by articles left on their trail, as being Osages.

I have the above from a brother of one of the deceased.

J. S. B.<sup>3</sup>

1. U. S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, letter from the adjutant general, C. H. Bridges, major general, to Mrs. Hortense B. Campbell, January 13, 1933. A. G. 314.71 Camp Beecher, (1-3-33) Off. 442.

2. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 12, 1868, quoted by Marvin H. Garfield, in his "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, p. 58; November, 1931.

3. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 31, 1868, p. 2.

*The Kansas Daily Tribune* also prints this article about the massacre:

The *Journal* of yesterday morning has the following:

After the signing of the Osage treaty, a Mr. Dunn, whose parents reside in Johnson county, arrived in the commissioners' camp from Walnut creek, Butler county, bringing the report that his brother, Samuel, and a partner by the name of James Anderson, were killed on Sunday, the 17th inst., by a band of White Hair Osages. The commissioners immediately called the chiefs in council, and peremptorily demanded the surrender of the guilty parties. The next morning, after two hours parleying, amid the moaning of the squaws and the most intense excitement on the part of the warriors and braves, they gave up two young men, who were brought by the commissioners to Ottawa, where they will be turned over to U. S. Marshal Whiting to be tried for the crime charged.

The matter of sending troops had been under consideration before this atrocity was committed, Gov. Samuel J. Crawford having written to Gen. Philip H. Sheridan previous to April 14, 1868. On that date General Sheridan posted the following letter to the governor:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, April 14, 1868.

GOVERNOR:

I am in receipt of your letter in reference to the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, to protect the settlers in the county of Sedgwick.

I had already ordered an examination of this point, intending to send a small military force there and the place will be occupied by at least one company by the 1st. May.

I am, Governor,	Very respectfully	Your obedient servant
His Excellency		P. H. SHERIDAN,
S. J. Crawford		Major General, U. S. A. <sup>4</sup>
Governor of Kansas		
Topeka, Kansas		

Many years later, writing of Camp Beecher in his article, "The Little Arkansas," James R. Mead said, "Why a company of infantry should be sent to this point we were never able to learn. In the previous years we had been coming and going over these plains with no protection whatever and all had been peace and quiet in this part of the state. A company of infantry would not have been effective beyond one half mile of their camp. None but well-mounted horsemen, trained to plains life, could have protected an extended frontier." <sup>5</sup>

At first the camp was called Camp Butterfield but that name was

4. Letter from Maj. Gen. P. H. Sheridan to Gov. S. J. Crawford, April 14, 1868, in Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

5. *Kansas Historical Collections* (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society, 1907-1908), v. X, p. 13, and O. H. Bentley, editor, *History of Wichita and Sedgwick County, Kansas* . . . (Chicago, C. F. Cooper and Company, 1910), v. I, p. 129.

not used long, for by June, 1868, the place was known as Camp Davidson, and on October 19, 1868, this was changed to Camp Beecher,<sup>6</sup> which name it kept until it was abandoned in June, 1869.<sup>7</sup> Why the camp had three names in a little over a year is not explained, although it is easily understood why the name was changed to Camp Beecher, in honor of First Lieut. Frederick H. Beecher, hero of the Battle of the Arickaree.<sup>8</sup>

In those days news traveled very slowly, for the order changing the name of the camp to Camp Beecher, issued October 19, 1868, at Fort Hays, was not printed in the Leavenworth *Times and Conservative* until Sunday morning, November 1st. It ran as follows:

Camp Beecher

Headquarters Department of Missouri

Fort Hays, Kansas, October 19, 1868

General Field Orders, No. 3

The station of United States Troops at the mouth of the Little Arkansas river, Kansas, will hereafter be known as Camp Beecher, in commemoration of the name and services of Frederick H. Beecher, 1st Lieutenant, 3d Infantry, who was killed in battle with Indians, on Arickaree Fork of the Republican river, September 17, 1868.

By command of Major General Sheridan

J. Schuyler Crosby, Brvt.

Lieut. Col., A. D. C.<sup>9</sup>

Camp Beecher, as it is most commonly known, was located on the present site of Wichita, the exact spot being in dispute. There are three possible places where it might have been located.

John S. Whigan, a member of Company H, Fifth United States infantry, visiting Wichita in 1916 after an absence of forty-eight years, located it near Ninth and Waco. Mr. Whigan recalled that

6. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

7. June, 1869, is accepted as the date of abandonment of Camp Beecher, on authority of the letter listed in note No. 1, although Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, in her article on Fort Wallace, published in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 233, gives a later date which evidently is based on the U. S. War Department report, 1869-1870, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1870 (U. S. 41st Congress, 2d session. House of Representatives), *Executive Document No. 1*, part 2, s. n. 1412, p. 70. Here Major General Schofield makes the following statement: "The outposts of Fort Zara and Camp Beecher on the Arkansas have been broken up." The date of a dispatch on the same page as this notice is October 23, 1869.

8. Frederick Henry Beecher, born in New Orleans, June 22, 1841, was one of the famous family of Beechers, being a nephew of Henry Ward Beecher and a son of the Reverend Charles and Sarah Coffin Beecher. (*Dictionary of American Biography*; under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies; edited by Allen Johnson, N. Y., Scribner's, 1929, v. II, pp. 126, 129.)

Beecher was in the battles of the army of the Potomac from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg. The severe nature of his wounds necessitated his transfer to the second battalion veteran reserve corps, where he served as lieutenant and acted as adjutant general in the Freedman's Bureau. He was transferred to the Third U. S. infantry in November, 1864, and was made first lieutenant in July, 1868. (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*; edited by J. G. Wilson and John Fiske, N. Y., Appleton, 1888, v. I, p. 221.)

In 1866, he was stationed at Fort Riley. Later he built several buildings at the Fort Wallace army post. He was killed by the Indians in the Battle of Beecher Island, Colo. [or Arickaree], September 17, 1868. (*Beecher Island Annual*, Wray, Colorado, Beecher Island Battle Memorial Association, 1917, v. V, p. 55.)

9. The Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, November 1, 1868, p. 1.



the soldiers built for their quarters a dugout seventy-five by fifty feet, mostly underground.<sup>10</sup>

A dugout which William Finn said he had been told was used by a troop of U. S. soldiers in the winter of 1868-'69 housed the first school held in Wichita. Mr. Finn, speaking in 1928 of this first school house, reported that the only building he could find [for it] was a dugout half a mile north of the settlement and that it was quite commodious, with a fireplace and dormer windows on the south side of the roof. There was no log house of any shape or kind, as some one else has pictured it, on top of the dugout.<sup>11</sup>

This first schoolhouse was located at Twelfth and Jackson, according to Mr. Finn, who in 1924, took a party including his son-in-law Earl C. Schaefer of Sedgwick; Earl's father, Charles Schaefer, also of Sedgwick; Finlay Ross, former mayor of Wichita; Billy Peacock, of Wichita, now of Aiken, S. C.; and Bliss Isely, who says that Mr. Finn did not say that this was the site of Camp Beecher; in fact that he did not ask him about the location of Camp Beecher. Mr. Isely ventures the statement that this location might have been a sentry's outpost.<sup>12</sup>

On November 9, 1933, the school children of Wichita placed a granite marker on the site at Twelfth and Jackson to commemorate the place where the first school was held in Wichita, but it was not definitely stated on this occasion that it was the site of Camp Beecher though it was reported by Mrs. Earl Schaefer, the daughter of William Finn, that the dugout formerly located there had been used by Company A of the Fifth infantry.<sup>13</sup>

The third point at which Camp Beecher is said to have been located is at the junction of the Big and Little Arkansas, between the two rivers, just across the Little Arkansas from the present municipal bathing beach. Kiowa, chief of the Wichita Indians, in an interview with Mr. Isely in 1924, is authority for this location. Chief Kiowa and the Wichita Indians left the present site of Wichita in 1867, according to Mr. Isely, but returned to trade.<sup>14</sup>

At all events, wherever the dugout was located, it was close to the Little Arkansas river, where the soldiers could fish for cat fish and carp, could pick sand plums along the banks when they ripened late in the summer, could make wine out of elderberries growing

10. *Wichita Eagle*, September 9, 1916, page 5.

11. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1928, Magazine section, page 6.

12. Letter from Bliss Isely to Mrs. Hortense B. Campbell, December 4, 1933.

13. *Wichita Eagle*, November 10, 1933, page 2.

14. Isely to the author, *loc. cit.*

nearby, and could shoot buffalo and prairie chickens out on the plains.

Mr. Whigan further declared: "Shortly after we pitched camp, a man by the name of Lewellyn, his wife and three daughters, built a cabin near the east bank of Little river about a mile above the mouth."<sup>15</sup> Lewellen's patent from the United States government shows settlement was made prior to July 15, 1870, but does not give the exact date.<sup>16</sup>

Curious to relate, no one seems to know Lewellen's given name or the correct spelling of it. The *Kansas State Gazetteer* of 1888-1889, listing him later as a resident of Chelsea, records it simply as Lewellen.<sup>17</sup> Andreas' *History of Kansas*, in its history of Chelsea township of Butler county, lists him as Doctor Lewellen<sup>18</sup> and the *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant Guide, 1878*, in its history of Wichita, gives the name as Doc. Llewellyn.<sup>19</sup> Additional proof that he never used his first name or that by some strange fate he had no other name than Doctor is demonstrated by the fact that in as important a transaction as securing the patent for his land he used only the name Doctor Lewellen.<sup>20</sup>

Durfee's store must have been built then, too, for the Leavenworth *Times and Conservative* of December 18, 1868, says, "Mr. Durfee has the honor of breaking the first sod at the new town of Wichita, Sedgwick county, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas river, where early in January, 1868, he erected a large store building or 'ranch' at a cost of \$2,500, stocking it with \$25,000 worth of goods. Since then emigration has poured into that section of country and now, where a year ago were only his buildings, is now the thriving town of Wichita."<sup>21</sup>

Durfee's partner was Philip Ledrick<sup>22</sup> who, according to records in the tract book in the General Land Office at Washington, was granted a patent on land located on the E $\frac{1}{2}$ , SW $\frac{1}{4}$  and Lots 1 and 2 of Section 17 of Township 27 South, Range 1 East of the Sixth

15. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 9, 1916, p. 5.

16. U. S. Interior Department, General Land Office, letter from the acting assistant commissioner, D. K. Parrott, to Mrs. Hortense B. Campbell, May 18, 1933, 1495563 "B" CWB, advice relative patented entries.

17. *Kansas State Gazetteer, 1888-1889* (St. Louis, R. L. Polk and Company, [c1889]), v. VI, p. 239.

18. Andreas, A. T., publisher *History of the State of Kansas*. . . . (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 1450.

19. *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant Guide, 1878*, compiled by D. B. Emmert (Kansas City, Tiernan and Wainwright, 1878), p. 15.

20. Parrott to the author, *loc. cit.*

21. The Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, December 18, 1868, p. 2.

22. *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant Guide, 1878*, compiled by D. B. Emmert (Kansas City, Tiernan and Wainwright, 1878), p. 15.



Principal Meridian, on April 15, 1873. In the proof Mr. Ledrick gave the date of settlement as February, 1868.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Whigan says that D. S. Munger's house wasn't here when he came,<sup>24</sup> although the Daughters of the American Revolution of Wichita, in their *Illustrated History of Early Wichita*, are authority for the statement that it was the first house built in Wichita.<sup>25</sup> In his proof, submitted to the Humboldt land office, February 2, 1870, D. S. Munger, filing on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 17, Township 27 South, Range 1 East, of the Sixth Principal Meridian, stated that he had settled on the land prior to May 15, 1868.<sup>26</sup>

Another resident in the early part of 1869 was Phares C. Hubbard whose entry on land in the same section as Munger shows proof of settlement made April 17, 1869.<sup>27</sup> He must be the Hubbard whom Fred A. Sowers, in his chapter of Bentley's *History of Wichita and Sedgwick County*, entitled "The Early History of Wichita," mentions thus, "Jack Ledford traded Hubbard out of his interest with

23. Parrott to the author, *loc. cit.* The author's examination of a township map reveals that, roughly speaking, early Wichita was built on Sections 16, 17, 20, and 21 of Township 27 South, Range 1 East of the Sixth Principal Meridian. The present boundaries of these sections would approximate Thirteenth street on the north, Hydraulic on the east, Kellogg on the south, and the Big and Little Arkansas rivers and Seneca on the west.

In present-day Wichita, the claims of these early settlers would be in the following locations, according to the information from the survey plats of the city of Wichita in the county clerk's office, Wichita, Sedgwick county, and the original township plats in the office of the county surveyor, Sedgwick county, as prepared by Mr. N. W. Bass, U. S. Geological Survey with headquarters in Wichita (now of Washington, D. C.):

Ledrick, Philip: E $\frac{1}{2}$  SW $\frac{1}{4}$  and Lots 1 and 2, Section 17—This tract extends from Central avenue north to Riverside avenue and its extension due eastward across the Little Arkansas river, and from Sherman avenue and its projection northward through Central Riverside Park west to Buffum avenue and its projection southward through Riverside Park (Central and South Riverside Parks) to the north bank of the Little Arkansas river in South Riverside Park, thence southeast along the bank of the river to Central avenue.

Munger, D. S.: SE $\frac{1}{4}$  Section 17—The south boundary of this tract is Central avenue; the north boundary falls about 130 feet north of Ninth street between Lawrence avenue (name changed to Broadway by Ordinance No. 11325 of the City of Wichita, adopted October 30, 1933—Wichita city clerk's "Office Ordinance Book"), and Waco avenue, and from Waco avenue on westward it is the alley south of Ninth street; the east boundary is Lawrence avenue and the west boundary is Sherman avenue and its projection northward through Central Riverside Park.

Hubbard, Phares C.: NW $\frac{1}{4}$ , Section 17—The south boundary of this tract is Riverside avenue, which runs between Buffum avenue and the west bank of the Little Arkansas river, and the projection eastward of Riverside avenue, along a line that would fall about 150 feet south of Ninth street; the north boundary is Thirteenth street; the east boundary is a north-south line about 34 feet west of Lewellan avenue; and the west boundary is Buffum avenue and its projection northward through Riverside Park and Oak Park.

Waterman (usually spelled Waterman), Eli P.: NE $\frac{1}{4}$  of NE $\frac{1}{4}$  and Lots 1 and 2, Section 20—This tract extends from Douglas avenue north to Central avenue and from Lawrence avenue west to the east banks of the Little Arkansas and Arkansas rivers.

Mathewson, William: NE $\frac{1}{4}$ , Section 21—This extends from Douglas avenue north to Central avenue and from Hydraulic avenue west to Washington avenue.

Mead, James R.: NW $\frac{1}{4}$ , Section 21—This extends from Douglas avenue north to Central avenue and from Washington avenue west to Lawrence avenue.

24. The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 9, 1916, p. 5.

25. *Illustrated History of Early Wichita; Incidents of Pioneer Days*; compiled by and written for the Daughters of the American Revolution (Wichita, Eunice Sterling Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, c1914), [p. 10].

26. Parrott to the author, *loc. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*



Matsill in the general merchandise business, getting also the Grand Hotel, then being built (afterwards the rear part of the Tremont)."<sup>28</sup>

Eli P. Waterman settled on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$  and Lots 1 and 2 in Section 20 of the same township and range, prior to June 20, 1869, and William Mathewson made settlement on NE $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 21, on July 20, 1869.<sup>29</sup> James R. Mead, entering his claim to the NW $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 21 in the Humboldt land office July 29, 1870, showed no date of settlement, though he says in his paper, "The Little Arkansas," that he first saw the Little Arkansas on a sunny afternoon in June, 1863.<sup>30</sup> However, he says later in the article that he was then visiting the valley on a three weeks' hunting and exploring trip,<sup>31</sup> so he probably did not settle here permanently at that time.

No doubt these early settlers were well known to the local officers in charge of Camp Beecher, none of whom remained on duty for a long period at a time. Capt. Samuel L. Barr of the Fifth U. S. infantry was in command first, from May 11, 1868, to June 10, 1868, then Capt. Robert M. West of the Seventh U. S. cavalry took charge from June 11, 1868, to September, 1868, after which Captain Barr again resumed command from September, 1868, to April, 1869. He was followed by First Lieut. George McDermott, Fifth U. S. infantry, April 22, 1869, and by Capt. Owen Hale, Seventh cavalry, May 20, 1869.

Company H, Fifth infantry, was stationed at the camp from May 11, 1868, to May 20, 1869, practically all the time the camp was in operation. Company K, Seventh cavalry, served from June 11, 1868, to August 12, 1868, and from May 20, 1869, to June, 1869.<sup>32</sup>

Captain Barr was not an amateur at frontier posts for he had seen service in the Civil War in Arizona and New Mexico, having been stationed at Camp Lewis, near Pecos Church, N. M., in 1862,<sup>33</sup> and at Fort Whipple in 1864,<sup>34</sup> and had surprised an Indian camp near Sycamore Springs, Ariz., and killed four Indians on December 31, 1864.<sup>35</sup>

Barr was a Delaware man who seems to have spent all the years

28. Bentley, O. H., editor, *History of Wichita and Sedgwick County, Kansas*. . . . (Chicago, C. F. Cooper and Company, 1910), v. I, p. 9; Andreas, A. T., publisher, *History of the State of Kansas*. . . . (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 1930.

29. Parrott to the author, *loc. cit.*

30. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 7.

31. *Ibid.*, v. X, p. 10.

32. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

33. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883), series I, v. IX, p. 538.

34. *Ibid.* (1873), series I, v. XLI, part IV, pp. 381, 994.

35. *Ibid.* (1896), series I, v. XLVIII, part I, p. 907.

of his service with the Fifth United States infantry, being appointed a second lieutenant October 24, 1861, promoted to first lieutenant April 30, 1863, and made a captain, October 31, 1866. Unassigned May 19, 1869, he was mustered out January 1, 1871.<sup>36</sup>

Of the four men in command at Camp Beecher, Capt. Robert M. West had the most distinguished military career. During the Civil War he was an officer in charge of artillery with the Fourth Army corps in the Peninsular campaign,<sup>37</sup> was in command at Fort Magruder in the North Carolina and South East Virginia campaign,<sup>38</sup> participated in the attack on Williamsburg,<sup>39</sup> and was present at the siege of Yorktown in April, 1862.<sup>40</sup>

Born in New Jersey, West enlisted as a private in Pennsylvania Mounted rifles April 12, 1856, and was discharged February 5, 1861. He was made a captain in the First Pennsylvania light artillery on the 25th of July, 1861, was promoted to the rank of major on the 13th of September of that year, and to the rank of colonel on the 28th of July, 1862. He was transferred to another branch of the service, the Fifth Pennsylvania cavalry on April 29, 1864, was made a brevet brigadier general April 1, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Five Forks, Virginia, and was honorably mustered out August 7, 1865.<sup>41</sup>

The Seventh cavalry, which was stationed later at Camp Beecher, had West for its captain July 28, 1866. West was also honored by being made a brevet major, March 2, 1867<sup>42</sup> for gallant and meritorious service, in action at Charles City C. [ourt] H. [ouse], Virginia, December 13, 1863, and was made a brevet lieutenant colonel, March 2, 1867, for the same kind of service in the battle of New Market Heights, Virginia. West resigned March 1, 1869, and died September 3d of that year.<sup>43</sup>

An Irishman, First Lieut. George McDermott, who was at Camp Beecher from April 22, 1869, to May 20, 1869, was an officer

36. Heitman, Francis Bernard, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, published under act of Congress approved March 2, 1903 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903), v. I, p. 194.

37. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883), series I, v. XI, part I, p. 282.

38. *Ibid.* (1887), series I, v. XVIII, p. 266.

39. *Ibid.* (1887), series I, v. XVIII, p. 262.

40. *Ibid.* (1884), series I, v. XI, part I, p. 359, 360.

41. Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 1020.

42. Hamersly, T. H. S., *Complete Regular Army Register of the U. S. for One Hundred Years (1779 to 1879)*, . . . (Washington, Hamersly, 1880), part I, p. 850, gives the rank as brevet colonel, March, 1867, for gallant and meritorious service in the Battle of Five Forks, Virginia.

43. Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 1020.

in the Fifth infantry,<sup>44</sup> the same company in which Captain Barr served. McDermott was wounded at Valverde, N. M., February 21, 1862, in a battle between Union and Confederate troops<sup>45</sup> and later, upon his recovery, was stationed at Fort Whipple, Ariz., Lieutenant Barr being there at the same time.<sup>46</sup> Lieutenant McDermott was appointed from the army, being successively a private, corporal, sergeant, and then first sergeant in the Fifth infantry. Made a second lieutenant in the same infantry July 17, 1862, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy July 14, 1864. He died June 21, 1878.<sup>47</sup>

All of these commanding officers saw service in the Civil War, Capt. Owen Hale of the Seventh cavalry being no exception. His stay at the post was short, for he was in command only from May 20, 1869, to some time in June, when the camp was abandoned.<sup>48</sup> Captain Hale entered the service the first year of the War of the Rebellion as a sergeant major of the Seventh New York cavalry, and was made a second lieutenant in the Ninth New York cavalry, May, 1863. For gallant and meritorious service during the war he was commissioned a brevet captain March 13, 1865, was mustered out November 29, 1865, but reënlisted as a first lieutenant in the Seventh cavalry the 28th of July, 1866, and was promoted to a captaincy March 1, 1869. Hale was killed in a battle with the Nez Perce Indians at Snake river, Montana, September 30, 1877.<sup>49</sup>

Camp Beecher was established here in 1868 in spite of the fact that in 1865 and again in 1867 treaties had been made with the Indians which, if they had been lived up to, would have put an end to Indian warfare, at least for a while. The treaty made in 1865 was witnessed not far from the spot on which Camp Beecher was located, for James R. Mead, in his article, "The Little Arkansas," says the Indians and the White Men met on the east bank of the Little Arkansas, six miles above its mouth and negotiated the Treaty of the Little Arkansas.<sup>50</sup> The 14th day of October, 1865, the treaty with the Cheyenne and the Arapaho was made.<sup>51</sup> Later the Apache, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho negotiated with the White Men,<sup>52</sup>

44. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

45. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883), series I, v. IX, p. 487.

46. *Ibid.* (1893), series I, v. XLI, part II, p. 986.

47. Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 662.

48. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

49. Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 487.

50. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 11.

51. U. S. Congress, Senate, Indian Affairs Committee, *Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties*, compiled, annotated, and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904), v. II, pp. 887-891.

52. *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 891-892.



and the Comanche and the Kiowa on October 18, 1865, concluded a treaty with the whites.<sup>53</sup>

The treaties at Medicine Lodge were also made in October, the first one being entered into at the Council Camp, on Medicine Lodge creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, on the 21st day of October, 1867, by and between the United States of America, represented by the commissioners duly appointed thereto, to wit, Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred S. [H.] Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson of the one part, and the Confederate tribes of Kiowa and Comanche Indians represented by their chiefs and headmen, duly authorized and empowered to act for the body of the people of said tribes.<sup>54</sup>

On the same day, another treaty was made with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache,<sup>55</sup> and on the 28th of October, 1867, another one was made with the Cheyenne and Arapaho.<sup>56</sup> This treaty provided that the Indian tribes with whom it had been concluded should consent to unrestricted settlement by the whites of the country between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, should not interfere with the construction of the Pacific railroads through the same territory and that the Indians themselves should thenceforward occupy reservations in the Indian territory south of the Arkansas river which had been designated for their use. In return for these concessions, the government was to furnish arms, ammunition and supplies, and to pay certain sums as annuities toward the support of the several tribes of Indians.<sup>57</sup>

"These treaties had been made, in the usual course, with the chiefs and head men of the several tribes, but in the following spring it was found that the young men and warriors were opposed to the agreements made, and claimed they had been procured by personal bribes offered to these unworthy chiefs by whom they had been signed."<sup>58</sup>

The Indian chiefs who sought to confer with Sheridan said they had been deceived in signing the treaty they had made and had never understandingly agreed to the stipulations it contained.<sup>59</sup>

There was no excuse for the outrages committed by the Indians since the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, states Thomas Murphy

53. *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 892-895.

54. *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 977-982.

55. *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 982-984.

56. *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 984-989.

57. Davies, Henry E., "Great Commanders" Series, *General Sheridan* (N. Y., Appleton, 1895), pp. 286-288.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

of the Central Superintendency No. 69, Office of the Indian Affairs, with headquarters at Atchison, in his report for the year 1868. He says that every promise made to them in the Medicine Lodge Treaty had been complied with. Yet without provocation they attacked the white settlers and committed numerous outrages. He recommends they be left to the tender mercies of the army till they shall be forced to sue for peace.<sup>60</sup>

Savages had been collecting about Forts Dodge and Larned, from whence it was expected they would proceed during the summer to their reservations in the Indian territory, but as the season advanced it became evident that they had no intention of complying with the treaty and were only awaiting a favorable opportunity for an outbreak. Savages to whom Sheridan was opposed had a force of about six thousand warriors, and had at their disposal country extending from Platte river in Nebraska to Red river in Indian territory. There were large herds of ponies to mount the warriors and transport the women and children, with their tepees and other property, and, through traders and the bounty of the government, they were well provided with arms and ammunition. General Sheridan determined to confine operations during grazing and hunting season to protecting the people of the new settlements and those on the overland routes, and to begin an active campaign after winter set in. Then the savages would be settled in their villages, their ponies would be weak and thin from lack of grazing, and there would be little game to be had. Headquarters was established at Fort Hays, then on the extreme western line of settlement and the terminus of the Pacific railroad.<sup>61</sup>

To guard the lines of the Union Pacific Railroad (usually spoken of at that time as the Kansas Pacific) and the Denver stage road, in addition to protecting the line of the Arkansas to New Mexico, General Sheridan had only a force of about twelve hundred cavalry and fourteen hundred infantry, he said in his report to the Secretary of War, for 1868-1869. There were in the territory to be protected Forts Harker, Hays, Wallace, Larned, Dodge, Lyon, and Reynolds, and the outposts of Cedar Point, Zarah, and Camp Beecher.<sup>62</sup> General Sheridan's total of two thousand six hundred men was in sharp contrast to the Indians' six thousand warriors.<sup>63</sup>

60. U. S. Interior Department, Indian Affairs Office, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1868 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1868), pp. 9, 257.

61. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-290.

62. U. S. War Department, "Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-1869" (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1869), 40th Congress, 3d session, *House Executive Document No. 1*, s. n. 1367, p. 17.

63. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 288, 290.

As for the men stationed at the camp, the number varied from time to time. The "Annual Report" of the Adjutant General of the United States, October 20, 1868, says that there were stationed at Camp Davidson, Kansas, near the mouth of the Little Arkansas river, two companies of the Seventh cavalry and the Fifth infantry. There was one post chaplain, one surgeon [Mr. E. B. Umstaetter],<sup>64</sup> one major, one regimental adjutant, one regimental quartermaster, and one subaltern.<sup>65</sup>

In a proposal for fresh beef and beef cattle, the Office of the Chief Commissary of Subsistence, Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, advertised on May 3, 1869, for meat for only one company, quartered at Camp Beecher. Evidently the Chief of the Commissary Department did not know that Camp Beecher was to be abandoned so soon for he stipulates in this "proposal for new beef from the block" that the contracts will commence at all posts July 1, 1869, and expire December 31, 1869.<sup>66</sup> From these two sources we know then that there were two companies stationed at the camp at one time, and only one at another time.

No record has been found of any major engagements which occurred at Camp Beecher. Mr. Whigan remembered that a band of Indians attacked the camp in July or August of 1868, and that the soldiers rallied behind the Lewellen camp to fight them off. He recollected that one soldier was wounded and a number of Indian ponies were killed. If any Indians were wounded their bodies were carried away.<sup>67</sup>

Methods of transportation in Camp Beecher's territory were still quite primitive in 1868-1869, though three years later, on May 15, 1872, the Santa Fe ran its first train through Wichita.<sup>68</sup> A post road between Towanda and Wichita established in 1868 was no doubt used by the soldiers occasionally for various purposes, especially by the infantry.<sup>69</sup> Their mail came through Fort Harker, addressed to Wichita, Kansas.<sup>70</sup>

The dreaded cholera came with the soldiers, James R. Mead says in his article, "The Little Arkansas." He gives the date of the

64. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

65. U. S. Congress. *House Executive Document No. 1*, 40th Congress, 3d session, s. n. 1367, pp. 732-733.

66. The Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, May 12, 1869, p. 1.

67. The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, Wichita, September 9, 1916, p. 5.

68. Wilder, Daniel Webster, *The Annals of Kansas, 1541-1885*, new edition (Topeka, T. Dwight Thacher, 1886), p. 572.

69. *The Kansas State Record*, Topeka, May 6, 1868, p. 3.

70. The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, Wichita, September 9, 1916, p. 5.



troops being stationed here as 1867,<sup>71</sup> although the records already quoted in this paper definitely establish the dates as 1868-1869,<sup>72</sup> and he gives the name of the captain of the Fifth infantry as Thomas F. Barr<sup>73</sup> instead of Samuel L. Barr.<sup>74</sup> There was no doubt cholera here when the troops came, though no official record of it is available in the Army Medical Library; the records there do show, however, that the disease was prevalent at Fort Zarah<sup>75</sup> in 1868, so it was likely to have been here, too.

The Wichita Indians who were moved in 1867 from Butler county, Kansas, to their former homes on that part of the "Indian territory known as the leased district" were sorely afflicted with the cholera and had to be moved in wagons, many of them dying enroute, according to the report made by J. H. Chollar, the special agent for removing the Wichita.<sup>76</sup>

Mr. Mead corroborates the latter data in his same article on "The Little Arkansas." He also states that the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, organized by Governor Crawford to fight the Indians, stopped at Camp Beecher on the twelfth of November, 1868, and remained till November 14, whence they proceeded to Camp Supply.<sup>77</sup> This seems to be the only occasion on which any Kansas troops were at Camp Beecher.

And so the soldiers came in May, 1868, to Camp Beecher and left in June, 1869. The Leavenworth *Times and Conservative* of June 3, 1869, reports their final activities in the following order issued by General Schofield, the commanding officer of the Department of the Missouri: ". . . The Seventh cavalry, now at Camp Beecher, will at once move northward towards the big bend of Smoky Hill, scouring the country between the Arkansas and Smoky Hill. If no Indians are discovered they will go to Fort Harker."<sup>78</sup> Evidently no Indians were found for a dispatch from Ellsworth to *The Times and Conservative*, under the date of June 15, 1869, reports that: "Company 'K' of the Seventh United States cavalry, Brevet Major Hale commanding, arrived yesterday at Fort Harker, from Camp

71. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 13.

72. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

73. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 13.

74. Bridges to the author, *loc. cit.*

75. U. S. War Department, Army Medical Library, letter from the librarian, Edgar Erskine Hume, major, medical corps, U. S. A., to Mrs. Hortense B. Campbell, January 19, 1933.

76. U. S. Interior Department, Indian Affairs Office, *Annual Report, 1867* (40th Congress, 2d session, House of Representatives, *Executive Documents*), v. III, part II, pp. 330-331.

77. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, pp. 13-14; v. XVII, p. 105; v. VI, p. 38. Crawford, Samuel J., *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, McClurg, 1911), pp. 321-322.

78. The Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, June 3, 1869, p. 1.

Beecher, where they had been relieved by a detachment of Company 'C,' Tenth cavalry. Signed, W. W. Creighton." <sup>79</sup>

Several of the men who were in the army remained as settlers. Sergeant Mohen afterwards became a policeman, and Sergeants John Ward and Charles Bush also made their homes here.<sup>80</sup> In the *Wichita Eagle* for April 6, 1876, the following picturesque account is given of the later careers of some of the men:

During the winter [1868] a company of infantry were quartered at this point. Several of the boys having served out their time were discharged and took claims. One or two married and are still with us, honored and useful citizens. One went to the mountains and his quietus made with his boots on. Another was chosen by unanimous vote, without even asking it, to represent Sedgwick county in the State Industrial Institute at Leavenworth for a term of seven years. It was thought to be an "act of justice" by his constituents.<sup>81</sup>

79. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1869, p. 1. No record has been found of the Tenth cavalry being here, although it was in the field at the time, according to the "Report of the Secretary of War for 1868-1869," *House Executive Documents*, 40th Congress, 3d session, v. I, p. 17. One local authority, the *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant Guide, 1878*, compiled by D. B. Emmert (Kansas City, Tiernan and Wainwright, 1878), p. 15, reports that a colored company, commanded by Captain Rowelson, was stationed here at the time, but the letter to Mrs. Hortense B. Campbell, January 13, 1933, from C. H. Bridges, major general, says that there is no one by that name on the rolls in their office. The War Department also reports that only the Fifth infantry and the Seventh cavalry were stationed at Camp Beecher.

80. *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant Guide, 1878*, compiled by D. B. Emmert (Kansas City, Tiernan and Wainwright, 1878), p. 14.

81. The *Wichita City Eagle*, April 6, 1876, p. 1.

## Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. MCFARLAND, Librarian

THE books received in the past year are from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall largely into the following classifications: Kansas; the West; Genealogy and Local History; and General. We have been fortunate in receiving as gifts several genealogies, and we receive regularly valuable publications containing history and genealogy through our exchange with many historical societies. We also subscribe to several historical and genealogical publications which are not available by exchange. These add greatly to the usefulness of the library.

There are many books needed for the library, particularly those relating to the West and Genealogy and Local History which have been published years ago and are obtainable only through dealers in rare Americana. We have acquired a number of early Kansas books through dealers' catalogues. As there is often only one copy of these books in a book dealer's shop it makes them very difficult to secure.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1932, to October 1, 1933. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

### KANSAS

ABILENE, *Ordinances of the City of Abilene Published by Order of the City Council*. [Abilene, Strother Brothers] 1892.

ADAMS, ANDY, *The Outlet*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905.

ART PUBLISHING COMPANY, *"The Magic City," Wichita, Picturesque and Descriptive*. Neenah, Wis., Art Publishing Company, 1889.

ATCHISON BOARD OF TRADE, *Atchison, the Railroad Centre of Kansas: Its Advantages for Commerce and Manufactures*. Atchison, Daily Champion Steam Printing Establishment, 1874.

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## Kansas History as Published in the Press

Garnett history has received an extensive review in Harry Johnson's column, "Past and Present," which has appeared regularly for several years in the *Garnett Review*.

A column entitled "When Dodge Was Young," by F. A. Hobble, is being published from time to time in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*.

The early-day recollections of F. L. Hodgson have appeared occasionally in the *Harveyville Monitor* in recent months.

An Oregon woman who lived in Marysville from 1871 to 1882 wrote a series of interesting letters on early Marysville history which were published for several weeks during the latter part of 1933 and the first part of 1934 in *The Advocate-Democrat*, Marysville.

"How Chanute Was Founded," was the title of an article contributed by Mrs. C. T. Beatty, of Chanute, to the *St. Paul Journal* in its issue of August 24, 1933. Mrs. Beatty quoted quite extensively from the manuscript of Judge J. A. Wells, of Erie, one of the founders of New Chicago, now a part of Chanute.

Old notebooks kept by Mrs. S. T. Hendrickson, pioneer music teacher of Wichita, provided Rea Woodman with material for a feature story which was published in *The Democrat*, Wichita, in the issues of October 7 to November 4, 1933, inclusive. The notebooks which related Mrs. Hendrickson's musical activities covered the period from 1874 to 1911.

"Riding Over the Santa Fé Trail," was the title of a series of articles by Mrs. G. W. Crosby which appeared in the *Chapman Advertiser* in its issues of October 26, November 23, 30, and December 7, 1933. The story related many historic events happening on this famous highway.

Dorrance history was briefly sketched by J. L. Garrett in the *Bunkerhill Advertiser*, November 23, 1933. Other contributions from Mr. Garrett have appeared occasionally in later issues of the *Advertiser*.

Centralia newspaper history was published in the *Centralia Journal* in its fiftieth anniversary edition issued November 24, 1933.

The reminiscences of George M. Gray were written by Mrs. Maude Richey for *The Times*, Clay Center, November 30, 1933.



Mrs. Richey also wrote up the early-day experiences of Mrs. Nels Okerstrom for the December 28 issue. A series of articles on the origin of the names of the country schools in the Clay Center vicinity was another feature published in *The Times* during November and December.

A history of the Greenleaf Trinity Lutheran church was sketched in the Greenleaf *Sentinel*, November 30, 1933. The church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary December 3.

The killing of the last buffalo in Smith county was recalled by H. F. Henry, of Lebanon, in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, November 30, 1933. Mart McGraw, Mr. Henry's neighbor, killed the animal in June, 1873.

Gray county history was pantomimed on the Farm Bureau Women's Achievement day, November 14, 1933. The pageant, as compiled by Mrs. C. B. Erskine, was published in *The Jacksonian*, Cimarron, November 30.

The history of *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, was briefly reviewed by John Redmond in its issue of December 2, 1933. Mr. Redmond has been a Burlington publisher for thirty-five years.

Numerous cases of mob violence in southern Kansas were cited by D. D. Leahy in his "Random Recollections of Other Days," published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 3, 1933.

"Kansas 'Soddies' Persist, But Few Can Build Them To-day," reports the *Kansas City Star* in its issue of December 3, 1933. Some of the difficulties of sod-house construction encountered by the engineers in charge of the Civilian Conservation Corps at the Kinney dam between Garden City and Dodge City were reviewed in this article.

"Fire-arms Were Taboo in First Rules Adopted for Wichita Pupils," by Victor Murdock, was the title of an article reviewing the school situation in Wichita in 1871, which appeared in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, December 5, 1933.

The early history of Pawnee county was sketched in an article published in the *Larned Chronoscope*, December 7, 1933. The *Larned Press*, issued June 10, 1873, was the first newspaper.

Capt. Nathan Boone's journey through present Harper county in 1843 was reviewed by Nyle H. Miller in the *Anthony Republican* of December 7, 1933. Captain Boone, with a party of about ninety

men, followed a northerly course through the present counties of Harper, Kingman, Reno and Rice and returned through the neighboring Barton, Stafford, Pratt and Barber counties. The *Attica Independent* reprinted the article in its issues of February 15, 22, and March 1.

Hiawatha newspaper history was sketched by Ewing Herbert in the seventieth anniversary edition of *The Brown County World*, Hiawatha, issued December 8, 1933.

Topeka in the late 80's and the operation of the steam locomotive on the "West Side Circle" was described by Dorothy Jane Willcutts in the *Topeka State Journal*, in its issue of December 9, 1933.

A brief biography of Anthony A. Ward, stressing the part he played in the founding of Topeka, was written by Dorothy Griffin for the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 10, 1933.

"Before the White Man Came," a new serial of the Western country, by Paul I. Wellman, was commenced in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 10, 1933. A pageant, presenting the history of the establishment of the Rose Hill Quarterly Meeting of Friends, now the Wichita Meeting, was also summarized in this issue. The story was written by Miss Emma Kendall, head of the English department of Friends University, for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Quarterly meeting held in September, 1933.

W. O. Carter, pioneer in well irrigation, related his part in the discovery and development of the Arkansas valley underflow in western Kansas for irrigation purposes, in the *Garden City Daily Telegram*, December 13, 1933. Lee Doty, the article relates, was the first man in Finney county to utilize well water for irrigation.

A series of articles entitled "When Lincoln County Was a Youngster," was contributed recently to the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican* by C. C. Hendrickson. Mr. Hendrickson, who has lived in Lincoln county since 1866, commenced the series in the issue of December 14, 1933.

The history of the Meadowlark library was sketched in the *Lewis Press*, December 14, 1933. The library was organized April 25, 1925.

"Vacation by Stage," was the title of an article by E. E. Kelley describing a trip in 1894 from Medicine Lodge to Pike's Peak in an old Concord stage, which was published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 17, 1933. A biographical sketch of Dr. John H.

Holliday, Dodge City's "gun-toting" dentist of yesteryear, by Milton Tabor, was another feature of this issue.

"Topeka Folks and Affairs of Yesterday," is the title of Frank D. Tomson's column which appears as a regular Sunday feature of the Topeka *Daily Capital*, starting with its issue of December 24, 1933.

E. H. Keller, a resident of the Horton community for fifty-eight years, reminisced for the Horton Kiwanis club, December 26, 1933. A summary of his talk was published in the Horton *Headlight*, December 28.

A series of letters written by Sen. John J. Ingalls to his father in the latter 1850's, while the senator was establishing himself in Kansas territory, was printed in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, December 29, 1933; January 1, 4, 12, 17, 23, 26; February 2 and 5, 1934.

The capture of Black Kettle, famous wild horse of western Kansas, by Frank H. Lockard in the early 1880's, was described by E. E. Kelley in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 31, 1933.

"John Dougherty, Indian Agent," by Margaret Stauf, was the title of an article published in *Mid-America*, Chicago, in its January, 1934, issue. Major Dougherty's headquarters were at Fort Leavenworth during part of his term of service in the early 1800's.

Kansas Christian church history was featured in the sixty-four page January, 1934, edition of *The Kansas Messenger*, Topeka. Photographs of church buildings and historic sites were included. Biographical sketches of prominent pastors and a list of the Kansas Christian churches with the founding dates were of especial interest.

A bronze marker honoring Mrs. Mary E. Haines, writer and lecturer for temperance and suffrage, was dedicated December 31, 1933, at the Augusta Baptist church. A biography of Mrs. Haines was published in the Augusta *Daily Gazette*, January 1, 1934.

Syracuse in 1872 was recalled by George J. Haas, of Guthrie, Okla., in a recent issue of the Syracuse *Journal*, and in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, January 3, 1934. Mr. Haas was a member of the colony from Syracuse, N. Y., which founded Syracuse, Kan.

Colony *Free Press* history was reviewed by the *Free Press* in its issue of January 4, 1934. C. T. Richardson and J. J. Burke were the founders.



Ferries across the Republican river in the Clay Center vicinity were described by several old settlers writing in *The Times*, Clay Center, in its issues of January 4, 11, 25, and February 8, 1934.

Charles McQuiston, of La Junta, Colo., recalled the hardships of pioneering in early-day western Kansas in an article written by Ida Ellen Cox for the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, January 5, 1934. In the *Globe* of January 29, Mrs. Cox published an interview with Mrs. Luella Stutzman who witnessed the Kendall and Syracuse county-seat fight.

A biographical sketch of John Norton Holloway, early Kansas historian, was written for the Topeka *Daily Capital* by E. E. Kelley, in its issue of January 7, 1934.

Russell county abstracters from 1889 to 1933 were named by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in his column, "Russell Rustlings," published in the *Paradise Farmer* and the *Waldo Advocate*, January 8, 1934.

Names of persons receiving marriage licenses in Gove county during 1933 were printed in the *Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, January 11, 1934.

Reminiscences of an old-time preacher were contributed by J. W. Manners, Sr., to the Lucas *Independent* in its issue of January 11, 1934.

The story of the life of Darius Jackman, by Mrs. Carrie Jackman Humphrey, and a history of the Chapman creek mill, of which Mr. Jackman was the owner for several years, were printed in the *Chapman Advertiser*, January 11, 18 and 25, 1934. Titles of other articles appearing in recent numbers of the *Advertiser* were: "Story of the Michael Ryan Family," by Lawrence Ryan, February 15 and 22; "Pioneer History of Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Clayton," by Mrs. Caroline Clayton Ingersoll, March 1 and 8; and "Hold Meeting in Chapman to Consider County Line," March 22, a reprint from *The Chronicle*, Abilene, for January 28, 1876.

W. V. Jackson's "Just A Thinking" column published from time to time in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, briefly reviewed the history of Comanche county in the issue of January 12, 1934. Cattle-men were the first settlers in the present boundaries of the county in the early 1870's, Mr. Jackson reported.

Framed charters and photographs of members of patriotic organizations, lodges and railroad orders hanging in the G. A. R. room at Dodge City recalled some of the early history of these societies to a writer for the Dodge City *Daily Globe* in its issue of January 12, 1934.

"A Brief History of the Kansas Anti-Thief Association," was the title of an article by G. J. McCarty, secretary of the Kansas division, A. T. A., which was printed in *The A. T. A. News*, Cheney, January 12, 1934, and in the Cheney *Sentinel*, January 18. The charter for the first Kansas lodge was dated September 17, 1876. It was organized in Republic county on the farm of Charles Northrup near present Munden.

"Some Memoirs of a True Pioneer Mother of Kansas," was the title heading the autobiography of Mrs. Amelia D. McQueen, of Eureka, which was published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, January 14, 1934. Mrs. McQueen came to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1857. Her account was also published in the Eureka *Herald*, January 18.

The foundings of Chelsea and Towanda, Butler county towns, were reviewed by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, January 17, 1934.

Postmasters of Plainville were named in a story of the founding of the city's post office which was published in the Plainville *Times*, January 18, 1934. W. S. Griffin started the Plainville post office in a sod house in the late 1870's.

The Indian raid on Spillman creek in May, 1869, was reviewed by Adolph Roenigk in the Salina *Journal*, January 18, 1934.

A brief history of Sycamore Springs was published in the Hiawatha *Daily World*, January 18, 1934. John Downs first purchased the site from the state in 1866.

Maj. Stephen Long's description of the Kansas Indian village near present Manhattan, which he visited in 1819, was reviewed by C. A. Kimball at a meeting of the Manhattan Coöperative club, January 18, 1934. The address was summarized in the Manhattan *Mercury*, January 19.

Headlines of historical feature articles recently written by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, include: "Ducks Guzzled for Gold and Found It Near an Oketo Farm Until

the Big Flood of 1903," from an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Anton Pribyl, January 19, 1934; "Barneston (Neb.) Spelled With or Without 'E' Says Son of Man After Whom Town Got Name," interview with Fred H. Barnes, February 2; "Superstitions of the Indians Are Related by an Admirer of the Race," Otto J. Wullschleger, of Frankfort, March 9, and "Local Man Who Won Croix de Guerre Refreshes His Memories of World War," from an interview with F. A. Southworth, March 23. A story of the Pony Express which was opened up through Marysville April 3, 1860, was printed by the *News*, April 6.

The Lyons *Daily News* observed the tenth anniversary of the discovery of oil in Rice county with the issuance of a special oil edition, January 20, 1934. A full-page oil-field map of the county and a brief history of every well drilled in the county were contained in the edition.

The naming of Lincoln Ellsworth's South Polar ship the *Wyatt Earp*, prompted A. B. McDonald to write a page illustrated review of the life of that famous cowtown marshal in the *Kansas City Star*, January 21, 1934.

A brief history of Lockport, once thriving town on the Gray-Haskell county line, was recalled by Mrs. S. T. Alexander, of Cope land, for the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, January 22, 1934. The article was reprinted in the *Sublette Monitor*, January 25.

Kansas history was briefly sketched in *The Democratic Messenger*, Eureka, January 25, 1934.

A year-by-year history of southeast Kansas entitled "Annals of Osage Mission," was begun in the St. Paul *Journal* in its issue of January 25, 1934. W. W. Graves, editor of the *Journal*, compiled the series.

The history of the Afton Trinity Lutheran church was briefly reviewed in the Waterville *Telegraph*, January 25, 1934. The first minutes of the church were written April 26, 1886.

"Pioneer Days" is the title of a column relating the pioneering experiences of E. T. Wickersham, which appears regularly in the Fall River *Star*. The series had an uninterrupted run for several months from January 26, 1934, when it was continued under another heading. Several of Mr. Wickersham's articles have been reprinted in current issues of *The Citizen*, published at Howard.



A description of Topeka in 1874, when the wooden sidewalks were wired down to keep them from being used for firewood, was published in the *Topeka State Journal*, January 27, 1934. O. K. Swayze was the contributor.

Riley county school history was reviewed by J. E. Edgerton at a meeting of the Riley County Historical Society, January 27, 1934. A résumé of this address was published in the *Manhattan Mercury*, January 27.

"Let Not Kansas Forget Her Great Tradition," was the title of the Kansas day feature article published in the *Kansas City Star*, January 28, 1934. The story was contributed by Olin Templin.

Early schools in Saline county were briefly described in the *Salina Journal*, January 29, 1934. Information for the article was obtained from Mrs. Cora W. Rees, whose paper on Saline county history has been published in pamphlet form.

The experiences of Hank Lord, early Kansas settler and soldier, were related by C. C. Isely in a Kansas day address before the Dodge City Kiwanis club, January 30, 1934. A résumé of the speech was published in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, January 31.

C. D. Lamme reviewed the history of Kansas for the Hiawatha Kiwanis club, January 30, 1933. His speech was summarized in the *Hiawatha Daily World* in its issue of January 31, 1934.

The fifth annual Hutchinson Farm and Home Week was held January 31 to February 3, 1934. The *Hutchinson News* and *Herald*, sponsors, published historical notes of interest to Reno county people in conjunction with the event.

An article on the development of Russell county's oil fields, with a detailed list of the 250 tests drilled during the past ten years, was printed in the *Russell Record*, February 1, 1934. Oil was first discovered in the county in November, 1923.

The story of education in Kansas since the days when school was held in crude log cabins was told by leaders in the state's educational field in a mimeographed publication for members of the Kansas Educators' Club, which was edited by its president, C. H. Oman. The volume, issued in February, 1934, is the tenth anniversary number of "The Kansas Educator." "A History of the Schools of Garnett, Kansas," an article written by Mr. Oman for "The Kansas Educator," was published in *The Anderson Countian*, Feb-

ruary 1, 1934. The first school building was erected in 1856 by the Garnett town company. Mrs. John R. Slentz was the first teacher.

A three-column history of Chetopa, written by Mrs. W. R. Veach, was printed in the Chetopa *Advance-Clipper*, February 1, 1934. Dr. George Lisle established the first settlement in 1857, but the town was burned during the Civil War and was not reestablished until 1868.

First settlers of Burlingame were named by Mrs. W. G. Beale in *The Enterprise-Chronicle*, Burlingame, in its issue of February 1, 1934.

A résumé of the accomplishments of the Tuesday Afternoon Club of Blue Rapids was published in the Blue Rapids *Times*, February 1, 1934, in commemoration of the club's fortieth anniversary. A brief story of Blue Rapids' old woolen mill, which employed as many as 125 persons at one time in the 1880's, was another feature of the edition.

Pioneering experiences of Mrs. Clark A. Smith were printed in the Salina *Journal*, February 1, 1934. Mrs. Smith came to Kansas in 1871 with a colony of settlers from Pennsylvania.

A story of the Boston-Elk Falls county seat warfare in 1874 was told in detail by Thomas E. Thompson in the Howard *Courant* in its issues of February 1 and 15, 1934.

The third annual "Booster Edition" of the Leon *News* was published February 2, 1934. Members of the Leon Methodist Episcopal church edit these editions which regularly contain several historical articles on the city and church.

A brief history of the Riley County Teachers Association was printed in *The Morning Chronicle*, Manhattan, February 3, 1934. The association was organized as an auxiliary to the Kansas State Teachers Association, July 9, 1886.

The 1933 "Yearly Progress Edition" of the Kansas City *Kansan* was issued February 4, 1934.

Activities of Russell, Majors and Waddell, early Leavenworth freighting firm, were discussed by R. A. Barry in a recent issue of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. The article was republished in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 4, 1934.

"The Great Spirit Spring, Waconda," was the title of a historical sketch by Elizabeth Mitchell Petro published in the Topeka *State*

*Journal*, February 5, 1934. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, in 1806, was the first white man to view the springs.

A history of Cottonwood Falls' old mill which opened for business in 1861 was contributed by Mrs. Carrie Breese Chandler to the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, February 7, 1934. Mrs. Chandler also wrote a story of the Amos Noyes family for the *Leader* in its issue of March 28. The Noyes family came to Kansas in 1866.

Reminiscences of early-day Osage Mission, by Martha Rafferty, appeared in the *St. Paul Journal* February 8, 1934. Miss Rafferty settled in the Osage Mission vicinity in 1866.

A brief history of Blue Hill Masonic Lodge No. 198 of Lucas and the names of the men who served as past masters from 1880 to 1933 were published in the *Lucas Independent*, February 8, 1934.

"Sketches From the Life History of Jacob Achenbach," was the title of a five-column article which appeared in the *Hardtner Press*, February 8, 1934. Mr. Achenbach was a railroad builder and organizer of the Hardtner town company.

Old mills of Colony were discussed by F. S. Denney in the *Colony Free Press*, February 8, 1934.

The hardships endured by the settlers in Kansas during the 1880's were briefly reviewed by C. W. Thomas in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, February 9, 1934.

Early Abilene is described by Almon C. Nixon in a column entitled "Border Days in Kansas," appearing from time to time in the *Abilene Daily Chronicle*. The series started with the issue of February 11, 1934.

Special historical feature stories published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 11, 1934, include: "Ravanna, Once Prosperous, Is Ghost Town in a Dead County," by E. E. Kelley; "Grantville Was Named After Famous General," by Marjorie Burroughs Welter. A brief sketch of the Kansas Woman's Relief Corps also was included in this issue.

A history of the Swede Creek Evangelical church was sketched in the *Waterville Telegraph*, February 15, 1934. Preaching services started as early as 1864, but the church did not organize a Sunday school until 1871.



The reminiscences of Mrs. L. P. Darling, of Codell, as recorded by W. F. Hughes in his column "Facts and Comment," appeared in the *Rook's County Record*, Stockton, February 15, 1934. Mrs. Darling settled on Paradise creek near present Codell in 1874.

Names of old settlers registering at the Barber county old settler's reunion held February 9, 1934, at Medicine Lodge, and the years they came to Kansas, were printed in *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, February 15, 1934.

The reminiscences of Miss Mary E. Morrison, who settled in Saline county in 1860, were published in the *Elkhart Tri-State News*, February 15, 1934.

A history of the old road through the sand hills south of Syracuse was written by C. W. Noell for the *Syracuse Journal* in its issues of February 16 and March 2, 1934. Mr. Noell believes the road was used as early as 1885. A story of the pioneering experiences of Charles L. Ong, who arrived in Syracuse in 1886, was another feature of the March 2 issue.

"An Old Kansas Cattleman's Story," was the title of an article concerning the experiences of D. W. Barton, former cattleman, which was written by E. E. Kelley for the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 18, 1934.

Reminiscences of Junction City pioneers and notes on the history of Geary county were published in the *Junction City Republic*, February 22, 1934, commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the city. The experiences of Mrs. Mary Strand-Andreen, a pioneer who now lives in Rock Island, Ill., were recorded in the March 1 issue, and Will Mackey's reminiscences were printed March 8.

"In the Days of '49," was the title of an article by Harry Johnson which appeared in *The Anderson Countian*, Garnett, February 22, 1934. Mr. Johnson gave an account of Paul Fearing's journey from Harmar, Ohio, to the gold fields of California.

Ogden was made county seat of Riley county in 1857 by a vote of 193 to 162, according to a *Manhattan Mercury* article in its issue of February 22, 1934. Minutes of the first book of county commissioners' proceedings revealed, however, that all was not harmony as a result of the vote. Another article entitled, "Crucified Ogden," was published in the *Mercury*, March 7.

Under the column heading, "Pioneer Reminiscences," *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, is publishing a series of stories and recollections as set down by Barber county pioneers. The first of this series was written by Mrs. May Shepler Lytle in the issue of February 22, 1934. Other contributors were: William Horn, March 1; J. Hugh Woodward, Howard J. Parker, March 8; Iantha (Ferguson) Roach, Phoebe Rogers Gibson, March 15; Mrs. Laura M. Shell and S. Ward, March 29.

"Color and Romance in Making of Early Saline County History," was the title given the reminiscences of Joseph Lockard, who came to Kansas in 1870, which appeared in the *Salina Journal*, February 24, 1934. The story was presented at the February meeting of the Saline County Chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas.

A controversy regarding the location of "The Lone Tree," famous Santa Fé trail landmark, was discussed by E. E. Kelley in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 25, 1934. The tree, the site of which was regarded as approximately half way between old Fort Dodge and Fort Aubrey, was cut down in 1879. Gold mining activities on the Smoky Hill river near McCracken were reviewed by Leonard A. Prowant in this same issue.

The Junction City *Union*, in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Junction City, published nineteen pages of illustrated historical articles as supplements to the regular daily issues during the week of February 26 to March 3, 1934. City librarians, members of the journalism department of the high school and Junction City pastors assisted the *Union* staff members in the preparation of these stories. Included among the subjects treated were the growth of the city and county; histories of the churches, schools, railroads, mail service, fire department, public library, telephones, Hogan mill dam, Ladies' Reading Club; the part German pioneers played in the building of the city; the housewarming at the Bartell hotel; the first white boy born in the city; flood of 1903; building of Army City; Indian raids in the Saline valley; steamboats on the Kansas river, and biographies of several of Junction City's pioneers.

A brief history of the Burr Oak *Herald* was published in its "Booster Edition" issued March 1, 1934.

The history of the building of the Wallace county courthouse was briefly sketched in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, March 1,

1934. Bonds were issued for the construction of the present building March 1, 1914.

A biography of the late Gus Haucke, of Council Grove, was published in the Council Grove *Republican*, March 3, 1934. Mr. Haucke, who was born in Germany, settled in Kansas in June, 1873. His son, Frank "Chief" Haucke, is a past Kansas state commander of the American Legion, and in 1930 was the nominee of the Republican party for governor.

"Carried Away by Indians as a Girl, She has Spent 65 Years Near Scene of Awful Atrocity," was the title of an article relating an interview with Mrs. Sarah White Brooks which was printed in the Kansas City *Star*, March 4, 1934. A. B. McDonald, the interviewer, reports that Mrs. Brooks lives within a mile of the spot where, on August 13, 1868, the Cheyennes captured her. The Clyde *Republican* republished the article in its issue of March 8.

Items concerning early Waconda history as gleaned from the Waconda column of the Beloit *Weekly Gazette* for 1872 were printed in the Waconda *Chief*, March 6, 1934.

The old Thomas Stanley house four miles southwest of Americus has been razed, the Emporia *Gazette* reports in its issue of March 7, 1934. The Stanleys, who were Quaker missionaries, first came to Kansas in 1842. The house near Americus was erected in 1864.

A brief history of Atwood was contributed by Mary Elizabeth Kelley to *The Square Deal*, Atwood, March 8, 1934. Atwood was established in April, 1880.

"The Foundation for the First Irish Settlement Near Solomon," was the title of a brief article by Amos Jones which appeared in the Solomon *Tribune*, March 8, 1934. Other reminiscences by Mr. Jones were published in the *Tribune* March 22 and 29, under the title, "Looking Into the Past."

The evolution of Topeka's water supply from the era of wells and cisterns to the establishment of a water works in 1882 and the laying of the water mains was reviewed in the Topeka *State Journal*, March 10, 1934.

Reminiscences of J. H. Robinson, a resident of Geary county for seventy-two years, were published in the Junction City *Union*, March 12, 1934.



The Frankfort Boy Scouts, under the leadership of A. P. Hartman, coeditor of the Frankfort *Daily Index*, have begun a series of trips to many of north central Kansas' historic sites. Historical notes of these excursions have appeared from time to time in the *Index* in recent months. As a feature of the issue for March 12, 1934, a description of Alcove Springs and a sketch of the life of Williamson Franklin Boyakin, as prepared by Clyde K. Rodkey, were published.

A half-page account of the Battle of the Arickaree, by Winfield Freeman, was printed in the *Salina Journal* March 14, 1934.

Jonathan Millikan built one of the first houses in Olathe, the Olathe *Mirror* reported in its issue of March 15, 1934. It was a two-room structure, completed in 1857, and is still standing.

A newspaper history of St. Marys was published in the fiftieth anniversary edition of the St. Marys *Star*, March 15, 1934. John O'Flannigan founded the *Star* on March 13, 1884. News of particular interest to the old-timers which was contained in two issues of the St. Marys *Times*, published in 1875 and 1876, was printed in the *Star* in its issue of March 29.

Forty manuscripts relating the histories of the school districts of Anderson county were received in a contest held recently by Mrs. Isabel Yokum, county superintendent of schools. The Garnett *Review*, with its issue of March 15, 1934, commenced publishing the series. *The Anderson Countian*, Garnett, also published the prize-winning manuscript, "School District No. 11," by Wilma Stewart, in its issue of March 22.

A letter relating some of the pioneering experiences of J. C. Martin was printed in the *Kingman Journal*, March 16, 1934. Mr. Martin established the *Kingman Mercury*, the first newspaper published in Kingman, in 1878.

Life in early-day Kansas was briefly reviewed by William Freeland for the *Effingham New Leaf*, March 16, 1934. Mr. Freeland came to Kansas territory in 1854.

A brief history of the old covered bridge over Big Stranger creek at Easton was published in the *Leavenworth Times*, March 16, 1934. The Easton bridge was one of three erected by army engineers under direction of the then commandant at Fort Leavenworth, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, seventy-eight years ago, the *Times* reports.

The story of the Ashtabula colony which was organized in Ohio and settled in King City, McPherson county, in the early 1870's, was written by Alex S. Hendry for the McPherson *Daily Republican* in its issue of March 19, 1934.

An artist's sketch of Hutchinson as it appeared in 1878 was described in the *Hutchinson News*, March 19, 1934.

Early-day Junction City was described by Mrs. E. N. Church in the *Junction City Republic*, March 22, 1934, and in the *Junction City Union*, March 27. Mrs. Church arrived in Kansas in 1864 and settled on Humboldt creek near the city.

A series of articles entitled "Pioneer History of Tescott," was commenced in the *Tescott News*, March 22, 1934.

Early days in Clay county were briefly reviewed by Peter Hjelm for *The Times*, Clay Center, in its issue of March 22, 1934. Mr. Hjelm settled in Clay county in 1870.

The reminiscences of Mrs. M. S. Walker, who settled in the Rock locality, Cowley county, April 2, 1870, were published in the *Winfield Daily Courier*, March 24, 1934. Mrs. Walker reports that there was only one store in Winfield at the time of her arrival.

Dodge City history was briefly reviewed by Elizabeth Mitchell Petro in the *Topeka State Journal*, March 24, 1934. A pen sketch of Dr. O. H. Simpson's cowboy statue at Dodge City illustrated the article.

"From the Old Family Album," a series of pictures of early-day Wichita and Oklahoma, was published from time to time in the *Wichita Beacon* starting with the issue of March 25, 1934.

A manuscript relating some of the early-day experiences of the late Mrs. Sallie Crow was copied in the *Garden City News*, March 29, 1934. Mrs. Crow settled in Sequoyah county in 1879. Through the courtesy of the publishers of the *News*, the story was made available to E. E. Kelley who had parts of it republished in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 25.

The reminiscences of William M. Heirgood, of La Junta, Colo., were recorded by Ida Ellen Cox for the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, March 26, 1934. Mr. Heirgood was a resident of Hartland during the Kearny county-seat warfare.

Early-day Cuba was described in the *Cuba Tribune* in its issue of March 29, 1934. The city was incorporated in the spring of 1884.

The story of the disarming of a band of men under Col. Jacob Snively, who displayed a commission from the Republic of Texas authorizing the band to prey upon Mexican commerce over the Santa Fé trail, was related by C. C. Isley in the *Kansas City Times*, March 29, 1934, and was reprinted in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, April 2.

"Your Yesterdays," a series of photographs showing persons and scenes familiar to Johnson county residents of yesteryear is being published in the *Olathe Mirror* starting with its issue of March 29, 1934.

The naming of Wichita's first streets was discussed by Victor Murdock in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* in its issue of March 29, 1934.

Reminiscences of the late Percival Hawes, as written for the *Alta Vista Journal*, December 18, 1913, were reprinted in the *Journal*, March 29, 1934. Mr. Hawes, who died on March 23, 1934, homesteaded a part of what is now the townsite of Alta Vista in August, 1870.

A history of Lerado, Reno county, was published in the *Hutchinson News*, April 2, 1934. Lerado was a boom town of the 1880's, founded by Dr. J. A. Brady, of Louisville, Ky. Most of the buildings were moved to Turon after Lerado failed to get a railroad.

School District No. 3, Russell county, was historically sketched in a series of articles by L. C. Brown which appeared in the *Lucas Independent*. The articles began in the April 5, 1934, issue.

"Among Our Souvenirs" is a new photographic feature appearing regularly in the *Altoona Tribune*. The series, which commenced with the issue of April 5, 1934, includes many pictures of persons and scenes prominent in the early-day history of Altoona.

The *Plainville Times* published a historical sketch of the Plainville Christian church in its issue of April 5, 1934, and a sketch of the Plainville Catholic church, in the April 12 issue.

John McBee, a resident of Kansas since April 9, 1859, reminisced for the *Topeka Daily Capital* in its issue of April 8, 1934. Mr. McBee has been at the information desk in the Kansas state capitol for nineteen years. The value of newspaper files to the historian was discussed by E. E. Kelly in the same issue of the *Capital*.



## Kansas Historical Notes

The eighth annual meeting of the Kansas History Teachers Association was held in Fraser hall at the University of Kansas on April 7, 1934. F. H. Hodder, head of the History Department at Kansas University and president of the association during 1933, presided at the sessions. Included on the program were the following papers: "Unit Organization for Modern History," Robena Pringle, Topeka High School; "Cross Currents of European Politics," Ernest Mahan, K. S. T. C., Pittsburg; "The Swedish Immigrant Churches," J. Olson Anders, Bethany College, Lindsborg; "Recent Historical Literature," R. R. Price, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "The Westward Movement; Life on the Frontier," John Ise, Kansas University; "The Turnover in the Frontier Population," James C. Malin, Kansas University, and "The Frontier in Pictures," Robert Taft, Kansas University. At the business meeting the following officers were elected: Sam A. Johnson, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, president; J. B. Bright, McPherson College, vice president; C. B. Realey, Kansas University, secretary and treasurer, and Robena Pringle, Topeka, was elected to the executive committee, her term expiring in 1937.

At a meeting of the Riley County Historical Society held at Manhattan, January 8, the following officers were elected to serve during 1934: W. D. Haines, president; Mrs. I. S. Smith, vice president; Mrs. G. H. Failyer, secretary; Mrs. F. L. Murdock, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Ida Warner, treasurer; G. H. Failyer, historian and custodian of the cabin, and Mrs. Smith, assistant.

The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society recently presented its past presidents with gold pins. Mrs. Frank Hardesty and Mrs. Ottis Fisher, past presidents, received the gifts.

An attractive twenty-six page booklet entitled, *Old Kiowa—In History and Romance*, was recently published by T. J. Dyer. Kiowa was established in the early 1870's.

The historical collection of the late A. M. Campbell, Jr., of Salina, which was presented to the Salina Public Library by Mrs. A. M. Campbell, Jr., and her daughter, Mrs. Mary Campbell-Palmer, is now on display in the Saline county museum in the library building.

Hundreds of articles of historical interest were collected and displayed under the auspices of the Lindsborg Historical Society at Bethany college April 13, 1934. Programs were given, both in the afternoon and evening. The proceeds from the nominal admission charge were used to assist the organization in carrying on its work.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the meeting of the Wyandotte convention which drew up Kansas' constitution, was observed in Kansas City May 10 to 14, 1934, with an Indian festival. Special historical features were published in the newspapers of the city in conjunction with the event.

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Volume III

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## Contributors

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A sketch of Dr. William Nicholson appears in the introduction to his article.

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

## Geographical Names in Ottawa County

THEO. H. SCHEFFER

IT IS some time since the writer last had residence in Ottawa county; so many years, in fact, that when we visited Delphos recently we found young people in the high school whose dads and mothers had listened to our words of wisdom when we were in charge of the same institution. At this former time a young lady in the schools suggested something which we haven't quite forgotten in all these years—an investigation into the sources of the geographical names in the county.

Having since then had opportunity at times to follow up the matter, by way of mental recreation, we have found it most interesting, and trust that our relation of some of the details will interest at least those who are familiar with the scenes and places to be considered. The recording of these things will seem the more worth while if, perchance, it stimulates an interest in like research in other communities of the state. For much really valuable local history of the early settlement and development of a region is lost unless recorded before the first generation of pioneers, or their immediate descendants, have passed from the stage. Already are the years three score and ten since the first actual home builders found their way up into the lower valleys of the Smoky Hill and the Solomon. For, away off under the dome of the national capitol, about that time, a group of men, in heated controversy over state rights, started something when they threw down the gauntlet of squatter sovereignty to the free and courageous.

In the near background of this period of first settlement are the frontier traders and trappers, who outfitted for their trips and disposed of their catches at Missouri river points. Still earlier were the French of like pursuits, who, under concessions from the governor of the greater Louisiana, were the first to come up the streams of central Kansas to take beaver and to traffic with the Indians. Each of these groups of trader-trappers had something to do with the naming of our streams. But, unless their trails were crossed by an adventurer or explorer who kept a journal, some of the names did not stick.

For some of the historical information, of local character, the writer can vouch from his personal knowledge of things. Much

more we gleaned from conversations or correspondence with a few of the homestead settlers who were among the first on the ground. The data of broader historical scope we gathered in the Library of Congress during several short periods of residence in the national capital.

The writer, having lived for some years now in a state that is all shot to pieces with Indian names, considers it fortunate that the part of the map we are dealing with in this sketch has only three or four such designations. For sometimes when we come to analyze the term which the local people fondly believe means "Babbling Brooks," or "Sky-blue Moonbeams," it is found to designate the "Place-Where-the-Buffalo-Had-a-Fit," or something equally prosaic. The name "Ottawa" is derived from a word which signifies "to trade," "to buy and sell." In early traditional times and also during the historic period the Ottawa Indians were noted among their neighbors as intertribal traders. The national emblem of the tribe was the moose.

The Ottawas were first visited by Champlain in 1615 on Georgian bay, where they were picking huckleberries. In the next century they are known to have migrated considerably in bands, some settling in southern Wisconsin, northeastern Illinois, and along Lake Erie. They took part in all the Indian wars of their region up to 1812. Pontiac, a chief in "Pontiac's War," 1763, was a member of the Ottawa tribe.

By treaty of August 30, 1831, made at Miami bay, in Lake Erie, four bands of Ottawa Indians dwelling along the Maumee river and its tributaries, in Ohio, ceded their lands to the United States and were moved to a tract of which the present Ottawa, Kan., is about the center. This tract was about eleven miles square. In June, 1862, they ceded these lands back to the government, and under the conditions of the treaty then made, the tribal relations were to be dissolved in five years and the Ottawas to become citizens of the United States.

The right of the Kanza Indians to the lands now comprised in Ottawa county was recognized by the United States government in its treaties, the first of which was made in 1815. By a second treaty, at St. Louis in 1825, this tribe ceded to our government all their lands lying north of the Kansas-Arkansas watershed and west to the headwaters of the Smoky Hill and Solomon forks, except a tract thirty miles wide beginning twenty leagues west of the mouth of the Kansas river (near the mouth of Soldier creek) and running



west through the lands ceded. This long and comparatively narrow strip included approximately townships 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 south, government survey, covering thus all the present Ottawa county.

On January 14, 1846, at the "Methodist mission in the Kansas country," the Kanza tribe ceded to the United States 2,000,000 acres, beginning at the east end of the above strip, including its entire width of thirty miles and running west for quantity. This cession included part of Ottawa county to be, but as insufficient timber for the use of the Kanza was found to exist in the part of the strip that was left them, the provisions of the treaty were made to cover the entire strip to its western limit, and a new reservation, about twenty miles square, was given to the Kanza Indians in the region of Council Grove.

Thus the simple red man (very simple) disposed of his Ottawa county hunting grounds, and thereafter received his rations of beef more or less regularly from the generous hand of Uncle Sam. The Council Grove reserve was diminished by treaty in 1859, and in the period between 1873 and 1880 the lands of the reserve were all sold, the Indians having been removed to the Indian territory on a small reservation bordering the Arkansas river on the east, where it enters the territory from Kansas.

A little history of the organization of Ottawa county may prove interesting here. In the *Council Journal*, Kansas territorial legislature, special session, 1860, February 25, we read in part:

House bill No. 420, "An act to provide for the organization of the counties of Republic, Shirley and Wade," was taken up, and, by consent, "Ottawa" was inserted instead of "Wade," and the bill was read third time, and the vote stood as follows: Yeas—12; nays—none.

In the *House Journal*, morning session, February 27, 1860, we read in part:

House bill No. 420, "An act to provide for the organization of the counties of Republic, Shirley, and Wade," was taken up, and, on motion of Mr. Pierce, the House concurred in the amendments of the Council.

At the evening session, February 27, which was the last day of the special session, the following message was received from the governor:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, K. T.,  
February 27, 1860.

To the House of Representatives: I have this day approved House bills . . . "An act establishing and organizing the counties of Republic, Shirley, and Ottawa, and to define the boundaries thereof." . . .

Respectfully, (Signed) S. MEDARY.

In the *General Laws* of Kansas territory, 1860, we find the text of this bill:

#### CHAPTER XLIII

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

SECTION 1. . . . and the territory composed of townships nine, ten, eleven and twelve south, in ranges one, two, three, four, and five west of the sixth principal meridian, shall constitute the county of Ottawa.

SEC. 2. The following-named persons are hereby appointed commissioners for the aforementioned counties, to wit: . . . for the county of Ottawa, R. C. Whitney, Henry Martin, and — Branch, of Pike creek.

It will be noted that the county barely escaped being named "Wade." The selection of "Ottawa" instead was probably a compromise on a neutral name; for the same day on which the organization bill was introduced, the governor had sent in his veto of a bill prohibiting slavery in Kansas. Now, Benjamin F. Wade, for whom it was sought to name the county, was a fiery antislavery senator from Ohio, who fought the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 and the Lecompton constitution of 1858. He was also a strong opponent of fugitive slave laws.

Though Ottawa county was thus defined and described by the legislature of 1860, it was not formally organized until 1866. At the first election, in this year, Minneapolis was chosen as the county seat. Ayersburg had been designated by the governor as temporary county seat.

#### ORIGIN OF NAMES APPLIED TO OTTAWA COUNTY STREAMS

Coming now to the geographical names of more local application, we find ourselves in deep water at once—figuratively speaking—for the Solomon is not that kind of a stream. We know that this river was formerly the Nipahela (Ne-pah-ha-la), meaning in the language of the Kanza Indians "water-on-a-hill." This we had directly from an educated tribesman who used to roam the valley as a boy. The designation also appears occasionally on the older maps or journals as the "Nepaholla river." The name originated from the peculiar situation of the Great Spirit Spring, along the river's course near the present site of Cawker City.

This name, however, did not stick, and we are left in some doubt as to the origin of the newer term "Solomon." The first recorded reference to the stream under this name is in the *Expeditions* of Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, entry of date September 23, 1806. He referred to the stream as Solomon's Fork, and as Solomon's Fork it



usually appears on the earlier maps up to about the time the territory was admitted as a state. Sometimes it is given as Solomon's river.

There can be little doubt that the name was given the river by the French traders and trappers who were in the country in the years just preceding Pike's expedition; for they gave designations to other streams of the region, two of these partly within the present limits of Ottawa county. The name Solomon was fairly common among these people at that time, as we may note from a perusal of some of the journals of the early explorers. John C. McCoy, who came to the Kansas country as early as 1830, states in a letter written about fifty years later: "My impression is that a man named Solomon, connected with a company of early Rocky Mountain trappers, was either lost or robbed by the Indians on that stream."

Our own impression is, however, that the name does not perpetuate the glory of the mighty Prince of Israel, but that it had a more humble origin, in the character of the waters of the stream itself. This for two reasons: First, that no other natural feature of the region was given a personal designation at that early day; and, second, that the French had called two other streams of the regions the Grande Saline (Saline river) and the Little Saline (Salt creek) on account of the properties of their waters. Therefore we may be pardoned for expressing our belief that Pike, an Englishman, wrote the word "Solomon" in his journal from confusing it with the spoken French word "salement," pronounced almost identically the same, sa-le-man. This is the adverbial form of a word meaning "dirty." So there you are! Good-by, old swimmin' hole!

To relieve this tense situation somewhat, we will quote Pike's entries in his *Expeditions* for the days he spent in Ottawa county—the first recorded account touching the territory. The year is 1806.

September 18th. Marched at our usual hour, and at twelve o'clock halted at a large branch [Saline river] of the Kans, [Smoky Hill] which was strongly impregnated with salt. This day we expected the people of the village [Pawnee] to meet us. We marched again at four o'clock. Our route being over a continued series of hills and hollows, we were until eight at night before we arrived at a small dry branch [of Salt creek]. It was nearly ten o'clock before we found any water. Commenced raining a little before day. Distance, 25 miles.

September 19th. It having commenced raining early, we secured our baggage and pitched out tents. The rain continued without any intermission the whole day, during which we employed ourselves in reading the Bible, Pope's Essays, and in pricking on our arms with India ink *some characters*, which will frequently bring to mind our forlorn and dreary situation, as well as the



happiest days of our life. In the rear of our encampment was a hill, on which there was a large rock, where the Indians kept a continual sentinel, as I imagine, to apprise them of the approach of any party, friends or foes, as well as to see if they could discover any game on the prairies. [The Indians referred to here were some of Pike's scouts. The camp on this day was, according to the editor of Pike's *Expeditions*, on one of the small branches of Salt creek near the present site of Ada. The crossing of the Saline river at noon of the previous day was somewhere in the vicinity of Culver.]

September 20th. It appearing as if we possibly might have a clear day, I ordered our baggage spread abroad to dry; but it shortly after clouded up and commenced raining. The Osage sentinel discovered a buffalo on the prairies, upon which we dispatched a hunter on horseback in pursuit of him, also some hunters out on foot; and before night they killed three buffalo, some of the best of which we brought in and jerked or dried by the fire. It continued showery until afternoon, when we put our baggage again in a position to dry, and remained encamped. The detention of the doctor and our Pawnee ambassador began to be a serious matter of consideration. [They had been sent ahead to the Pawnee village on the morning of the 14th.]

Sunday, September 21st. We marched at eight o'clock, although there was every appearance of rain, and at eleven o'clock passed a large creek, remarkably salt. [This is Pike's Little Saline river, now Salt creek.] Stopped at one o'clock on a fresh branch of the salt creek. Our interpreter having killed an elk, we sent out for some meat, which detained us so late that I concluded it best to encamp where we were, in preference to running the risk of finding no water. . . . Distance, 10 miles. [We omit here an account of trouble with one of the Indian scouts.]

September 22nd. We did not march until eight o'clock, owing to the indisposition of Lieutenant Wilkinson. At eleven waited to dine. Light mists of rain, with flying clouds. We marched again at three o'clock, and continued our route 12 miles [probably by mistake for 2 miles] to the first branch of the Republican Fork. [There are some errors in Pike's map. He probably refers here to a branch of the Solomon, near the Glasco-Simpson district.] Met a Pawnee hunter, who informed us that the chief had left the village the day after the doctor arrived, with 50 or 60 horses and many people, and had taken his course to the north of our route; consequently we had missed each other. He likewise informed us that the Tetaus [Comanches] had recently killed six Pawnees, the Kans had stolen some horses, and a party of 300 Spaniards had lately been as far as the Sabine; but for what purpose unknown. Distance, 11 miles.

September 23rd. Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kans [Smoky Hill] river, which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load. Halted at ten o'clock on a branch of this fork. We marched at half past one o'clock, and encamped at sundown, on a stream [Buffalo creek] where we had a great difficulty to find water. We were overtaken by a Pawnee, who encamped with us. He offered his horse for our use. Distance, 21 miles. [It may be noted here that Pike counted distance mainly by his watch—so many miles per hour of march.]

This gets Pike out of Ottawa county and across the Solomon, so we will follow him no further.

The Saline river and Salt creek, thus accounted for in connection with the naming of the Solomon, did not appear on any map under their present names until the settling-up period of territorial days. "Salt creek," instead of "Little Saline," first appears on Mitchell's map in 1859. The "Grand Saline," "Saline Fork," "Great Saline Fork" is shown first as the "Saline river," on Ream's map of Kansas, 1865.

The stream now known as Chapman creek was first recognized under its Indian name, "Nishcoba," as it appears on Eastman's Indian reserve map, 1854. A more nearly correct spelling of the word is Ni-skoba or Ni-skopa, meaning "Crooked Water." We may note here that the first syllable "ni" (water) appears also in the Ni-pahela (Solomon river) and in the Ni-obrara river. The equivalent Siouan or Dakotan form is "mi-ni," as in Minihaha and Minitonka.

On Whitman and Searl's map, 1856, the designation Chapman's creek is first used, and thereafter the stream was known by that name, except that on two other maps of practically the same date it appears as "Sycamore creek." This botanical name, though it may be correctly applied, apparently did not find favor. But who was Chapman? So far we have not been able to connect up any man of that name with the early settlement of the stream's lower course, in Dickinson county.

Pipe creek has probably shared the fate of many another geographical feature whose original designation has been carelessly handled by the chartographer or copying clerk. There is a current impression that the stream was originally called Pike creek in honor of the explorer, who camped, however, on Salt creek, west of the Solomon. At any rate we have noted that in the *General Laws* of Kansas territory, February, 1860, a Mr. Branch of "Pike creek" was appointed one of the first three commissioners of the newly created Ottawa county. This was probably E. W. Branch, who had come into the county the previous spring. Mitchell's map of that year, on the other hand, has the name "Pipe creek" for the stream. Therefore, if there was an error in listing or copying the word it dated from the very beginning, and has been perpetuated ever since, for the creek does not appear on any earlier map than Mitchell's, 1859.

A post office named Pipe Creek was established June 24, 1874. This office was discontinued September 30, 1898. The first postmaster was Edwin Colton.

Some of the pioneers who traveled or freighted by ox team must have had trouble at the Coal creek fords, for this stream first appears on the map (W. J. Keeler, 1866) as "Hard-Crossing creek." Concerning the change of name, we have the following from J. J. Jenness, prominent in the pioneer history of the county:

Coal creek was originally called Hard Crossing, but in 1864 or 1865 a man by the name of Gladden, living on the headwaters of the creek, discovered a small vein of coal about six inches thick. He took a sample to Junction City, then the nearest town of any importance, and endeavored to organize a company to prospect. In this he failed; but in order to keep the thing before the public, he went to the land office at Junction City and succeeded in getting the name changed, on the government map, to Coal creek.

Coal Creek post office was established October 3, 1866, with Jas. L. Ingersoll as the first postmaster.

Sand creek trickles, sometimes flows, over a stream bed whose nature has given this watercourse its name. In places the ripples are clear enough that one can see the bottom and find proof of this condition—which is rather unusual in a prairie stream. Before the country was settled up the antelope came there to drink, and as "Antelope creek" the stream was first known to the pioneers. We find it thus represented on Colton's map, 1867, on Johnson's map, 1870, and on Cram's map in 1872. On a revised edition of the latter, appearing in 1876, the designation "Sand creek" is first used. Why the name was changed, after it had been on record for nearly ten years, we have not been able to learn.

Concerning the naming of Lindsey creek there is some difference of opinion. Mrs. S. B. Chapman, who, with her husband, settled in the valley just below the mouth of this stream in 1863, wrote me some time ago as follows: "A man by the name of Lindsey took a claim before the Civil War, running from Lindsey creek east. His home was on the creek. All who took claims were run out by the Indians at the commencement of the war."

On the other hand, we find in Cutler's voluminous *History of Kansas*, published in 1883, pertinent matter of interest on this subject:

In 1857-1858 the hunters and trappers who visited Solomon valley gave names to many of its creeks. For some unexplained reason these wayfarers left a wagonload of plunder behind them, just above Minneapolis, for the ownership of which a lawsuit was subsequently tried in the district court, at Junction



City. Judging from the evidence there produced the "gentlemen" who gave Fisher, Lindsey, Brown, and Chriss creeks their names, were not the most savory morsels of humanity in the world. Most of the names of these Solomon valley creeks have since been changed—in respect to the living.

We may reconcile these two accounts of the man Lindsey by assuming that he "stuck around" for a while subsequent to the events just narrated, and tried to hold a piece of land on the creek. This appears reasonable from the fact that his name came to be associated with the stream, while the wanderers Fisher, Brown, and Chriss lost out on their geographic designations. "Lindsey creek" first appears on Keeler's map in 1866.

We have made diligent effort to locate the court records to which Cutler evidently had access, but have met with no success. Probably they have long since been destroyed.

Flowing through the southeastern part of the county and nosing into the Solomon not far above the place where the latter joins the Smoky Hill, is a stream called Buckeye creek. We have had no opportunity to explore this stream in search of the buckeye bush, but have been told on good authority that it does not grow there. Several types of tree and shrub—as the buckeye, hickory, and sycamore—which are to be found in the Permian limestone district as far west as eastern Dickinson county, disappear when we enter the Dakota sandstone belt of central Kansas.

We are left, then, to assume that Buckeye creek was so called by some of the pioneers who had come from the Buckeye state—Ohio. In the history from which we have quoted above, Cutler states that: "In June, 1855, a party from Ohio explored the Solomon valley with a view to locating a colony, but were deterred by Indian scares and by the fact that the Kansas river was found to be not navigable." John Riordan, who settled on or near the creek in 1859, says that it bore the name Buckeye at that time.

Keeler's map, 1866, is the first to give the stream a name—Buckeye creek. Colton's map, appearing the following year, changes it a little to "Buck Eye creek." The next transformation of the work was evidently the work of a susceptible young copying clerk whose thoughts were busy with dimples and lace bonnets; for he wrote it down "Blue Eye Creek." Johnson's map, 1870, is responsible for this bit of romance. Two years later Cram's atlas goes him one better, by calling the little brook "Blue Eye river." He corrects his mistake, however, in his revised atlas of 1876, and since that time the stream has been plain Buckeye creek. One of the municipal townships of the county has been given the same name.

Rand, McNally & Company's map, 1879, is apparently the first publication to recognize and record the local names of three of the smaller streams of the county. These are Table Rock creek (flowing into the Saline from the south, between Tescott and Culver), Mortimer creek, and Yockey creek, the latter two tributaries of the Solomon, from the east, just above Delphos.

Table Rock is no more, but before it fell from the attacks of vandals it had perpetuated its name in the stream which flows close by, in the eastern edge of Lincoln county.

Yockey creek perpetuates the memory of Levi Yockey, whose homestead cabin once stood on the bank of this stream somewhat less than a mile west of the present site of Delphos. The few who still remember the location can trace the foundation of the old log structure and that of the pioneer schoolhouse which was near it.

The groves of timber on Mortimer creek, about two miles farther up the Solomon valley, still shelter the home of David Mortimer, who came to the county in 1865. These groves once witnessed serious Indian troubles, but the writer remembers them only as the happy hunting grounds of unforgettable vacation days.

Dry creek, which doesn't flow into the Solomon about two miles south of Delphos, and Henry creek, which sometimes does run through the city limits, are streams that occasionally appear on the maps. As to the former, we need offer no explanation of the origin of its name. Henry creek may have been named for Henry Stelter, a pioneer, whose home was on the edge of the stream just south of Delphos. But David Mortimer, mentioned above, thinks the name dates back to an earlier settler who lived there for a time before the lands were surveyed, and who was driven out by the Indians. In this connection we may note that one of the municipal townships of the county also bears the name "Henry."

Other small streams of the county are only branches of the creeks already accounted for, and have merely a local interest that will not, in the scope of this article, warrant inquiry into the origin of their names.

#### ORIGIN OF NAMES APPLIED TO OTTAWA COUNTY TOWNS

As a preliminary to discussing the origin of names applied to towns in Ottawa county, or anywhere else for that matter, we may say that such names usually originate with the establishment of a post office at the place designated. Now, the naming of a post office, or a Pullman car, is anybody's game so long as the alphabet holds out. We have never been able to fix responsibility for the atrocious



combinations of letters that appear on some of the cars, but with the post offices we have fared better. Not that we object to any of our home county names—understand! We are lucky to have a list of good and worthy ones. If they were not such they could be changed, for all names of towns in our basic language are feminine.

A letter or petition from local residents requesting the federal government to establish a post office in their community, may or may not suggest a name for the new geographical location. When a name is offered, the officials in charge of such matters usually adopt it, though they reserve the right to reject fool names, or one that is so nearly like another in the same state that confusion might arise in routing the mails. If no name is suggested in the petition, an official or clerk in the Washington office used to take it upon himself to call the place after some friend, or perhaps a person of high rank in his estimation. Sometimes, however, the name has proved to be too rank to suit the community concerned, wherefore in more recent years the federal office has adopted the slogan "Give us a name or you don't get the mail bag," or words to that effect.

With these necessary preliminaries, we will try to discover who's who and what's what as pertains to a dozen or more names of towns in Ottawa county.

"Minneapolis" is an Indian-Greek combination—Mini (water), apolis (city), therefore, "City of Waters." Good, so far as it goes! We drank from the old town well many years and found that it satisfies.

As to the local use of the word, we have it on the authority of the late Frank Rees, who may have been present at the christening, that the name for the future county seat was suggested by Captain Pierce, who had come to the county from Minneapolis, Minn. Everybody came from somewhere in those days. The homestead of Capt. A. D. Pierce was a mile or so below the present site of Sumnerville station, at a fording place on the Solomon which still bears his name. At one time, in June, 1869, an Indian raid extended as far down the valley as his place; but the marauders were beaten off by the homesteader, with the able assistance of another pioneer—Ben Markley.

The Pierce family evidently did not remain to enjoy the peace and prosperity that later came to the Solomon valley, for, after the death of the captain, survivors of that name appear to have left the country.

Although Ottawa county had been legally established in 1860, it



was not formally organized until six years later. At the time of its establishment Ayersburg had been designated by the governor as the temporary county seat; but at the first election held in the county, November, 1866, the community center of Minneapolis was chosen instead. A post office was established at the latter place on January 13, 1868. Elijah Smith, who was afterwards identified with the business interests of the new town, was the first postmaster. Minneapolis appeared on a state map for the first time in 1870.

Ayersburg, to which reference has been made above, was the cabin of Seymour Ayers, on Lindsey creek, between the present highway bridge and the mouth of the stream. As legally constituted, it had been the county seat for more than six years. A post office of that name was established on July 16, 1864, the same date on which Bennington post office was created. These two, then, were the first post offices in the county.

The first postmaster at Ayersburg was John C. Boblett, who, according to report, dealt out the postal cards at a cabin somewhat nearer the present site of Minneapolis than the home of Seymour Ayers on Lindsey creek. The latter, however, succeeded to the postmastership on September 12, 1865. From the recollections of Mrs. Frank Rees, Ayers used to ride to Solomon once or twice a week to supply the neighbors with their news of the outside world. After serving in this capacity until July 5, 1867, he was succeeded by Thomas Waddell, who held the office until it was changed in name to Lindsey the next year. "Ayersburg" appears on Keeler's map, 1866-1867, and on Colton's map, 1867, but on no map published later.

The Ayers family afterwards moved to a farm on Pipe creek, on which, or near which, the Ayers schoolhouse, district No. 10, stood in later years. The old stone schoolhouse has been replaced by another which bears the name of Woodsdale.

The original townsite of Lindsey was less than a mile from the proposed Ayersburg, and the history of the two efforts to establish a community center is practically the same—early rivalry to hold there the county seat designated by the governor at the creation of the county. As we have noted, however, Minneapolis was chosen in the election of 1866.

A post office was established at Lindsey on July 7, 1868, Harvey Markel (Markley?) being appointed postmaster. When the writer first saw the place, in October 1879, this office was in the old hotel or stage tavern which stood at the first corner south of the Lindsey creek bridge. It was then the home of the Best family and Mrs.

Best's second husband, O. B. Potter. The schoolhouse, "Dickie" Knight's blacksmith shop, two or three old shacks, and a number of cellars were all that remained of the former aspirant for county-seat honors. In later years the school, the blacksmith shop, and the post office were reestablished at the railroad crossing a half mile farther south, where Lindsey is still on the map.

If the man Lindsey, who once claimed the creek for his own, was the type of "gentleman" Cutler pictures him in his historical reference, perhaps his hoodoo thwarted the efforts of the settlers to build on this stream a city of destiny. On the other hand, the shades of the gallant Pike, who fell at York in the defense of his country, may have assisted in the establishment of a town at the mouth of a stream evidently intended to be named for him.

We have not been able to learn definitely just why the original post office at Bennington was so named. But since there is a post office in each of seven states of the Union apparently named for the original Bennington, Vt., we assume that this is a case in which a designation was given the Ottawa county location by an official of the federal post office. Bennington, Kan., post office was established on July 16, 1864. Two years later the name appeared on both Colton's map and Keeler's map of the territory.

Samuel Z. Boss was the first postmaster at Bennington, according to government records. Some have thought to identify Richard Knight with this position, and state that he came to the Solomon valley from Bennington, Vt. But members of Richard Knight's family state that he came to Bennington, Kan., in 1866, after having served an enlistment in the Second Colorado cavalry. He was born in Ireland, and when he came to this country located at Sandusky, Ohio, before coming to the West. His homestead dugout and blacksmith shop were near a lone cottonwood tree about one-fourth mile southwest of the intersection of the section lines in the present town of Bennington. In 1870 he was flooded out by high water in Sand creek and moved to Lindsey.

Bennington, Vt., is the only town in the list of eight of the name that has a population over one thousand. It was there we fought, and won, a decisive battle of the Revolutionary War.

In discussing the two geographical locations down the line below Bennington, we are inclined to sympathize with the fellow who "Stood on the bridge at midnight, feeling rather tough; Two moons rose o'er the city, where one would have been enough."

There are some discrepancies in the reports we have as to the



naming of Niles and Verdi, but all other historical facts seem to accord fairly well. To begin with the federal government records, a post office was established at "Coal Creek" on October 3, 1866, with Jas. L. Ingersoll in charge. This office was located on a claim between the present stations of Niles and Verdi, which are less than three miles apart. The origin of the name Coal creek has been discussed elsewhere in this article.

On April 18, 1879, the name of the office was changed to "Georgetown," the first postmaster under this new name being John J. Jenness. Two correspondents who gathered information for the writer about twenty years later, at Niles and Verdi, respectively, state that this office was so named in honor of George Ingersoll, on whose original claim it was located. Did the old timers have in mind Jas. L. Ingersoll, the first postmaster at the "Coal Creek" office? At any rate there are Georgetown post offices in twenty-seven different states of the Union, all presumably named after the "Father of his Country."

A few years later, January 16, 1885, this office was changed to "Verdi," with C. H. Shultice as the first postmaster. Verdi was a new railroad station just north of the mouth of Coal creek. In the same year, according to one correspondent, a post office was established at "Nilesville," a station about three miles farther down, and below the mouth of Coal creek. The report of this correspondent we have been able to verify just recently by further inquiry at the federal department. The office at Nilesville was created August 10, 1885, with Thomas Casebeer in charge. Two years subsequent to this event, or, to be exact, on August 25, 1887, the office was rechristened "Niles."

As to the origin of the two names, "Niles" honors the memory of Hezekiah Niles, an American publisher who was the founder and for many years editor of the *Niles' Weekly Register*, at Baltimore, Md., and Washington, D. C. This publication was devoted chiefly to the discussion of political matters and affairs of state and is a valuable source for the study of American history of the period 1810 to 1850. There are ten towns named Niles in as many different states of our country. Two of them only, in Ohio and in Michigan, have a population of more than one thousand.

Josiah Hocker, on whose land the railroad station of Niles, Kan., was built, is reported to have named the place after his old home town of Niles, Ind., according to one correspondent, or Niles, N. Y., in the Mohawk valley, according to another. As there is neither a



"Niles" nor a "Nilesville" in either state, it is probable that the name was suggested by someone in the federal post office.

"Niles V" appears on Rand, McNally & Company's map published in 1886. On a revision of this map in 1888 the name has been changed to "Niles."

Kansas, Minnesota and Texas have each honored the great composer, Verdi, with a post office bearing his name. If anyone at Verdi, Kan., suggested the name for the local office, it may have been, as one correspondent writes, because of the famous singing schools conducted there at the time by Thomas Wood, and by the musical compositions of Mrs. Effie B. Frost. Officials of the Union Pacific railroad, who are credited with having named the station, report that their records do not show this to be the case. "Verdi" first appears on a map, along with "Niles V," in 1886.

Cleomenes, returning from a visit to the famous oracle at Delphos, in ancient Greece, reported, "The climate's delicate; the air most sweet." Considerations of this sort may or may not have influenced the Ottawa county pioneer, Levi Yockey, to suggest the name Delphos for the post office of which he first had charge. Probably, however, memories of his old home town of Delphos, Ohio, influenced him more than any knowledge of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*.

The office was established on November 13, 1866, in Yockey's cabin on the creek that still bears his name. Here the pioneers are reported to have gathered on "mail days" to witness the dumping of the sack's contents in the middle of the floor, after which ceremony every fellow scrambled about on hands and knees to get all he could rightfully claim.

The townsite of Delphos was laid out by W. A. Kiser, on his land, in 1869-1870, when the memory of Indian raids was still fresh in the minds of the few settlers. One such incursion of the Cheyennes reached Yockey creek on August 12, 1868. In another raid, on October 14 of the same year, Peter Karnes, John Andrews, and two members of the Smith family were killed, and Mrs. Morgan was taken prisoner. A third raid has been mentioned in connection with Captain Pierce's defense of his cabin at Pierce's ford.

Delphos first appears on a map of the state (Keeler's) in 1866-1867, along with three other locations in the county—Ayersburg, Coal Creek and Bennington.

In the summer following the arrival of the first mail bag at Yockey's cabin, Capt. A. D. Pierce landed a post office for his

community down the river. This was on June 21, 1867, and the place was called Sumnerville. It still has the distinction of being the only Sumnerville in the United States, though there are nineteen places called Sumner. All apparently were named in honor of the eminent statesman, Charles Sumner, whose famous speech in the senate on "The Crime Against Kansas" provoked the assault on his life by Representative Brooks of South Carolina. Whether the name of the new post office was suggested by Captain Pierce or provided by the federal officials we have not been able to learn. A railroad station still bears the name, but the post office has been discontinued with the spread of rural free delivery.

The post office at Ada, Kan., was called to serve the public on August 26, 1872. Jacob B. Lane was in charge, and in honor of his wife, Ada, he suggested the name for his cabin which held the soap box which held the few communications received once a week from the outside world. S. P. Beucler later secured the office for his store, the nucleus of the town Ada, about two miles northeast of the Lane homestead. For a long time, he writes, his office did not average more than a half dozen pieces of mail a week. With the coming of the Santa Fé railway, in 1887, the post office and the town of Ada were shifted three-fourths of a mile southeast to the station located there.

The Santa Fé railway officials named their way station between Minneapolis and Ada in compliment to Mrs. Blades, on whose land it is located. As Miss Thirza A. Brewer she had homesteaded the quarter in 1871. The year previous to the coming of the railroad a star-route post office had been established in this locality at the bachelor headquarters of Nathaniel B. Penquite and his brother Frank. This event dates back to January 11, 1886. Nathaniel was named as postmaster and, in addition to their none too burdensome duties of canceling stamps and distributing mail, the two brothers kept a small stock of goods for sale to the neighbors.

When Brewer station was located the next year the post office was transferred there, with Mrs. Blades in charge. Owing to a similarity in the name of the station and that of another post office in Kansas, the office at Brewer kept its original name of Penquite until it was discontinued on March 15, 1895.

About nine miles east of Minneapolis another station was located on the new Santa Fé line in 1887. It was called "Wells" by the railway officials, probably in honor of Henry Wells, whose name was

linked with that of Wm. G. Fargo in the operation of an express company on that line.

The name "Wells" has been given also to a dozen other towns in the United States, not to mention combinations which may refer to springs of water. At first the federal officials refused to accept the designation for a post office, and when one was established there on May 21, 1888, it was called "Poe." The first postmaster was Isaac Piper, who still held the position when the name of the office was finally changed to Wells, October 26, 1892. Another post office, in Logan county, fell heir to the name Poe.

The location of a post office at Vine creek, or Vine, in the eastern part of the county, antedated by several years the coming of the railroad; for the records show that the date of its establishment was December 9, 1879. The writer, having hunted rabbits in pedagogic days along these branches of Coal creek, is ready to testify that there are more vines than creeks. Therefore, perhaps, the government officials were justified in shortening the name of the office to "Vine." The name was suggested by the first postmistress, Mrs. Sara D. Seely.

Rumor has it that the little stream on which the railway station of Vine Creek is now located was once called "Nigger creek." All honor to the lady who suggested the change.

For forty years a post office was maintained at the community center of Lamar, on upper Pipe creek. This office was established on June 20, 1872, with Harlan P. Sanford in charge. Its sponsor was Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, of Confederate fame, later member of congress and associate justice of the supreme court. The site of the civic center of Lamar is said to have been changed, in 1882, to a point about 140 rods east of its first location. The post office was discontinued on March 28, 1912, the place being served thereafter by rural free delivery.

Early developments in the Saline valley district of Ottawa county resulted in the establishment of the two post offices there on the same date, April 8, 1869. The "Churchill" office was on the farm of T. B. Sears, its first postmaster. This was on the section directly south of the one on which the railroad station at Tescott is now located. The place was named by Mr. Sears in honor of his mother's family, the Churchills, of New England stock. The other office was called "Windsor," but for whom and by whom we have not been able to learn. Neither can we place its exact location. Its first postmaster



was E. C. Fisher, and as an office under the name Windsor it was discontinued on May 24, 1887, with the coming of the railroad.

About the same time, or a little earlier, two other star-route post offices of the Saline valley were discontinued and for the same reason—the building of the new Lincoln Branch railroad. These offices were “Bluffton” and “York.” The former had been established on January 30, 1872, and was discontinued August 4, 1886. Its location was about three miles south and a little east of Tescott, near the county line. Its first postmaster was Peter Kipfer. York post office was located perhaps four miles northeast of Tescott and was first in charge of Henry M. Miner. It was created on April 14, 1880, and ceased to exist August 20, 1886.

Churchill office was never really discontinued but was changed in name to “Tescott” on August 4, 1886. At that time it was changed in location, also, to the new railroad station and town of Tescott, across the river and a mile or so to the north. The place was so called in honor of T. E. Scott, one of the progressive, outstanding farmers of the community. On his lands a part of the new town had been platted. The first postmaster at Tescott was Nathan H. Eddy.

Culver had its baptism of fire in the mid-September days of 1868, when the sun shone hot on the sands of Beecher Island. There in the dry bed of the Arickaree Fork, Lieut. Geo. W. Culver gave his life on the first day of the memorable fight with Indian hordes under the leadership of Roman Nose. Lieutenant Culver, originally from New York state, was reputed as a man of intelligence and sterling worth, and had won honors in service with the second Colorado cavalry. Before entering upon the campaign in which he lost his life, he had requested that in case he should never return his homestead claim on the Saline river should be given to his partner, a Mr. Hotchkiss. This homestead, according to a comrade, was located about a mile south of the present site of Tescott.

Associated with Culver in the fight at Beecher Island for the defense of their homes on the Kansas frontier was Howard Morton, another settler of the Saline valley. He was seriously wounded by an Indian's bullet, but survived the terrible encounter to live through the years of peace and prosperity that came as a result of the sacrifice at Arickaree.

Two of the municipal townships in the southwestern part of the county were named in honor of Culver and Morton. As a memorial to the former, also, Culver post office was established on April 14, 1875, at the home of the first postmaster, Robt. H. Lesley. After

one or two changes to other farm homes, the office was located at the new railroad station of Culver in 1886.

In closing this historical sketch it may be considered worth while to include a few extinct geographical locations in Ottawa county—farm-home post offices which have ceased to exist:

NAME.	Established.	Location.	Discontinued.	First postmaster.
Ackley.....	Mar. 7, 1879	Ottawa township.....	June 2, 1888	Matilda Edwards
Ailanthus.....	Oct. 13, 1881	Garfield township....	Oct. 16, 1882	A. S. Kinsey
Braid.....	Dec. 21, 1885	Durham township....	May 14, 1890	Thos. Durham
Caledonia.....	May 5, 1876	Concord township....	Feb. 12, 1885	Cicero H. Frost
Grover.....	April 19, 1870	Logan township.....	Nov. 4, 1885	Wm. Postlethwait
Melville.....	Mar. 25, 1878	Chapman township..	Sept. 4, 1890	Jas. S. B. McNay
Ohio Grove.....	Oct. 20, 1873	Culver township.....	*.....	J. C. Pittinger
Pipe Creek.....	June 24, 1874	Logan township.....	Sept. 30, 1898	Edwin Colton
Ritsman.....	June 7, 1880	Durham township....	Oct. 5, 1881	David T. Ritsman
Widerange.....	Sept. 4, 1882	Durham townsnip....	Feb. 29, 1904	Wm. M. Wyant
Yale.....	Mar. 17, 1873	Sherman township...	Feb. 5, 1887	S. Y. Woodhull

\* Changed to Crown Point, in Saline county.

# Ferries in Kansas

## Part IV—Republican River

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Republican river, first known to early cartographers as the Republican Fork, took its name from a branch of the Pawnee Confederacy known as the Kit-ke-hah-ki or Republican Pawnees, who lived along the stream up to about 1815.<sup>1</sup> The river had a name bestowed by the Indians, Wa-wa-bo-gay,<sup>2</sup> but by what tribe has not been learned.

Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer, traveled up the stream a short distance in September, 1806, while on his way to the Pawnee village. An atlas published by M. Carey & Son in 1817 names the river the Republican Fork. So far as is known by the writer, the shortened form, the Republican, was first used on a map of the western portion of the United States, drawn by Anthony Finley and dated 1826.<sup>3</sup> John C. McCoy, who surveyed many of the Indian reservations embraced in present Kansas, has stated that the Kansas Indians called it the Pa-ne-ne-tah or Pawnee river.<sup>4</sup> Black's *General Atlas*, published in Edinburgh in 1841, calls it the Republican, as also does Fremont, the explorer. However, Capt. John W. Gunnison, who explored the West for a railroad route to the Pacific in 1853, in his report to the government designated the river as the Pawnee's river.<sup>5</sup> Capt. Charles S. Lovell, Sixth U. S. infantry, formed an encampment at the mouth of the Pawnee river in 1853, which he named Camp Center<sup>6</sup> (now Fort Riley).

The Republican is formed by three branches, all of which rise in eastern Colorado, the northern fork in Yuma county, and the Arickaree and southern forks in Lincoln county. These all flow in a slightly northeasterly direction. The south branch cuts across Cheyenne county, Kansas, from a point at about the line between townships four and five. About thirty-eight miles downstream it enters Nebraska in Range 28 West, uniting with the north fork near Benkelman, and forming the Republican river proper. From here the stream flows in an easterly direction, passing through the counties

1. Blackmar, *History of Kansas*, v. 2, p. 377.

2. Junction City Union, May 6, 1876.

3. Hulbert, *Where Rolls the Oregon*, map facing p. 7.

4. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 405.

5. *House Executive Document No. 29*, 32d Cong., 1st sess., s. n. 737.

6. *Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1877-1878*, p. 171.



of Dundy, Hitchcock, Red Willow, Furnas, Harlan, Franklin and Webster, across the corner of Nuckolls county, entering Kansas the second time in Jewell county in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 4, T. 1 S., R. 1 W. Within a mile of this point the river again leaves the state and enters Kansas for the third time in the same township and range. The river here, for somewhat less than a mile, flows directly west. After another turn to the southeast the river's course is slightly north of east, passing into Cloud county. The stream from here runs to the southeast, a little north of present Concordia, thence in an easterly direction into Clay, traversing that county in a southeasterly course, entering Geary and uniting with the Smoky Hill about one and one-fourth miles northeast of Junction City, near Fort Riley.

A manuscript map of Indian reservations included in northeastern Kansas, made by John C. McCoy in September and October, 1833, shows the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, designating the point of land at the juncture as the "Grand Point." The fact that one can obtain a view of the different valleys and the surrounding landscape for miles around from the tops of the high hills in this vicinity may have been a contributing factor for the Indian name handed down.

The United States weather bureau is authority for the statement that the Republican is 461 miles long, about 150 of which are in Kansas. The river drains an area of 23,067 square miles. Disastrous floods have occurred from time to time, that of March, 1881, being the most serious of record up to that date. It was exceeded, however, by the big floods of 1903 and 1915. In order to get accurate measurements of the amount of water carried by this stream during the year, several gauging stations were established by the United States weather bureau along the course of the river. The first of these above the mouth was set up by Arthur P. Davis on the wagon bridge at Junction City, April 26, 1895. Daily readings kept since then have been published from time to time. Figures for 1899, which may be taken as a normal year, show that the high-water mark was reached on June 4, at which time the Republican had attained a depth of 10 feet, with a discharge of 1,224 cubic feet per second. The river on January 1 and December 1, that year, showed a depth of 3.40 feet, while the lowest stage for the same period was 2.4 feet on November 14 and 16.<sup>7</sup> A gauging station was also established at Clay Center on August 1, 1904. The width of the river at this point at average low water is 200 feet, and the drainage area above is

<sup>7</sup>. *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers*, No. 37, pp. 248, 249; *Daily River Stages*, v. 13, p. 33.

22,756 square miles. On May 29, 1903, the highest water of record on the river at this point reached a depth of 24.8 feet, a trifle over 18 feet being the danger point.<sup>8</sup>

The legislature of 1864 declared the Republican river unnavigable, notwithstanding the fact that *Financier No. 2*, a side-wheel steamboat of 125 tons burden, ascended the stream in 1855 for a distance of forty miles, returning safely the following day to the Kansas river. This side trip is said to have taken the steamer to the vicinity of Clay Center.<sup>9</sup>

The earliest ferry on the Republican, and probably the first above its confluence with the Smoky Hill, was located at the crossing of the road from Fort Riley to Junction City. This thoroughfare reached the river in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 30, T. 11, R. 5 E.<sup>10</sup> The name of the man who inaugurated this service was, perhaps, Capt. Asaph Allen,<sup>11</sup> who, in 1858 and 1859, operated a ferry<sup>12</sup> between the fort and Junction City.

An early reference to the above ferry is found in the diary of Christian L. Long, who was accompanying a party of emigrants on their journey westward. Under date of April 28, 1859, he records having crossed on this ferry, stating that the river was about ninety feet wide at that point, and ferry charges \$1 a team. Horace Greeley also mentions crossing on this ferry in May, 1859, when he reached Junction City on his journey westward. He described it as a rope ferry, and stated that a number of families and a large herd of cattle had been taken across. These pilgrims were on their way to California. They took the road up the right bank of the Republican to Fort Kearney and on to Fort Laramie.<sup>13</sup>

George W. Martin, second secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, a resident of Davis county for a number of years and publisher of the Junction City *Union*, recalls crossing on this ferry during a return trip from Leavenworth in the winter of 1862-1863. He said:

We changed mail at Riley without trouble and soon reached the ferry across the Republican. It was five o'clock in the morning; the river was full of slush ice, and the most difficult part of the night was to arouse Tom O'Day, the ferryman. We drove on the boat, happy in the thought that we were nearing home. The boat stranded about the middle of the stream, probably

8. *Daily River Stages*, v. 9, pp. 33, 34.

9. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 333.

10. Bird & Mickle, *Map of Davis County*, n. d.

11. Asaph Allen was a delegate to the Philadelphia convention in 1856, and in 1857 was chief clerk and secretary of the senate during the session of the Topeka legislature.

12. Junction City *Union*, June 19, 1866.

13. Greeley, *An Overland Journey*, p. 72.



fifteen feet from either shore. The driver looked around for the ferryman, and there he was standing on dry land. "What do you mean?" he inquired, accompanied by the most awful abuse that ever came from the mouth of man. "An' I knew it would stick; do you suppose I'd go out there?" He crawled into his warm bunk; the slush ice soon solidified; we took a few planks from the bottom of the boat, laid them across the ice, walked over and into town, and I crawled into bed at Sam Strickler's at six o'clock. Contrast that way of getting into town with the present Pullman service at forty miles an hour, and then growl.

But before we forget the ferry, which was often either rightly or wrongly the excuse for beating us out of our mail, when we were getting it but three times a week, contrast four bridges within a few hundred feet of its crossing, one bearing a transcontinental line, with a score of long trains daily, and another a trolley line between Junction City and the fort. . . .<sup>14</sup>

This ferry probably operated more or less regularly until late in the 1860's, but whether under more than one ownership the writer has been unable to discover, as early records of Davis county commissioners contain scant mention of ferry matters. Presumably there was some dissatisfaction at the manner in which the ferry was operated, for the *Union*, early in 1863, called attention to the matter in the following paragraph:

A NUISANCE.—The most intolerable nuisance with which this country has been afflicted, is the ferry across the Republican river at Fort Riley. For the past week or ten days the mail has been a half a day behind, for the reason that they would not cross that thing in the night. It has always been a wonder why the military authorities at Riley tolerate such a nuisance under their nose. We hope the day is not far distant when a substantial bridge will connect us with America.

Late in February, 1863, the *Union* said "we got but one eastern mail in eight days."

In the issue of January 31 it registered another "kick" at ferry conditions:

A SUGGESTION.—We would suggest, as a matter of great convenience to the traveling public, that a wooden man be substituted for the Irishman who attends to the ferry across the Republican. We have crossed a few times there lately, and have been unable to find where the fault rests. Whoever has charge of that ferry must get someone who will attend to it, as it is serious to the county to have travel so impeded.

The summer of 1863 was a wet one in the Republican valley, and that stream was a trifle too high to be safely forded a good portion of the time before midsummer. Yet there were those who willingly took a chance and forded the river in order to save ferry charges, as the following incident would prove:

14. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, pp. 381, 382.



**DISCARDING FERRY BOATS.**—One day last week a man from up the Republican came to town shopping. He started home with a few dollars' worth of dry goods, groceries, etc. Arriving at the Republican he resolved to save twenty-five cents, and accordingly resolved to ford. Riding up to the pier where the boat lands, he spurred his horse into about fifteen feet of water. Horse and rider went with the current—the horse passing completely under the boat, coming out at the lower side. The man clung to the boat with more tenacity than he did to the two bits. Both were finally rescued, but the sugar, etc., mingled with the sand. The ferryman enjoyed the sport hugely.—*Junction City Union*, July 25, 1863.

Apparently there was little or no complaint at the operation of the ferry during normal river conditions. In time of flood, however, there was considerable dissatisfaction. No doubt the narrowness of the channel made the operation of a ferry boat somewhat hazardous, which in turn made the ferryman overly cautious. The following items from the local paper are indicative of conditions during the next year or two:

Will those interested in the ferry across the Republican, for their own benefit and that of the country, please get some one who will run the boat? Thursday, Friday and Saturday of last week, the stage started east but was compelled to return because the ferryman would not cross it. Sunday it started out again, and this time the driver, Jim Hall, swam the river and brought the boat over. A gentleman from the Solomon, who was going to mill at Manhattan, a few days ago, was compelled to do the same thing, while the man who has run the boat for a year declared he couldn't do it! It is to be hoped that the interests of the community is not longer to suffer by that ferryman being retained there. During all this high water there had been no earthly excuse, except the incompetence or laziness of that man, for keeping from us the mails for three or four days.—*Junction City Union*, August 15, 1863.

**TOMMY.**—We allude to the ferryman across the Republican. He is a genius. Old settlers have become accustomed to him, and have pretty much quit growling. Tommy is a good fellow, but he is not fit to run a ferry boat: The other day some men from town went down to get the mail across, and after making all preparations asked him to take hold and pull. He replied, "Sure it'll get wet, and who can handle it when it's wet?" with his peculiar brogue. We will next hear that he is afraid the boat will get wet.—*Junction City Union*, February 20, 1864.

During the past few weeks, the "navigation" of the Smoky Hill and Republican have been occasionally interrupted by high water. The ferry across the Republican is now managed with more efficiency, courtesy and decency than at any time during the past three years; yet notwithstanding the desire of the ferryman to oblige the traveling public, he was not able, every time, to make the "connection." We do trust that the time will come when both the Smoky Hill and the Republican will be bridged, and when the intercourse between the different portions of the state will be uninterrupted. Had our Congressional Committee reached Fort Riley a few days before or the day

after they did, they would have been delayed from twelve to twenty-four hours in crossing the Republican. This ought not to occur on a reserve of which government claims the ownership of *exclusive jurisdiction*. The government either ought to bridge the stream or grant the privilege of bridging it to citizens, with reasonable aid in doing so.—*Junction City Union*, June 3, 1865.

Between pleasing the traveling public and combating the forces of nature the ferry operators had their hands full. Ice and high waters were the greatest hazards. An illustration of the inconvenience of those weather conditions to both operators and patrons will be found in the following paragraph:

The fords and ferries on the Republican and Smoky Hill the past week have been impassable for teams. The thaw last week raised the water, and the boat at the fort was carried off Saturday night, since which time the only communication with the fort and below has been by skiffs until Friday towards night, when a temporary structure was fixed, upon which trains, &c., have crossed since. It is feared that the garrisons of the government posts west will be nearly starving, from the long stoppage of trains. There are reported to be some eight trains of from 300 to 400 wagons, detained by inability to cross the Republican here and at the Big Blue at Manhattan. The mail has been got through every day but Monday. Teams have arrived from above by fording from two to three feet of water in Chapman's creek.—*Junction City Union*, January 20, 1866.

The last mention of ferry matters in the immediate vicinity of Fort Riley is the following from the *Junction City Union* of March 29, 1873: "A ferry is being established at the fort, evidently for the benefit of the wood contractors, as a large quantity of that article is corded up on the opposite side of the river."

In this series of articles on ferries mention has been made of the bridges which replaced them at some of the more important points, and this has necessitated brief consideration of the roads over which the early-day traffic passed. The problem of river crossings was not always solved with the construction of bridges. The digression which follows is illustrative of the difficulties many sections encountered in the era of bridge building, and shows the extent of travel over the roads which converged in the vicinity of Fort Riley and the junction of the rivers.

There had been some early travel up the Republican by emigrants on their way west, which increased after the establishment of Fort Riley in 1853. That year the government erected a truss bridge across the river to help care for this traffic. This bridge went out in 1856, during a freshet. The year following another bridge was built which was swept away during a flood in 1858.<sup>15</sup>

15. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, pp. 1001, 1007.



In 1858 private interests sought a franchise for bridge purposes and obtained from the legislature that year a twenty-year charter for the Republican River Bridge Company, which granted exclusive bridge privileges and rights at or within five miles from Fort Riley, with right to charge toll at rates not to exceed the average rates charged by the several ferries across the Kansas river established by law. A provision of the act stipulated that unless the bridge was built within three years the act would be void.<sup>16</sup> No bridge was built within the time limits.

A "float" or pontoon bridge had been erected across the Republican between Fort Riley and Junction City in the late 1850's. This, according to the *Manhattan Express* of February 25, 1860, was destroyed by high water and floating ice on February 19. This structure, apparently, was replaced or rebuilt later that year, for on October 6, following, the board of county commissioners issued an "order that Charles F. Clarke<sup>17</sup> take out license for his bridge. License at thirty dollars per annum. Rates of tole are the same as those of John Wallace for bridge across the Kansas river at West Point."<sup>18</sup>

During the session of the 1864 legislature, senate concurrent resolution No. 20 was passed, asking congress to improve the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road, the memorial contemplating the bridging of the Republican at Fort Riley as well as improving the highway westward, copies of this document were forwarded to the Kansas delegation at Washington to be brought before congress.<sup>19</sup>

This action may have spurred the bridge company to life, for the company, or another of the same name, filed a certificate of incorporation with the secretary of state on November 11, 1864,<sup>20</sup> authorizing the company to construct a bridge over that stream. This company was formed after the passage of joint resolution No. 56, by the 39th congress, entitled "A joint resolution for the reduction of the military reservation of Fort Riley and to grant land for bridge purposes to the state of Kansas." The state accepted the terms and provisions of the resolution which guaranteed "that a bridge shall be constructed over the Republican river on the highway leading

16. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1858, p. 47.

17. Charles F. Clarke is listed in the 1860 census of Davis county, p. 80, as a native of Ireland, 32 years of age, owner of real estate valued at \$4,000, and personal property, \$4,000. His wife, Bridget, was born in Ireland. The three children, minors, were born in Kansas and Nebraska.

18. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 1, p. 79.

19. *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 378, 379, 394.

20. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 14, in the Kansas State Historical Society's archives.



through the present Fort Riley military reservation, and that said bridge should be kept up and maintained in good condition, and should be free to the use of the government of the United States for all transit purposes forever, without toll or charges," etc.<sup>21</sup>

As late as the last of July, 1865, no actual construction work on a bridge at the fort had been started, though plans for a structure were being suggested. The first move evidently was started by the government, as the following item would indicate:

We learn that Captain Berthoud has arrived at Fort Riley with orders from department headquarters to construct a bridge across the Republican river at that point. The reputation of Captain Berthoud as an engineer insures a first-class structure. Work upon it will shortly be commenced. We learn that Butterfield has purchased a complete stock for a daily line of coaches from Atchison to Denver. We hope our Salina neighbors will be spurred up by these items and make a good road which will be without hindrance to this enterprise. Go to work, and by the time the bridge is completed, have substantial bridges across the Solomon and Saline.—*Junction City Union*, July 29, 1865.

Apparently nothing was accomplished up to 1867. That year the bridge company got an act passed by the legislature granting the right to build a bridge, to be completed within one year from the passage of the act, which was approved by Governor Crawford February 26, 1867.<sup>22</sup> One of the provisions of the law stipulated that it was the duty of the bridge company to notify the governor when the bridge was completed, whereupon the governor in person, together with a competent engineer, should proceed to examine the bridge, and if the governor found that a good and substantial structure had been built across the Republican by the company, it was his duty to certify the same to the Secretary of the Interior and request that he issue patent for the lands mentioned and described in the joint resolution to congress, etc. The bridge company was also required to deposit with the governor satisfactory surety and guarantees, fully indemnifying the state of Kansas against any loss or losses by the guarantee given by the state of Kansas to the United States. The lands contemplated for the bridge embraced the portion of the military reservation lying between the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers—being the part lying between Junction City and the forks of the rivers. This bridge was started in the spring of 1867 and was completed by December following.<sup>23</sup> By 1873, however, the condition of this bridge had become so impaired as to be danger-

21. *U. S. Stat. at Large*, 39th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 573, 574.

22. *Laws, Kansas*, 1867, pp. 58, 59.

23. *Andreas, History of Kansas*, p. 1007.

ous for traffic, and on March 15 the Davis county commissioners passed the following order, which was addressed to Gov. Thomas A. Osborn:

Ordered, that the county clerk be instructed to notify the governor of the state of Kansas that the bridge across the Republican river is now and has been impassable for the last week, and that the county commissioners of Davis county respectfully calls his attention to the same as the guardian of such public property.<sup>24</sup>

Governor Osborn's reply was written March 18, and stated that the matter had been referred to the attorney-general for his opinion. That officer was of the opinion that it was the duty of the county attorney of Davis county to institute suit against the bridge company if the county commissioners deemed it necessary to do so to enforce a compliance by the bridge company with the terms of their charter under which it was organized. The county clerk was referred to section 136, chapter 25, *General Statutes* of 1868.<sup>25</sup> This answer brought a communication from the chairman of the board of county commissioners of Davis county, dated March 24, asking that a certified copy of the bond given the state by the bridge company be sent. He said the president of the bridge company claimed that his company was a private corporation, and that the county commissioners had no right to inquire into its affairs. The letter also stated that property had been sacrificed and life endangered, and business from a portion of the county suspended by the failure of the bridge company to fulfill their bond.<sup>26</sup>

On the 29th of March the governor addressed a letter to the attorney-general, telling of the impassable condition of the bridge and stating that no action was being taken by the bridge company to repair it. His letter also gave a complete history of the company's charter, and also directed the attorney-general to start action. The last paragraph recited:

The Republican River Bridge Company having failed to comply with the act of the legislature and the terms of said bond, you are hereby requested to institute such proceedings in this case, and with the least possible delay, as will best protect the interests of the state, and enforce a full discharge of the obligations owing to the state by said bridge company.<sup>27</sup>

In the meantime the governor had received complaints from the military, for on March 29 he wrote Maj. Gen. John Pope, at Fort Leavenworth, acknowledging receipt of his letter of the 26th, and

24. Governor's correspondence, 1873, "Letters Received," in Archives division, Historical Society.

25. *Ibid.*, "Impression Book No. 2," p. 11.

26. *Ibid.*, 1873, "Letters Received."

27. *Ibid.*, "Impression Book No. 2," pp. 15-18.



informing the general "that measures will be taken immediately to compel the Republican River Bridge Company to repair the break and place the bridge in a safe, passable condition." The same day he also answered the letter of the Davis county commissioners, inclosing a certified copy of the bond given by the bridge company which was on file with the secretary of state. He also asked to be notified in case the company refused to make repairs, and advised that the attorney-general would assist in prosecuting if it became necessary.<sup>28</sup>

Evidently the bridge company got busy at once, for on April 1, following, the chairman of the board of county commissioners wrote the governor to the effect that "the bridge company are at work repairing the bridge with a force sufficient to do the work at once." A letter to the governor from the county chairman, written April 7, contained word that the bridge was temporarily repaired. The letter also stated that—

we have written the attorney-general requesting information in the event of the bridge company attempting to collect tolls, but got no answer. The county attorney is also awaiting information from the attorney-general previous to commencing suit against the company. We are of the opinion that suit commenced now would have a better effect than to let them do as they please. It seems the bondsmen are all stockholders and wish to call your attention to the fact that some of them are worthless—bankrupt—or left the state.<sup>29</sup>

By the following May the bridge was again in an impassable condition, and on the 22d of that month Major General Pope again addressed a letter to the governor, calling attention to the matter, which letter was referred to the attorney-general two days later, the governor asking that he "take such action as was necessary to protect the interests of the state and compel the bridge company to live up to the terms of their contract with the state." The governor also wrote Major General Pope that he had referred the whole matter to the attorney-general with a request that proceedings be instituted against the bridge company to enforce a compliance on their part with the conditions of their contract with the state.<sup>30</sup>

It would be interesting to note what the attorney-general had to say in regard to the matter, but unfortunately no correspondence of his office covering this episode is included in the Historical Society's archives, and the first printed report of that officer was not issued until 1875.

The Junction City *Union*, however, had kept informed on the

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

29. *Ibid.*, "Letters Received," 1873, Archives division.

30. *Ibid.*, 1873, 1874, "Impression Book No. 2," pp. 178, 179.



bridge situation, and had called the attention of its readers and the county authorities to its deplorable condition no less than six times in as many weeks. Beginning with the issue of March 8, and closing with that of April 5, 1873, it said:

The approach to the Republican river bridge was broken down on Thursday by a wagon loaded with wood. . . . Wednesday morning several wagon loads of emigrants crossed on the bridge. After waiting a couple of days for some one to fix it, they went to work and in a day and a half had it so that it could be crossed. A few days ago a blacksmith working for Meader, having occasion to cross over, could only cross on the railroad bridge. In doing so he fell through, but falling on some timbers had his shoulder broken. . . . A few days ago a man in attempting to cross had a horse killed. A party of emigrants crossed over the other day by unloading their wagons and packing the goods over. The bridge has been in this condition for about a month. . . . We passed the Republican bridge the other day, and of all the disgraceful, dilapidated concerns, it is the worst. We understand the company have sent to Chicago for lumber to fix it. In the meantime, we hope the U. S. military authorities will take charge of it, and put it in the shape government designed it should be when the land was donated. . . . The Republican bridge is actually being repaired, a large force of men being engaged on the work, and from present indications it will be a most substantial improvement on the old. . . . The Republican river bridge is finally repaired and rendered passable, being rebuilt on a more substantial basis than heretofore. No accident insurance will now be required in view of making an attempt to cross it.

The third bridge to span the Republican river at this point was that of the Kansas Pacific railway, which was completed in 1866. This bridge, like the first two wagon bridges, was a victim of the elements of nature in February, 1867, its fate being chronicled briefly, as follows:

The railroad bridge over the Republican, this side of Junction City, went out on Thursday morning. One-half of the superstructure was secured so as to prevent it from floating downstream, and the other half came down and lodged against an island just above Wamego. It will soon be put to rights again.—*Wyandotte Gazette*, February 16, 1867.

Thursday morning a bridge supposed to be that of the Union Pacific railroad over the Republican river, came floating past Manhattan. Two men were upon it trying to steer the unmanageable bark ashore. We learn that a line was thrown to them from the shore a little below here, and thus at least, one span of the bridge was saved and safely moored.—*Manhattan Independent*, February 16, 1867.

The Republican river bridge beyond Manhattan was swept away on February 14, during the highest water ever known up to that time.—*Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, February 16, 1867.

Bridges at Riley, Manhattan and Wyandotte have been swept away by the flood. Also a large portion of the pontoon at Topeka.—*Leavenworth Conservative*, February 15, 1867.

During 1867 another corporation known as the Junction City and Republican Bridge and Ferry Company filed a charter with the state. The incorporators were R. W. Hilliker, F. M. Ferguson, John Wayland, O. J. Hopkins and Thomas D. Fitch. This company was capitalized for \$300,000, with shares \$300 each. It was the purpose of the company to operate a ferry and build bridges in Davis county at a point on the Republican in S. 17, T. 11, R. 5 E., and between points five miles above and five miles below. This company was organized July 27, 1867, and filed its charter with the secretary of state July 30, 1867.<sup>31</sup> No further history of this bridge and ferry project has been located.

From Junction City and vicinity roads led out in all directions. The military road passed through the town and led on to Salina and the military posts on the Smoky Hill and southwest to the Santa Fé trail. The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express route ran through the town and went up the Smoky Hill for a distance. A Mormon road ran across the military reservation, and continued in a northerly direction close to the east line of Range 5. A road from Junction City crossed the Republican at the north line of the city at S. 1, T. 12, R. 5, and connected with a road running west from the fort. A letter to the author from Henry Thiele, of Junction City, indicates that there was an old Indian ford across the Republican at this place. A branch of this road ran up the east side of the river towards the Nebraska line.<sup>32</sup>

In 1857 the legislature passed an act declaring "The road as now located and opened as a military road from Fort Riley northwest to the Nebraska line, is hereby made a territorial road."<sup>33</sup> The road leading from Fort Riley to Bent's Fort, as already established,<sup>34</sup> was likewise made a territorial road. In 1864 Congressman A. C. Wilder presented a concurrent resolution of the Kansas legislature to congress for the establishment of a military road from Fort Leavenworth via Fort Riley to Fort Larned.<sup>35</sup> Another road started from Fort Riley via Ogden, turned northwest, followed up the east bank of the Republican, touching the towns of Milford, Gatesville, Clay Center, Lima, Clifton, Clyde, Lawrenceburg, Lake Sibley, thence a little west of north to a point just across the Kansas-Nebraska line, where it joined the Fort Riley-Fort Kearney road.

31. Corporations, v. 1, p. 370.

32. Road shown on original land surveys, state auditor's office, Topeka; Bird & Mickle, *Map of Davis County, Kansas*, issued during the 1880's.

33. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, p. 170.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Junction City Union*, April 2, 1864.



Another road started from Junction City and followed up the west side of the Republican, touching at McGeesburg, Five Creeks, Mulberry, and, crossing the river at Lawrenceburg, terminated at Salt Marsh on Salt creek, a few miles north of the river.<sup>36</sup>

Prior to 1861 no mail was carried beyond Junction City. In April, that year, a contract was let for carrying it once a week from that point to Salina, a distance of about forty-five miles.<sup>37</sup>

The Leavenworth & Pike's Peak express line, which went into operation in May, 1859, followed up the Smoky Hill after reaching Junction City, turning towards the northwest in present Ottawa county. Inside of a year this line was moved north to the Platte river. During the summer of 1862 the Kansas Stage Company started running stages from Junction City to points on the Santa Fé trail. The first coach left Junction City August 22 for the far West, this being the formal opening of the Smoky Hill route to Santa Fé. Prior to this time all travel had passed over the Santa Fé trail through Morris county. Five days later the stage from the West arrived in Junction City.<sup>38</sup>

With the organization of the Butterfield Overland Despatch in May, 1865, that company started construction work on a line to Denver. On June 30 their construction train reached Junction City, from which point it started west on July 3, opening up a road and reaching Denver on August 7, following. This company transported an immense amount of merchandise over the military road and over the ferry on the Republican. The first train sent out by the company—a small one—was on June 24, 1865. It was loaded with 150,000 pounds of freight for Denver and other Colorado points. On July 15, following, a train left Atchison for Colorado with seventeen large steam boilers. Steamboats discharged great quantities of freight on the Atchison levee for shipment by this line. In one day during July, 1865, nineteen car loads of freight were unloaded at Atchison consigned to the "B. O. D." Early in August a train was loaded with 600,000 pounds of merchandise for Salt Lake City merchants.<sup>39</sup>

The location of the next ferry upstream is a matter of conjecture. On November 1, 1865, a license was issued to Mary Clark to keep a ferry across the Republican. She filed the \$500 bond required by

36. "Map of Kansas," ordered by Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield, and drawn by Ado Hunnius, 1870.

37. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1007.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 1002; *Junction City Union*, 1862, advertisements of Stage Co.

39. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage to California*, p. 379; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1002.



law. J. R. McClure was the security.<sup>40</sup> The location of this ferry does not appear on the records, nor has any further history been located.

On February 5, 1867, a company was organized at Junction City known as the Republican River Bridge and Ferry Company. The incorporators were James Streeter, A. W. Callen, O. J. Hopkins, James H. Brown, P. L. Taylor, S. M. Strickler, G. E. Beates, Daniel Mitchell, Wm. K. Bartlett and Robert McBratney. This company proposed to operate bridges or ferries from the mouth of the Republican river to the point where the west line of Davis county crossed that river. The principal office of the company was to be at Junction City. Capital stock was listed at \$150,000, with shares \$50 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state February 6, 1867. No further mention of this enterprise has been located.<sup>41</sup>

Another project, the Union Ferry Company, Davis county, was organized July 20, 1867, and proposed to maintain a ferry or bridge, or both, across the Republican river at a point (not specified) between the Fort Riley military reservation and where the river intersects the east line of Clay county. The incorporators were E. W. Rice, Will C. Rawalle, G. E. Beates and Bertrand Rockwell. The capital stock was to be \$5,000, with shares \$100 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state July 24, 1867.<sup>42</sup> Aside from the charter no further record of this ferry has been located.

Bachelder, about nine miles northwest of Junction City by land, and about fifteen by the river, was the next ferry location. The legislature of 1859 granted to Abram Barry the right to keep a ferry at or within one mile of Bachelder for the period of ten years, with right to land on either bank of the river. Rates of ferriage were to be fixed by the county board. This act also granted to Barry and his associates the privilege of building a bridge at this same location and maintaining it for a period of twenty years, they to have all the rights of the Lawrence Bridge Company, authorized at this same session of the legislative assembly. This act was approved by Gov. S. Medary, February 11, 1859.<sup>43</sup>

There must have been need of a ferry at this point and one may have been operated there more or less continuously for many years, although no confirming evidence has been found except the following from the Topeka *Daily Capital*, of March 19, 1881:

40. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," v. 2, p. 148.

41. Corporations, v. 1, p. 284.

42. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 366.

43. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1859*, p. 117.

Mr. A. B. Whiting returned to-day from a visit to Davis county. At Milford, on the Republican river, the ferry boat had washed away leaving suspended in the air the wire cable which was utilized in an odd way by those desiring to cross. A crockery crate was slung under the cable or pulley, and passengers climbed in by ladder on each side. The crate being cut loose it would descend with great rapidity, just touching the water in the center of the river, and its impetus would carry it part way up the grade, and then the occupants of the crate, never more than four, would haul hand over hand until the terminal air station on the other side was reached. The return was made in the same way, and the appearance of the crate as it descended the curve was somewhat similar to that of a basket full of human beings shot out of a mortar. It was more novel than popular as a mode of transit, but it was the only way left to cross the high waters. Mr. Whiting crossed with a party of three and found his hair standing on end and moral reflections coming very naturally to his mind.

Wakefield, Clay county, was the next ferry location, being about seven miles by river and about one mile less by land. This town was started in 1869 by a colony of English settlers, and was named in honor of Rev. Richard Wake, who came to America in 1854 and united with the Methodist Episcopal church. He was one of the leading spirits in the new colony. On March 30, 1870, the Wakefield Bridge and Ferry Company was organized, the charter members being Alexander Maitland, A. B. Whiting, A. C. Jewett, Moses Younkin and Perry M. Cushing. The company had its offices at Wakefield, and the organization was capitalized for \$1,000, with shares at \$10 each. Their ferryboat was to ply the Republican river and have suitable piers on each side of the stream opposite the town. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, April 19, 1870.<sup>44</sup>

William J. Chapman, in his account of the Wakefield colony, stated that James Eustace was president of the Wakefield Bridge and Ferry Company and William Guy the ferryman.<sup>45</sup>

Just when this ferry actually went into operation has not been learned, but it must have been late in 1870 before it was ready to function. On January 3, 1871, a petition was presented to the county commissioners of Clay county, asking for a license to operate a ferry at this town. This petition was granted and the license fee fixed at \$10 a year. Rates of ferriage were accepted in accordance with rates accompanying the petition, and were as follows:

Single passengers, 10 cents; single passengers who return same day, 15 cents. Family of three, 25 cents; return same day, 40 cents. One horse and rider, 15 cents; return same day, 25 cents. Two horses, 20 cents; and return, 30 cents. One team and wagon, laden or empty, 35 cents; return same day, 50 cents.

44. Corporations, v. 2, p. 345.

45. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 496.



Live stock, single head, 15 cents; three head, 35 cents; five head, 50 cents. Sheep, 5 cents each; 50 or over, 3 cents a head. Family tickets to include the members of the family of the same name under 21 years of age, and one team and wagon, or one horse or single head of stock to pass once and back in one day, per month, \$2.50; six months, \$7.50; 12 months, \$12.<sup>46</sup>

The next mention of this ferry in county records was on October 5, 1874, the county board granting a ferry license to A. Maitland for one year, on condition that Maitland pay a license fee of \$10, and file a bond for \$1,000, "the board believing that such ferry was necessary for the accommodation of the public." The county board fixed the following rates, which Maitland was authorized to charge and collect for his services:

Foot passengers, single crossing, 5 cents; horse and rider, single crossing, 10 cents; horse and buggy, single crossing, 15 cents; one team and wagon, loaded or empty, 25 cents; threshing machine and all double loads, 35 cents; cattle—5 head or less, each, 10 cents; over 5 head, 5 cents; 5 head of sheep or hogs, 5 cents. One-trip tickets for foot passengers returning same day, twelve for 75 cents; one-trip tickets for wagon loaded or empty, returning same day, twelve for \$2.<sup>47</sup>

In the spring of 1875 the ferryboat at Wakefield was lost or destroyed, and need existing for such a convenience, Messrs. Thomas H. North and N. B. March presented their petition to the county board on April 12, asking for a license to run a ferryboat on the river at or near Wakefield, within one mile of the present ferry there. This firm proposed to charge the following rates of ferriage:

Two-horse team, 20 cents; one-horse team, 15 cents; horseman, 10 cents; footman, 5 cents; four-horse team, 30 cents; threshing machine, 30 cents; horse power, 25 cents. To return same day in each case, 5 cents additional. Cattle—2 head, each 10 cents; over 2 head, each 5 cents. Sheep—2 head, each 5 cents; all over 5 head, each 3 cents. Hogs—same as sheep.

The county board granted the license, contingent on the filing of a bond of \$1,000, and the receipt of a sum of \$10 as a license fee for one year.<sup>48</sup>

With the loss of his ferryboat early in the year, Mr. Maitland must have neglected to file the necessary bond required of ferry owners. In the meantime North and March must have "stolen a march" on him by filing their bond and putting their ferry into operation. Later, learning that Maitland contemplated a resumption of business, North and March presented a petition to the county board June 6, 1875, reciting that Maitland had not filed the

46. Clay County, "Commissioners' Journal," Book A, pp. 162, 163.

47. *Ibid.*, Book 1, pp. 212, 213.

48. *Ibid.*, Book 1, p. 262; Book 2, p. 49.



necessary bond, and asked that the licenses to him be revoked, giving the following reasons therefor:

1st—That said Maitland has no ferryboat and is not using due diligence to build one, and has had no boat since the breaking up of ice last spring.

2d—That Mr. Maitland had not complied with the law in having, when his boat was running, a list of rates of fare at his ferry, and having charged more than the rates allowed by the county commissioners.

3d—That said A. Maitland claims that his license is in full force and effect, and that he has a right of way extending  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles above and the same distance below the former Wakefield ferry, to the damage and annoyance of the said North and March, who hold a license to run a ferry at Wakefield, and who have a good boat, and are complying with the law concerning ferries, and further, they are prepared to prove the above under oath and by other witnesses if necessary.<sup>49</sup>

Under date of July 7, 1875, the "Commissioners' Journal" recites:

A. Maitland appeared before the board to ask permission for a certain length of time to rebuild a ferryboat to replace the one destroyed last spring. The board having no power could grant no permission. Other matters were presented by Mr. Maitland but the board having no jurisdiction could offer no relief. And it appears by the record that Mr. Maitland, by order of this board, was granted a license to run a ferryboat at or near Wakefield, on the 5th of October, 1874, and the said Maitland having failed to file the bond required by law, and as Mr. Maitland expressed himself as not caring whether the license continued or not, it is hereby ordered that said license be revoked and the clerk notify Mr. Maitland of the action of the board.<sup>50</sup>

Another entry of July 7 says: "By reason of the revoking of Mr. Maitland's license no action on the above petition [of North and March] was necessary."<sup>51</sup>

W. P. Gates, of Wakefield, may have operated the ferry in 1876, as the "Commissioners' Journal" of April 4, 1877, states that Mr. Gates presented a petition to renew the license for a ferry across the Republican at that place. He presented a bond approved by the board, and having paid the \$10 fee required, the board ordered a license granted, toll rates to be as follows: "Foot passengers, 5 cents; horse and rider (return 10 cents extra), 10 cents; horse and buggy (return 10 cents extra), 15 cents; two-horse team loaded or empty (return 10 cents extra), 25 cents; threshing machine and four-horse teams, 35 cents."<sup>52</sup>

Evidently Mr. Gates interested outside capital in his ferry business this year, for on July 3 the Wakefield Ferry Company was organized, the incorporators being William Preston Gates, D. H.

49. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 71.

50. *Ibid.*, Book 2, pp. 70, 71.

51. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 71.

52. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 243.

Myers, R. T. Bachelor, Joseph Christmas, William Alloway, David Hayden and Pharselia Marcellus Hocking. The company was capitalized at \$300, with shares \$5 each. The charter stated that the ferry was to be over the Republican river at the town of Wakefield, Clay county, between the townships of Republican and Grant, and the corporation was to exist for ten years. This charter was filed with the secretary of state July 26, 1877.<sup>53</sup>

The last mention of a ferry at Wakefield found in county records is of date February 19, 1880, which states that an application was received from William Alloway, secretary of the Wakefield Ferry Company, asking that a license be granted the company to operate the ferry at or near Wakefield. The license was ordered granted on the payment of a \$10 fee and the filing of a bond of \$1,000, and was to be dated from February 28, 1880. Rates of ferriage were not mentioned in the commissioners' minutes.<sup>54</sup>

Broughton, about midway between Wakefield and Clay Center, was the next ferry site upstream. The only reference to this ferry we have located is the following from *The Times*, Clay Center, of February 9, 1934:

Some weeks ago *The Times* stated that, as far as this paper had learned the only ferry across the Republican river between Clay Center and the Geary county line was the one at Wakefield. However, Harry Clark informs the paper that in the spring of 1882 a ferry was 200 feet up the river from where the present river bridge stands. It was maintained until 1887, and operated by two brothers named French.

There was a little draw on the south side of the river and a road ran down to the river bank. People drove down and were ferried across the river. When the bridge was built at Broughton the ferry was discontinued. So that makes another ferry for Clay county, but seems to establish the fact that there were but two from Clay Center to the Geary county line.

Clay Center, about six or seven miles upstream and a little less by wagon road, was the next ferry location. On July 3, 1867, a license was granted to N. Duncan to build a ferry across the Republican river at the crossing of the county road near Dexter's mill, at the southwest edge of Clay Center, with license fee to hold good for one year.<sup>55</sup> Neither the amount of the fee nor ferriage rates were given in this record. No further mention of this ferry has been located. Apparently no other license was issued for a ferry at this place until October 6, 1873, when the county board granted ferry privileges to Messrs. Wickham & Plant. Whether they started their

53. Corporations, v. 8, p. 52.

54. Clay county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 373.

55. *Ibid.*, Book A, p. 15; *The Dispatch*, Clay Center, January 29, 1914.



ferry at this time is a bit uncertain, for on January 7, 1874, the commissioners' minutes record that C. E. Linsley filed his application and bond, asking for a license. His application was filed for future action.<sup>56</sup> No further mention of this matter has been located.

On the same day that Mr. Linsley filed his application Messrs. James Plant and Asa Anderson also made application to the commissioners for a license to run a ferryboat at the crossing of the river on the route from Clay Center to Republican City, at Clay Center. The board believed that such a ferry was necessary for the accommodation of the public, and accordingly granted a license for the period of one year from that date. The board also ordered that they should have the exclusive privilege of building and operating a ferry at Clay Center, and authorized them to charge and collect the following ferriage rates:

For four-horse team, or two-horse team and threshing machine, one trip, 30 cents; two-horse team and threshing machine power, one trip, 20 cents; two-horse team and conveyance, one trip, 20 cents; single buggy or wagon, one trip, 15 cents; horse and rider, one trip, 10 cents; foot passenger, one trip, 5 cents; cattle, one head, one trip, 10 cents; over one head, each head, one trip, 5 cents; sheep or hogs, five head or less, one trip, each, 5 cents; each additional head, one trip, 2 cents.

One driver to be passed with each team. No person other than those belonging to family of person owning team or driving same to be allowed to cross with the same without charge. The ferry to be run at the above rates from 5 o'clock a.m. to 9 o'clock p.m. And from 9 o'clock p.m. to 5 o'clock a.m., double the above rates to be charged.

The above list of rates on the said ferry to apply to one crossing if the return is not made before 9 o'clock p.m. of the same day. And the word "trip" to be construed to mean "across the river and back again if made before 9 o'clock p.m. of the same day."

And it was further ordered by the board that the said Plant & Anderson should file a bond of two thousand dollars for a strict performance of their agreement with the board, and pay into the county treasury the sum of fifteen dollars as a license fee to run their ferry.<sup>57</sup>

*The Times*, Clay Center, in its issue of January 4, 1934, has an interesting article on Clay county ferries, from which the following regarding the above-mentioned ferry is taken:

George Neill has about the best recollection of ferries around Clay Center. The first ferry here, he says, was operated by Plant & Anderson, just where the old Fourth street bridge has stood for so many years. That was around 1873. Mr. Neill was running a store at Republican City, southwest of town, of which city he was also postmaster. He states that he lost a load of merchandise, worth \$200, in the river at that ferry, as he attempted to drive onto the

56. Clay county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 1, p. 163.

57. *Ibid.*, Book 1, pp. 161, 162.



ferry. Mr. Neill states there was also a ferry just south of the mouth of Five Creeks, operated by George Small. Then there was a ferry at the present Airline bridge site, run by a man named DeMond, who lived at the place. Mr. Lippe (Rev. Lippe) operated the ferry at Rocky Ford which was just a mile up the river from the Airline river bridge.

Clay Center being off the main-traveled highways to the West, was not much of a road center in its early days. However, it was on the route of a road running from Fort Riley, up the east side of the Republican via Bachelder, Riley county, St. Julien, Mount Pleasant, Clay Center, Clifton and on to the Nebraska line. A state road was laid out from Clay Center to Waterville in 1870. Clay county accepted the road on November 12, that year, issuing warrants for her share of the expense.<sup>58</sup> At this time Waterville was the terminus of the Central Branch railroad, and the newly opened state road was a benefit to settlers living in the sparsely settled sections between these two points.

The next ferry location up the south side of the river was the Five Creeks ferry, and while not operated on the Republican, was located close to the mouth, and proved a great convenience to residents and travelers going up or down the river, or to and from Clay Center. For that reason its history is included at this point.

This ferry was started by Timothy Martell, who, on July 2, 1877, petitioned the county board to grant him a license. In his petition he stated that his ferry was so situated as to produce no revenue, and asked that his license be granted without payment of the usual fee. He furnished a bond, which was acceptable to the board, whereupon a license was granted.<sup>59</sup> He ran this ferry about two years. D. G. Brooks appeared to be in charge of this ferry in 1879, and on July 9 made application for the necessary license, which was granted without the payment of the \$10 fee. He was allowed to charge the same rates as previous owners of the ferry.<sup>60</sup> F. B. Dodds, of Lawrence, states that this ferry was in operation as late as 1881, or till the bridge was built. The ferry was located in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 13, T. 8, R. 2, and about one mile northeast of Republican City.<sup>61</sup>

A ferry was in operation at the location now known as the Air Line bridge during the late 1860's, according to F. B. Dodds, of Lawrence. This location is about four miles upstream from the Five Creeks ferry. While commissioners' records of Clay county contain no record of ferry licenses for this location under that name,

58. *Ibid.*, Book A, p. 158.

59. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 271; Book 3, p. 31.

60. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 251.

61. Bird & Mickle, *Historical Plat Book of Clay County*, p. 51.

the ferry site is so named and located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$  of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 2, T. 8, R. 2 E., on land owned in 1881 by T. G. Ryan.<sup>62</sup> No further history was located.

Rocky Ford ferry was next upstream from the Air Line location, and nearly two miles distant, being in the extreme northeast corner of S. 4, T. 8, R. 2 E. An atlas of 1881 shows this ferry located on land owned by J. L. Woodside. It is said a ferry was in operation here in the 1860's, notwithstanding county records prior to 1874 contain no mention of licenses issued. On June 8, that year, however, the county board ordered the clerk to issue a license to W. J. Woodside to operate a ferry near Rocky Ford, on condition that Woodside file a bond for \$1,000 with the county clerk and pay into the county treasury the sum of \$10 as a license fee for the period of one year, and otherwise comply with the law regarding ferries. Woodside was allowed to charge and collect the following rates of toll for his services:

For one threshing machine, 30 cents; four-horse team and wagon, 30 cents; one-horse vehicle, 15 cents; one man and horse, 10 cents; one footman, 5 cents.

The above prices are only extended from 7 o'clock a. m. till 9 o'clock p. m. of same day.

All of the members of any family under the age of 21 years are allowed with the wagon and team.

Each team crossing shall pay 20 cents, and if said team don't come back within ten days, it can have a return trip for 30 cents. [Probably meant if *team returned inside of ten days.*]

All care to be taken to prevent accidents, and all those who will not comply with the terms of the ferry rules shall be responsible for their damages should any occur. If the river is very high the teamster must loose the traces and put down the tongue if the ferryman thinks it unsafe.<sup>63</sup>

This ferry must have passed into new hands the next year, for on July 7, 1875, Messrs. Williams and Bebout appeared before the county board and made application to operate the ferry at or near this place. They made it plain to the board that the ferry was to be run as a neighborhood convenience, would have very little to do, and that the fees collected would not amount to enough to pay for the license fee. The board was convinced it was necessary for the convenience and use of the neighborhood, and accordingly issued a license for one year without payment of the usual fee. Messrs. Williams and Bebout were required, however, to file a bond in the sum of \$1,000, and charge the same rates of ferriage as were recorded

62. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

63. Clay county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 1, p. 187.



on page 187 of the "Commissioners' Journal," and to fulfill the requirements of the ferry law.<sup>64</sup> Mr. Williams seems to have operated his ferry about three months, for on October 5, following, he informed the county board that he had disposed of his ferry at Rocky Ford and wished his license canceled as he had sold out his interest and the buyer would continue the business. As no loss would result to the public, the board ordered the license canceled.<sup>65</sup>

A. M. Marker was the new operator, and he presented his petition for a license to operate on the route heretofore occupied by L. M. Williams. Marker filed the required bond and the board granted him a license, ferriage rates to remain the same as before.<sup>66</sup>

Timothy Martell was in charge at this point the next year. On June 5, 1876, his petition was presented to the county board, together with a bond signed by himself, J. M. Coffman and Edmond Desmond. His petition was accepted and a license granted for one year without payment of a license fee, ferriage rates to remain as heretofore allowed.<sup>67</sup> Martell operated this ferry about two years, after which time it passed into new hands. In 1878 Adolph Eberhard was granted the license. In 1879 it went to T. M. Wilson. From 1880 to 1883, when the last license was issued, Mr. Eberhard (or Ehrhardt) was proprietor. Ferriage charges allowed by the county board in 1880 were: "Round trip, two-horse team, 15 cents; round trip, one-horse team, 10 cents; round trip, footman, 10 cents."<sup>68</sup>

Morgan was the next ferry location, this being about twelve miles slightly northwest of the Rocky Ford ferry, as the crow flies, and approximately half as far again by the river. The first mention of ferry matters at this point is found in an item from *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, of September 1, 1871, which stated that it was "a good ferry point where a ferry is soon to be built by a company lately formed in the town." No specific location for this ferry has been located, but it probably was in the immediate neighborhood of the bridge later erected over the Republican almost directly west of the town.

E. W. Reed appears to have been the first to receive a license to engage in business at this point. His application, bearing date of July 8, 1873, and presented to the county board, was granted, the license being issued October 3, following, without charge, on condition that he file a bond with the county clerk in the amount of \$1,000.<sup>69</sup> One year later Mr. Reed received another license, the

64. *Ibid.*, Book 1, p. 278.

65. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 102.

66. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 102.

67. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 266.

68. *Ibid.*, Book 3, pp. 46, 74.

69. *Ibid.*, Book 1, p. 115.



county board prescribing ferry charges as follows: "For two horses and wagon and driver, 20 cents; one horse, buggy and man, 15 cents; footman, each way, 5 cents; loose stock, per head, 5 cents; one man and horse, 10 cents."<sup>70</sup>

Mr. Reed operated this ferry until March 11, 1875, when he petitioned the county board to release him from his bond as he had sold his ferry at Morgan City. The board granted his petition that he be released from any liability occurring after this date.

Charles Ehrhardt became the new owner, and this same day he presented his petition for a license to operate at this same location. He furnished the required bond, signed by himself, J. Stirling and Peter Young.<sup>71</sup> This ferry was operated regularly as late as 1881, being under the control of Timothy Martell on October 4, 1875; J. W. Luce, in 1876; Nathan Fowler and Thomas Truffly (?) in 1877, 1878 and 1879;<sup>72</sup> and A. Ehrhardt in 1880 and 1881. The license for 1880 fixed ferriage charges as follows: "Round trip, two-horse team, 20 cents; round trip, one-horse team, 15 cents; round trip, footmen, each, 10 cents."<sup>73</sup> The application for 1878 stated that the ferry was located on the section line dividing sections 6 and 7, T. 7, R. 2 E. This ferry site is shown in Bird & Mickle's *Historical Plat Book of Clay County*, 1881, page 49, as located on the NE corner S. 7, T. 7, R. 2 E. It was probably discontinued when the Morganville bridge was built. This bridge went out during a flood in the 1920's, and for a time an emergency ferry was put into operation to care for traffic.<sup>74</sup>

Eagle Bend, in the immediate vicinity of Morganville, also had a ferry that operated for several years. This location, as recorded in the Clay county courthouse, was in the extreme northeast corner of S. 7, T. 7, R. 2 E., practically identical with that of the Morganville ferry. It may have been a new name for the older ferry. On June 5, 1876, Timothy Martell presented a petition to the county commissioners for a license to operate a ferry at this location, paying a \$10 fee for this privilege and receiving authority to charge ferriage rates as already established. In 1877 he presented his petition for similar privileges.<sup>75</sup> Martell at this time was also operating a ferry at Rocky Ford. These are the only licenses issued by Clay county for ferry privileges to the Eagle Bend ferry.

70. *Ibid.*, Book 1, p. 190.

71. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 47.

72. *Ibid.*, Book 2, pp. 101, 173, 239, 363; Book 3, p. 74.

73. *Ibid.*, Book 3, p. 354.

74. Statement of George P. Lawson, Clay Center, to author.

75. Clay County, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, pp. 169, 266.

An article in *The Times*, Clay Center, January 4, 1934, described an interview with Tom Edmonds relative to the start of this ferry. It says:

. . . In 1873, he was herding cattle a little northwest of Clay Center for Tom Morgan. One day he saw men twisting wires to make a cable and within a short time they had a ferry in operation across the river. That was two miles west and one mile south of Morganville. That ferry is what is known as "The Eagle Bend Ferry." It was operated for some time. The ends of the old cable can still be seen twisted around the trees at Eagle Bend. Perry Peterson, mail carrier, confirms that statement, that the old cables are still visible. George Carl and Philip Girard own the land on each side of the river there now.

Another reader of *The Times*, writing to that paper from Clyde, said:

It was started there near 1878 by Timothy Martell from Clyde, and William McCaddon rented the boat near that time and ran it from April until October. It was situated north of the Snell farm on the west side of the river and between the Brazil farm, now occupied by Claude Stewart, and the Barrows farm, now owned by Carls on the east. We lived there in a little log cabin on the bank of the river.

The next ferry above Morganville was known as the Riverdale ferry, being between five and six miles by the river and about three miles downstream from Clifton. Riverdale post office was about two miles west of the Republican, and on a section road reaching the river between sections 13 and 24, T. 6, R. 1 E. *The Times*, Clay Center, in the issue of January 4, 1934, has an interesting article regarding ferries in this immediate neighborhood, as recalled by Frank Knapp, of Clay Center and formerly of Clifton. It says:

According to Mr. Knapp in 1871 there were two ferries across the Republican river northwest of Morganville. One was across the river directly west from the Crawford schoolhouse about 1½ miles, connecting land now owned by Henry Mellies. The other was directly west from the Sherman schoolhouse, about two miles, connecting the present Bauer-Pederson land. It was approximately 3 miles down from Clifton. This was the ferry known as the Riverdale ferry. It was operated by a man named T. L. Tanney (or Tenney). Mr. Knapp says that the ferry west of the Crawford schoolhouse was not operated long. The Riverdale ferry was much the better known. Mr. Knapp is not sure whether these two ferries were operated at the same time or whether the Crawford school ferry was moved up the river to the Riverdale neighborhood. All he remembers is that there were in 1871 ferries at each of these places.

The Riverdale ferry apparently was nearer the town in 1876 than it was in 1871. A notice in the *Concordia Empire*, June 23, 1876, said: "Riverdale Ferry. One mile east of Riverdale, on the most

direct route to Clay Center. Cross the Republican at Tinney and Greenwood's Ferry. They will cross you day or night."

A Clifton reader of *The Times*, in its issue of January 11, 1934, adds the following to Clay county's ferry history: "The Riverdale ferry was on the Harrison land, and, I think, run by a man named Tenney, from Morganville, and there was still another one near Pete Young's, and in 1870 there was no way to cross the river except to ford, only at Clyde was a pontoon bridge."

The only license for a ferry in the Riverdale neighborhood was issued on April 3, 1876, to T. L. Tinney and William Greenwood. They filed the required bond, paid a \$10 license fee and were allowed to charge the following rates of ferriage:

Two-horse team to cross and return same day, 20 cents; two-horse buggy to cross and return same day, 20 cents; one-horse buggy to cross and return same day, 15 cents; horseman to cross and return same day, 10 cents; footman, each way, 5 cents; loose stock and horses, per head, less than 5, 5 cents; loose stock and horses, 5 head or over, per head, 2 cents; hogs or sheep, per head, 2 cents; four-horse teams to cross one way, 30 cents; threshing machines to cross one way, 30 cents.<sup>76</sup>

Clifton, three miles above the Riverdale ferry, was the next ferry location. A crossing known as the Sturtevant ferry was said to have been in operation during the late 1860's, according to F. B. Dodds, of Lawrence. This enterprise was running before the bridge was built. However, the first ferry license located for this town bears date of April 2, 1878, when G. E. Brooks was granted the right to operate a ferry at or near the line between sections 5 and 6, T. 6, R. 1 E. To Mr. Brooks' application a \$1,000 bond was attached, signed by himself as principal and C. E. Doolittle, E. Dole and Wm. H. Rich as sureties. His license cost him \$10 and he was authorized to make charges similar to neighboring ferries.<sup>77</sup>

Apparently another ferry was in operation in this immediate vicinity the year before, for on November 9, 1878, an entry in the "Commissioners' Journal" recited: "The ferry license of H. A. Sutton and H. G. Reed for a ferry across the Republican river near W $\frac{1}{2}$  S. 14, T. 6, R. 1 E., in Mulberry township, expires the 12th inst., and the said parties have made application for a renewal, and it is ordered that license be granted for one year November 12, 1878, free of license fee."<sup>78</sup>

Mr. Reed must have approved of this location, for on December 20, 1878, the Clifton Ferry Company was organized, the incorpo-

76. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 155.

77. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 362.

78. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 441.



rators being Leavitt Bartlett, C. C. Funnell, G. E. Reed, E. W. Snyder and Albert Lavy. The new company was capitalized at \$200, in forty equal shares. The principal office of the company was at Clifton, and the ferry was south of town on the east line of S. 14, T. 6, R. 2. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 4, 1879.<sup>79</sup>

S. Bartlett applied for a license at this location on February 11, 1880, which was granted without fee upon his filing bond. His ferriage charges were uniform, costing patrons ten cents for each crossing for every kind of vehicle, or footman.<sup>80</sup> No record of licenses for 1881 and 1882 have been located. On April 15, 1883, A. Ehrhardt applied for and was granted the license for this location, this being the last date a license was granted.<sup>81</sup> This was the northernmost ferry site in Clay county.

The next ferry upstream was in Cloud county, and was located on the parallel about four miles above Clifton and three miles below Clyde. It was started in the spring of 1871 by A. J. Bradford. The *Concordia Empire*, of April 8, 1871, stated that it was to be running inside of a month, and the *Atchison Champion* of April 29, following, said: "There is a good rope ferry here and charges are reasonable." In November, that year, for reasons not stated, the ferry was not in working order, and stages to Concordia on the north side of the river were routed by way of Sibley.<sup>82</sup> Just how long this ferry was operated we have not learned.

Clyde was the next ferry location upstream. It was about six miles by the river, or four by wagon road from Clifton. The first ferry recorded at Clyde was in 1870, although it could not be classified as a permanent institution. Heavy rains occurred in Cloud county in September of that year, and Elk creek, which flows through the town, overflowed and caused considerable damage and inconvenience. Flood waters got into the pit of Kennedy's saw mill, at the east edge of town. While the water was up the boiler of the shingle mill was used as a ferry boat. Several bridges were washed away. The Republican river rose ten or twelve feet, but at Clyde did not greatly overflow its banks. It was falling by the latter week of September, and in the meantime people in the flooded district crossed in boats.<sup>83</sup>

79. Corporations, v. 9, pp. 272, 273.

80. Clay county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 355.

81. *Ibid.*, Book 3, p. 74.

82. *Concordia Empire*, November 25, 1871.

83. *Republican Valley Empire*, Clyde, September 20, 1870.

On April 24, 1871, the Clyde Bridge and Ferry Company was organized, the incorporators being A. W. Campbell, David Heller, Charles Davis and David Turner. The principal place of business of the company was at Clyde, and the charter secured from the state was for twenty years. Officers of the company included A. W. Campbell, president; David Heller, treasurer; David Turner, secretary, who were also directors, the other members being B. H. McEckron, A. J. Bradford, Charles Davis, Geo. W. Barnes, Ephraim Kennedy and William Hare. The company proposed to operate a toll bridge or ferry on or near the section line between sections 26 and 27, T. 5, R. 1 W., in Elk township, Cloud county, this being just north of the old Central Branch railway. This enterprise was capitalized at \$15,000, in shares of \$50 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state April 26, 1871.<sup>84</sup>

This ferry must have gone into operation shortly after the charter was obtained. The following year B. H. McEckron wrote the secretary of state, asking if their charter gave them control of the ferry rights for a distance of five miles each way from the ferry, no legislation having been had to that effect.<sup>85</sup> The secretary's reply, unfortunately, has not been preserved.

On March 14, 1872, the Clyde ferry was granted a license on payment of a \$25 fee to the county treasury. The board of county commissioners prescribed the following rates: "Team and wagon, 25 cents; single animal and wagon, 15 cents; horse and rider, 10 cents; foot passengers, 5 cents; loose horses and neat cattle, each 5 cents; sheep and swine, each 5 cents. The ferry company was required to post rates of ferriage in conspicuous places on both sides of the river."<sup>86</sup>

Ferryman as well as those wishing to cross on the boats had their worries. Floods made their business hazardous; winter put an end to it, while drouth halted operations at times. This latter condition obtained early in the spring of 1872, as will be seen by the following:

The Waterville stage did not arrive until quite late on Saturday night, and many thought it singular, as the day was pleasant and roads good. From Superintendent Scott we learn that while crossing on the ferry at Clyde, the boat grounded and after working a long time to get it afloat the horses were taken off and used to haul the boat ashore. This detained the coach a couple of hours. We make this statement in justice to the company.—*Concordia Empire*, April 13, 1872.

84. Corporations, v. 3, p. 264.

85. Secretary of State, "Letters Received," 1872, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

86. Cloud county, commissioners' proceedings, in the *Concordia Empire*, March 23, 1872.

This ferry operated as late as 1878, the last license record located being in the commissioners' proceedings for April 9, 1877, and granting a license in January 1, 1878.<sup>87</sup> On this date, however, the "ferry was not working. The river was full of running ice and the ferry boat was moored to the Clyde shore, unable to do duty. Consequently passengers on the stage, with their baggage and the mails, had to be crossed on the railway bridge—a procedure not so pleasant we apprehend, for the ladies and children, owing to the incomplete condition of the bridge."<sup>88</sup>

On July 7, 1870, the Concordia land office was opened, and immediately the tide of immigration set in to the Republican valley. As there was no bridge on the river nearer than Junction City these settlers were obliged to make use of the ferries when not able to ford the river. Some idea of this rush of settlers is indicated by the fact that the office was besieged for weeks and months by hungry land seekers, who sometimes stood in lines 200 or 300 yards in length, remaining night and day awaiting their turns to secure the coveted homestead or preëmption.<sup>89</sup> Awaiting their turn to cross the river at the ferries must have been irksome to these settlers, for as early as 1871 there was considerable talk in favor of bridges. These early attempts, however, came to naught, as some of the wiser heads in each county pointed out the heavy taxes such improvements would entail upon the settlers, and arguing that "Good ferries are being put in at every point where they are necessary." It was not until 1877 that an election to vote bonds for bridge purposes carried.<sup>90</sup>

While but few roads centered there, Clyde was quite an important early-day point. Stages from the Republican valley routed for Concordia and other points westward all crossed the river here. The road from Atchison to Clifton, running west on or near the first standard parallel, by way of Lancaster, Muscotah, Eureka, America and Irving City, was made a state road by the legislature of 1861.<sup>91</sup>

Capt. Nathaniel Fox, who purchased Seymour's ferryboat early in April, 1872, and moved it down the river to Bunton's ford, had the next ferry. He applied to the Cloud county commissioners for a license which the board considered at a meeting a few days later and refused, as being within the charter limits of the Clyde Ferry

87. *Concordia Empire*, April 27, 1877.

88. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1878.

89. Edwards' *Atlas of Cloud County, Kansas*, p. 9.

90. *Concordia Empire*, March 25, 1871, October 19, 1877.

91. *Laws, Kansas*, 1861, p. 252.



Co.<sup>92</sup> The *Concordia Empire* at this time stated that Mr. Fox's ferryboat at Bunton's was operating and running successfully, and that he claimed the route to Clyde from Concordia was two miles nearer than by any other route, that the road was better and that there was one less creek to cross. Mr. Fox evidently started his ferry with the intention of catching the cream of the travel up the river. In the *Empire* of April 13 appeared the following advertisement:

BULL RUN FERRY

I have established a ferry at Bunton's crossing of the Republican, and am prepared at all times of the day or night to cross teams or foot passengers. My boat is new and safe. The approaches are level and in good condition. The distance between Concordia and Clyde by this route is

TWO MILES LESS

than by any other, and there are not as many creeks to cross.

The following are the rates: Four-horse team, 40 cents; team and wagon, 25 cents; single animal and wagon, 15 cents; horse and rider, 10 cents; footman, 5 cents; sheep and swine, 3 cents each.

The commissioners evidently reconsidered Mr. Fox's application within the next week, for on April 20 their minutes recite that "License was granted to Nathaniel Fox to run a ferry at Bunton's ford on the Republican river, provided that he do not run the ferry within the limits of the Clyde ferry, measured by the channel of the river, and subject to the same conditions as the Clyde and Concordia ferries."<sup>93</sup>

Presumably Mr. Fox had not been worried by the action of the county board, for he kept ahead with his ferry, apparently running it free in the meantime, as the following might indicate: "The Bull Run Ferry (at Bunton's Crossing) is crossing over free all the good looking men in the country. Mr. E. A. Wannemaker availed himself of the privilege and reports the ferry in good order, and insists that it is the nearest way down the valley."<sup>94</sup>

In May, 1872, Captain Fox was not depending entirely upon the revenue derived from his ferry for a living, for his ferry advertisement also carried information to the effect that plenty of grain and hay could be obtained at the ferry for teams waiting to be crossed, and that meals could be had for 25 cents.<sup>95</sup>

Late that fall the editor of the *Empire* had occasion to cross the river on this ferry and mentioned the incident:

92. Cloud county, commissioners' proceedings, in the *Concordia Empire*, April 13, 1872.

93. *Concordia Empire*, April 27, 1872.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1872.

The other day we passed over the river on the boat run by Captain Fox, and must say that it was just no trouble at all. The boat is a very safe one, and large. The approaches are easy, enabling loaded teams to cross easily. The Captain has made arrangements for high or low water. As this route is nearest to Clyde and Waterville, and the road the levellest, the ferry is kept running a large portion of the time. Captain Fox is an enterprising boatman, and worthy of patronage.<sup>96</sup>

There has been no opportunity to consult Cloud county records for the years 1873 to 1875, inclusive, nor the newspapers covering those years, and it is barely possible that Mr. Fox did not operate his boat for that full period. On October 1, 1876, Burkdall & Ashlock filed a petition with the county board asking permission to run the Bull Run ferry for one year from that date. Their request was granted on payment of \$15.<sup>97</sup> Apparently there was a change in the management of the ferry in the spring of 1877, for commissioners' proceedings of date April 9, 1877, state that the application of Messrs. Venne & Gamper for a license to run the Bull Run ferry over the Republican on S. 29, T. 5, R. 1 W., until January 1, 1878, was granted, the license fee being fixed at \$15.<sup>98</sup> No further history has been located.

Lawrenceburg, seven or eight miles upstream from Clyde, and about six and one-half by land, had the next ferry, which must have been started in the spring of 1871. Although no record of a county license has been found for this ferry that year, the *Waterville Telegraph*, of May 17, 1871, states that "a ferry has been established across the Republican at Lawrenceburg, Cloud county." This ferry was operated for a short time in the spring of 1872, under the control of D. C. Seymour, before it went out of business. The following is an account of its "wind-up":

The Lawrenceburg ferry was sold quickly the other day. The proprietor, Mr. Seymour, was coming over to town when he met Mr. Fox, who bantered him for the boat. The price was given and accepted, and in a very short time Mr. Fox was on board the boat, cable hauled down, and on the way down the river to Bunton's, where it will be used hereafter. A new boat will probably be put in at Lawrenceburg. Mr. Seymour informs us that when he sold the boat, he supposed it would remain where it was.<sup>99</sup>

That an attempt to establish a new ferry at this point was made a few days after the sale is indicated by the following item in the commissioners' proceedings of April 10, 1872: "The proposition of Frank Lawrence to build a free ferry on the Republican river near

96. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1872.

97. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1876.

98. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1877.

99. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1872.

Lawrenceburg, and equip the same, and present it to the county, if the county would agree to maintain the same and run it forever, was rejected after due consideration."<sup>100</sup>

Another item from the above source, for August 10, 1872, stated that the Lawrenceburg ferry was nearly ready for operation. No further mention of this enterprise has been found.

The Concordia and Lawrenceburg Ferry Company had the next crossing above Lawrenceburg. This company was organized January 31, 1871, the incorporators being W. S. Symonds, Albert Neally, Hugh O. Regan, Patrick O'Brien and Timothy O'Brien. The new company was capitalized for \$300, with shares \$10 each. The company proposed to operate a ferry across the Republican at a point on sections 19, 20 or 29, T. 5, R. 2 W. Business offices were to be maintained at both Concordia and Lawrenceburg. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 24, 1871.<sup>101</sup> No further mention of this enterprise has been found.

On December 20, 1871, the Concordia and Clyde Ferry Association was organized, the incorporators being Calvin H. Sanders, D. C. Seymour, David Lilly, A. B. Seymour and F. Saunders. Its charter stated that the ferry was to be located in S. 20, T. 5, R. 2 W, in Cloud county, Kansas, with the place of business at the ferry. The incorporators were the first board of directors, and were to serve the first year. This charter was filed with the secretary of state December 23, 1871.<sup>102</sup>

D. C. Seymour appears to have obtained control of this ferry, which was about two miles slightly southwest of Lawrenceburg by land, and between seven and eight miles by the river. He was operating it in the spring of 1872, when he sold his boat and equipment to Capt. Nathaniel Fox, who floated it about twelve miles down stream to start the Bull Run ferry at Bunton's ford. Within ninety days Mr. Seymour built another boat and applied to the county board early in June for a license to operate a ferry on S. 20, T. 5, R. 2 W., which was granted free for one year, ferry charges being as follows: "One span of horses, or mules, or yoke of oxen, 25 cents; each additional animal, 10 cents; one horse and vehicle, 20 cents; each horseman, 10 cents; each footman, 5 cents."<sup>103</sup>

Concordia, about eight or nine miles by the river and a trifle over four miles by land, had the next ferry. In 1859 or 1860 a profitable

100. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1872.

101. *Corporations*, v. 3, p. 220.

102. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 56.

103. Cloud county, commissioners' proceedings, in the *Concordia Empire*, June 13, 1872.



ferryboat is said to have been in operation on the Republican just north of present Concordia. As there were comparatively few settlers in Cloud county at that time, it is more than likely this ferry picked up some patronage during the time of the gold rush to Pike's Peak. Concordia was located in 1869, and not until 1870 was there enough travel to justify a ferry at this point, though none was in operation that year. Early in 1871, however, it was announced that this want was to be supplied. In the *Concordia Empire* of February 11 the following item appeared: "It is expected that the ferry opposite this town will be in running order in three weeks. A good ferry anywhere between here and Clyde would surely have paid for itself and \$500 more than expenses since last fall, and been of great benefit to the traveling community."

The new ferry evidently was put into operation according to schedule, for the *Empire* of March 11, following, stated: "The new ferryboat was launched last Saturday [March 4] and is now in good running condition. Mr. Lanoue is fixing up the landing, and when completed will be all that the traveling public could wish."

Mr. Lanoue at this time also operated a saw mill, and had a blacksmith shop near his mill, and as soon as his ferry was gotten into running order, he advertised that parties who lived on the north side of the river who needed blacksmithing and had their work done by him, would be ferried free. He was spoken of as one of the most enterprising men in the valley and deserved success.<sup>104</sup>

An incident occurred at this ferry during midsummer, 1871, which furnished thrills for the principals. A Mr. Bogue, who lived on the north side of the river near Lake Sibley, had been at Concordia, and on his return drove on the ferryboat at Lanoue's crossing. The boat for some reason had not been properly secured, and when the fore wheels of the wagon struck the boat it was pushed into the stream, and the wagon, team, women and all were precipitated into the river, which was quite deep at that place. Mr. Henry Newman and James Hall plunged into the stream and rescued the women, who were badly frightened and very wet, and narrowly escaped drowning.<sup>105</sup>

Not always did this ferry work to the satisfaction of every patron. A resident of Clyde voiced his complaint to his home paper, which in turn was answered by the *Empire* of April 29, 1871, as follows:

A correspondent of the *Watchman* pitches onto our ferry because he was delayed a few hours, the boat being out of order. Of the hundreds who have

104. *Concordia Empire*, March 18, 1871.

105. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1871.

crossed, no complaint has been made. The enterprise is new, and as a matter of course it takes some time to get everything in first-class shape. The proprietor, Mr. Lanoue, has spared no expense in putting in a first-class ferry. He has dug down a steep bank and put probably two hundred loads of rock on the bar and in the river to make the approaches safe and convenient. The boat is strongly made of oak, and the wire rope is strong enough to stand the swiftest current. The charter for a ferry at Clyde was granted at the same time as the one for this place. How's your boat?

By September this year the river had reached such a low stage that it was no trouble to ford it any place. Fall rains, however, again made ferrying necessary, and Mr. Lanoue, just before cold weather set in, was allowing the teams loaded with coal to cross for one-half the regular rate, which generosity was duly appreciated by citizens who were obliged to make use of the ferry.<sup>106</sup> By November 28 teams were crossing on the ice, and early in December zero weather set in and put a stop to ferrying. However, Mr. Lanoue started advertising to keep his ferry before the traveling public. Beginning with the December 23, 1871, issue of the *Empire*, he carried the following advertisement of his enterprise:

#### FERRY AT CONCORDIA

A new ferryboat at Concordia has just been completed by the undersigned, and is in splendid running order. A substantial wire rope is used. The traveling public may rest assured that they will be properly attended to. We can ferry loads of any size.

H. LANOUE.

The winter of 1871-1872 was a cold one, and in January, 1872, ice men were putting up river ice twenty-two inches thick, and clean. Late in February this ice broke and went out. Four hours after it had broken the river rose some seven feet. For several days the river was in an impassable condition. Stages containing the mail from Waterville, then the end of the Central Branch railroad, were unable to cross the Republican for a day or two. Mr. Lanoue was ready and within four days after the river opened had his ferry running and was crossing teams and passengers safely.<sup>107</sup> Besides his ferry, saw mill and blacksmith shop, he was embarking in other lines. In March, following, he was completing a grist mill, and had formed a copartnership in the brewery business with a Mr. Geis of Concordia. He was also making preparations for the manufacture of 200,000 brick, and had contracted to erect a fine brick building on Main street for the Larocque Bros.<sup>108</sup> Lanoue's petition for a license for his ferry in 1872 was granted by the county board on

106. *Ibid.*, September 23, November 21, 1871.

107. *Ibid.*, January 13, February 24, 1872.

108. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1872.

March 14. License fee was fixed at \$25, and ferriage rates established as follows:

Team and wagon, 25 cents; single animal and wagon, 15 cents; horse and rider, 10 cents; foot passenger, 5 cents; loose horses and neat cattle, each 5 cents; sheep and swine, each 3 cents.

Said ferry company to have this list of rates of ferriage posted on each side of the river near the ferry.<sup>109</sup>

Lanoue must have found that it paid to stand in with the county officials, for Deputy Sheriff Votaw informed the editor of the local paper "that Mr. Lanoue crosses all county officers at his ferry free, when traveling on county business."<sup>110</sup>

An unfortunate accident occurred at this ferry late in 1872, which was recorded in the *Empire* of November 23, as follows:

The community was surprised and saddened, on Tuesday morning last, by the finding of the dead body of the ferryman at this place—a Swede, familiarly known as "Capt." Hohlenberg. The facts, as we learned them, seems to be, that after midnight the boat crossed over to the north shore with Mr. C. M. Albinson as a passenger—the ferryman being aboard, but unable, from intoxication, to work the boat, and obliging his passenger to work himself across. It seems that after landing Mr. H. must have gone to the edge of the boat, near the shore end, for some purpose, fallen overboard, and alone and helpless, miserably perished. He was found in the morning lying close to the boat; his feet touching it, and his head under the ice that had formed about him. The body was removed, and the coroner's jury, which met and examined it, returned a verdict of "Death by accidental drowning."

The "Captain," we understand, was at one time a Swedish soldier, and a member of the bodyguard of a Swedish king, and had seen a great deal of active service. He had four children, now in Sweden, to whom the news of his death in this far away land, will be a sad, sad message.

Lacking opportunity to consult county records or newspaper files for 1873, 1874 and 1875, the history of the ferry for those years is not known, but it is probable it changed hands during this time.

Manna and Gerard were granted a ferry license by the county board on January 3, 1876, upon paying a license fee of \$25.<sup>111</sup> As this license mentions no specific location, it may apply to Clyde, Concordia, Lake Sibley or any other locality on the river having a ferry. Late in June that year the *Empire* published the following:

On Sunday last, Esq. Eaves, who was at his ferry station, discovered a large black object moving in shallow water near the ferry. He went at once to reconnoiter and found a huge catfish, which had "foundered" and was unable to reach deep water again. He soon dispatched the fish with a pike pole, and had a 48-pounder for his pains.<sup>112</sup>

109. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1872.

110. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1872.

111. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1876.

112. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1876.



Eighteen seventy-six was not overly damp the first half of the year and for a month or more Eaves' ferryboat had been obliged to "lay-up." However, there was easy crossing at the ford, a few rods below the ferry.<sup>113</sup> The month of August, following, more than made up for the lack of water. For some days Concordia received no mail from any river towns on account of the bridges being put out of commission.<sup>114</sup>

While an attempt had been made to secure a wagon bridge in 1871, it was not until September 22, 1876, that the Concordia bridge was completed.<sup>115</sup> A celebration was held in honor of the event, and some speeches were made, the Concordia band being on hand to furnish music for the occasion. The home paper records that the celebration was not much of a success, for several reasons, one of which was a difficulty pending between the county boards and the contractors over the acceptance of the bridge and the final settlement.<sup>116</sup> A flood in the Republican in January, 1902, swept away the wagon bridge. The river at some points in the county was four miles wide. During the period of the flood the river cut a new channel about one-fourth of a mile north of the old one, rejoining the old course about one and one-half miles to the northeast. This left the Concordia electric light plant and mills without water power, and necessitated the building of a new bridge.<sup>117</sup>

Prior to 1870 there were few roads in Cloud county, but with the tide of home seekers coming on during the next few years, the county commissioners were kept busy acting on petitions of homesteaders and others who asked for new roads to be opened up. In 1871 the legislature established a state road from Concordia to Cawker City.<sup>118</sup> This road late that year became the route for a stage line operated by the Southwestern Stage Company between Concordia and Beloit.<sup>119</sup>

The town of Lake Sibley, located about two miles northwest of Concordia and about one-fourth of a mile north of the "lake," was the next ferry site upstream. The earliest mention of this crossing we have located is an item in the *Concordia Empire* of March 21, 1871, which stated that "A new ferry is being put across the Re-

113. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1876.

114. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1876.

115. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1876.

116. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1876.

117. Hollibaugh, *History of Cloud County*, pp. 146, 177.

118. *Laws, Kansas, 1871*, p. 298. Original plat of this road is in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

119. *Concordia Empire*, December 16, 1871.

publican two miles west of Lake Sibley, and will soon be in operation." Another item from the *Empire* of May 27, following, says: "Jenning's Ferry, two miles west of Sibley is now in good running condition. The boat is well made and competent men run it. Teams are charged 35 cents—other rates in proportion." The exact locations of Jennings' ferry and ford have not been found, but Edwards' *Atlas of Cloud County* shows a road leading west to the Republican from the vicinity of the town of Sibley, striking the stream at about two miles distant, either on sections 13 or 24, T. 5, R. 4 W. The only other mention of this ferry we have located is the following from the *Empire* of July 8:

Rev. M. P. Jones, pastor of the First Presbyterian church of this place, was out in all the severe storm of Sunday, on an open ferry boat in the river. He had been to preach at Sibley, but got caught on his return. Being wet to the skin, three miles from home, and church about to commence, he was in a somewhat unpleasant predicament. But he was equal to the occasion. Proceeding to the house of a friend he procured a suit of clothes though many times too large, and preached as usual. Mr. Jones is from Philadelphia, and though unused to frontier life, makes a capital pioneer minister.

About the time this ferry was started another was projected, its backers apparently having an eye on the same location. This organization styled itself the Lake Sibley Ferry Company, was organized March 28, 1871, and was to be located at or near "Jenning's Ford." The principal place of business was at Lake Sibley. The incorporators included A. R. White, C. M. Alberson, S. R. Miller, J. D. Robertson and W. G. Hay, who were also selected as the first board of directors for three months. The organization was capitalized at \$400, with shares of \$5 each, and was chartered for 100 years, their charter being filed with the secretary of state April 7, 1871.<sup>120</sup>

Andreas' *History of Kansas*, p. 1055, has the following reference to a ferry supposedly in this locality: "Messrs. E. B. Cook and W. Way had been with William Hemphill on the Republican river near the bend, assisting Judge Adams to build a ferry boat so as to make a more direct route between Atchison and Denver." The "bend" of the river mentioned must have been somewhere between Concordia and the south line of Republic county, as the parallel road ran westward close to the line of the first parallel. This road was laid out in 1859 under the supervision of Judge Franklin G. Adams, who served the Kansas State Historical Society for many years as its first secretary.

120. Corporations, v. 1, p. 238.



The earliest mention of a ferry in this vicinity appeared in the *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 17, 1859, and stated that one was "to be started at the town of Courtland, 79 miles west of Atchison, on the Great Parallel Route to the Gold Mines." There was no town of Courtland in Republic county at that time. The present town, six miles west of the river, was not established until 1885.

Scandia, 16 miles above the Sibley ferry, was the next crossing place on the river. Late in the year 1870 arrangements were being made to establish a ferry at what was then called Scandinavia. The first mention we have found of this enterprise appeared in the *Water-ville Telegraph*, of December 16, 1870, which stated:

The citizens of Scandinavia have closed a contract with A. B. Whiting for the construction of a ferry across the Republican there. The ferry will cost some \$700, and is to be a substantial affair. The approaches are to be of stone and brush. N. O. Wilkie is superintending the construction of the ferry.

Another mention of this enterprise appeared in the *Concordia Empire* of March 25, 1871, and stated that "A first-class ferryboat is to be put in the Republican at New Scandinavia soon. A strong wire rope will be used."

Mr. P. T. Strom, of Republic, in a letter to the author, gives the following first-hand information regarding this ferry:

The first ferry was put in operation in the spring of 1871. I can't recall who was the first ferryman, or who took out the charter, but I suppose you will be able to find the names of the charter members on file at Topeka, for I believe anyone operating a ferry was required by law to take out a charter. After an ex-government scout by the name of Charlie Hogan took possession of the ferry, there were many free rides across the Republican for little me and some of the other boys who made their playground around the landing place of the ferry. There were several others who ran the ferry, among whom I think was N. O. Wilkie and a Mr. Holmstrom. The ferry came to an untimely end in a heavy windstorm that filled her with water and sank her, and I suppose she is still there, buried in the sand. This ferry was located about on the section line on the north part of Scandia, directly west from the Swedish Methodist church. The banks of the river were low there and made a good crossing. If my memory serves me right, the ferry was followed by a pontoon bridge that served until a bridge was built. To operate the ferry a heavy steel cable was stretched tight from shore to shore. On the east bank of the river the cable was fastened to heavy anchor posts, well braced, while on the west side of the Republican was a grove of cottonwoods, one large tree of which answered the purpose of an anchor post. On this cable a pulley was slipped and a rope went from this pulley to each end of the ferry, and as the boat moved forward the pulley slipped along on the cable. Another rope was stretched from bank to bank, which was used to pull the ferryboat across the river. Sometimes, when the load was heavy, poles or what were called



hand spikes were used to push the old boat along. I do not remember how many years the ferryboat was in use, but I think it must have been about five or six years.

The *Empire* of March 2, 1872, contains a little additional information regarding this ferry, and says "The ferryboat . . . went down the river during the last rise, and the ferryboats at Sibley and Lawrenceburg shared the same fate. Mr. Lanoue hauled his boat a long way on land and managed to save it."

The Scandia ferryboat must have been recovered and again put in operation, for the *Empire* of April 20, following, stated that the boat stuck on a sand bar in the middle of the river during the time when ice was going out. In 1872 some of the residents of the community started agitation for a wagon bridge to span the river at this point. An election was held to vote on the proposition of issuing bonds for the purpose of bridge building, at which time the proposition was voted down by a majority of over 800. In some precincts every vote cast was against the bonds.<sup>121</sup> Late in the 1870's, however, a wagon bridge was built to replace the ferry, and served the needs of the community for several years. This structure was swept away on March 4, 1881, by high water, caused by the breaking of an ice gorge in the river. Two young men, M. C. Van Slyke and Tom Donahan, had occasion to cross the river at Scandia at this time, and set out in a row boat. They succeeded in getting within a short distance of the opposite shore when their boat sank. Tom being the best swimmer of the two reached the shore first, stripped off his coat and boots and plunged in and assisted Van Slyke to shore. It was a close call for both of them.

There was now a need for either bridge or ferry. Accordingly a public meeting was held at Scandia on March 4, 1881, and a fund of \$300 was raised to build a free ferry to be used until a new bridge could be built, active steps having been taken for that purpose at this time.

In the meantime T. P. Smith applied to the county board for a ferry license at this point, and was granted the right to operate his ferry at the quarter section line running east and west through the center of S. 17, T. 3, R. 4 W., with exclusive privilege for a distance of two miles north and two miles south. His license was dated March 9, 1881, and was for one year, the county board granting this monopoly for a \$10 fee, at the same time establishing the following rates of ferriage:

121. *Concordia Empire*, July 27, 1872.

Crossing span of horses and wagon, with or without family, 50 cents; second crossing same day, free; man and horse, each crossing, 15 cents; footman, 10 cents, horses and cattle (corralled on boat) per head, 5 cents; sheep and hogs, per head, 2½ cents; double rates of ferriage being allowed between the hours of 7 o'clock p. m., and 6 a. m., of next day.<sup>122</sup>

This move on the part of Mr. Smith to thwart the free ferry project is best told in an account taken from the local paper of the week following:

#### A FREE FERRY

On Friday last, immediately after the bridge was swept away, a meeting was called and steps taken towards making some arrangements for crossing the river. Finance and building committee were selected, a subscription raised to the amount of \$235. On Saturday the subscription raised and the cash paid down to the amount of \$350. Lumber was purchased, and the cable was ordered by telegraph and the building committee went to work and were straining every nerve to complete the same.

On Monday, while all this was going on, one of our worthy attorneys knowing what the citizens were doing, was secretly getting the commissioners together for the purpose of securing a license for one Thomas Smith, of Beaver township, also who had been in town for several days, and knew all the proceedings of our citizens, and who knowingly, in direct opposition to that which the citizens of this place were doing for a free ferry, went and succeeded by misrepresentations to the county commissioners, in procuring a license for Smith to run a toll ferry.

Another meeting was held Monday night when further steps were taken in the direction of a new bridge.

All passed along smoothly until Tuesday evening, when Mr. Smith returned from Belleville, went to our committee and proposed to give them but a few minutes to sell out to him all the material for which they had contracted and informed them that he had procured his license giving him control of the river for two miles north and two miles south of this place, and that no free ferry could run at this place. He then produced his license much to the surprise of our committee. This bold move on the part of Smith created considerable excitement on our streets.

Wednesday morning a number of our leading citizens repaired to Belleville, called a meeting of the board of county commissioners, laid down the true facts of the case, whereupon the board at once, seeing that they had been imposed upon, rescinded the action of their licensing a toll ferry, and pronounced it null and void.

The committee returned from Belleville, Wednesday evening, and gave in their report at the city hall during the evening, and read the rescinding order from the board of county commissioners, which was loudly applauded by all present.

The following resolution was passed by the assembly:

"Resolved, That we, as citizens of Scandia, extend to the people of Belleville our heartfelt thanks for their sympathies in the sad calamity that has

<sup>122</sup>. Republic county, commissioners' proceedings of March 8, 1881, in *The Journal*, Scandia, March 26, 1881.



befallen us in the loss of our bridge, and for their assistance in unearthing and correcting a base wrong that had been perpetrated upon us."

During Wednesday afternoon Mr. Smith crossed the river and returned to his home, likely not desiring to hear that his little game of bluff had so suddenly met its death.

The free ferry is almost completed, and will be in running order in a few days. Those from the west side of the river need not be uneasy about getting across to town as a free skiff will be run until the ferry is completed.<sup>123</sup>

On the completion of the boat there were busy times for the next few days. There were not a few emigrants who struck the place after the bridge had gone out and before the ferry was completed. They had to wait until the boat was ready.<sup>124</sup> Shortly after the new enterprise began operations, it suffered a mishap which is described in the following:

Some little excitement was caused Wednesday evening [March 7] at the landing of the ferry. The two men who have been running it had been hurried so much by parties desiring to cross from each side that they had not taken time to bail the water out of the boat, and as it had been leaking some little, and in the second place, the landing had been constantly falling in and washing out until it was badly in need of repair. A team from White Rock had just been driven onto the ferry and being somewhat excited were very restless and kept running from one end of the boat to the other, and at last to the extreme west end when it began to sink, the wagon being empty left the full weight on that end. The boat had just been started from this shore but was drawn back, the team unhitched, but the neck yoke could not be loosened from the pole of the wagon which caused some little delay. By this time the boat tipped and the horses were almost covered with water. The driver who was assisting in saving the team was compelled to leave them and swim out for shore; but the current was so swift as to make it almost impossible. He called for help and the skiff was sent to his assistance, but he reached the shore just as the boat got to him. Ed Dennison and Tom Denehy deserve great credit for the cool manner they displayed in the rescue of the man and team.<sup>125</sup>

A few weeks later two young men from the west side of the river undertook to take charge of the ferry. Just what they did is not recorded in the local paper, which briefly chronicles that they found somebody to take charge of them, for they looked through calaboose windows for some time.<sup>126</sup>

On March 22, 1881, a stock company was organized at Scandia for the purpose of building a bridge to span the river. They received their charter late in March or early in April. The corporation was capitalized for \$10,000, with shares at \$50 each. G. L. White was president; Isaac McClure, treasurer, and Ben F. Hershe, secre-

123. *Scandia Journal*, March 12, 1881.

124. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1881.

125. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1881.

126. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1881.



tary. One of the provisions of the charter was to sell to the county as soon as it saw fit to buy, by paying the cost of the property.<sup>127</sup>

During this time the free ferry was operating, but evidently had not proved to be a very satisfactory solution of the problem. The *Journal* of April 16 said the people were becoming tired of spending from five to ten dollars a day to keep it in operation, and it was decided to turn it into a toll ferry. Tom Smith, who previously had secured the ferry charter, was notified to this effect, it being supposed he had the first right on a licensed ferry. Mr. Smith very shortly made his way to Belleville, where the county commissioners were in session and insisted on having his old license renewed, stating to them he did not wish a new license. This request was refused and Smith stepped out to get legal advice, during which time a committee from Scandia appeared in the county board's office, presented a petition signed by A. D. Wilson and thirty-one others, asking that a license be granted to the Scandia Toll Bridge Company to operate a bridge over the Republican river at the foot of Fourth street, in Scandia, and that a ferry license be granted to said company in connection with the bridge license to enable the company to maintain and operate a toll ferry at this point until the company could complete its bridge. The license also asked exclusive control for a distance of two miles up and a like distance downstream on either or both sides of the river from this point. The petition was granted and a license issued for one year upon payment of a \$10 fee. Ferriage charges were the same as allowed in Smith's license.<sup>128</sup>

Work on a new bridge was commenced early in the fall, but was not pushed very vigorously. Early in September the *Journal* stated that it would "be done before election, but in the meantime candidates have to pay toll or ford it." An item in the issue of December 3, following, stated that "the pile driver doing work on the bridge at this place, fell into the river last Sunday, the false work underneath giving away." The bridge was completed early the following year.

The next ferry upstream was about ten miles by the river and twelve by road, and was located about one-half mile northwest of the present Pawnee Park bridge. This was popularly known as the Dan Davis crossing. For the early history of this enterprise we are indebted to P. T. Strom, of Republic. He says that the ferry was built in the spring of 1873, three of the charter members being R. T.

127. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1881.

128. *Ibid.*, April 16, 30, 1881.

Stanfield, Dan Davis and William Polley. There may have been other members, but he could not learn their names. As none of the company had any money to buy a cable, they wove their own by twisting thirteen strands of No. 9 smooth wire together, accomplishing this by the following method: A short oak plank, through which thirteen holes had been bored, was fastened to the rear wheel of a wagon. The thirteen wires were securely fastened together at one end and the opposite ends were thrust through the holes in the oak plank and were fastened to the wheel. This gave them a crude gauge to get a uniform twist on the wire. A pan with a good fire in it was moved a little ahead of the twist so as to heat the wires, making a better cable, they thought. Ralph W. Polley, son of William Polley, operated the ferry at the Dan Davis crossing during 1873 and 1874, after which it was sold to a Mr. John Trimmer. Mr. Strom secured these details from Ralph Polley, who, so far as he knows, is the only ex-ferryboat man alive in that section of the country. Mr. Polley said there were crooks even among those early-day prairie-schooner tourists. One of their favorite tricks was to present currency of large denomination in payment. Most of the time he could not make change, so had to let them go with the promise that they would be back this way next week. One day a traveler pulled a one hundred dollar bill on him, but Ralph happened to be prepared. When the traveler saw that the ferryman was going to change it, he said: "Wait a minute. I will see if my wife has any change." Ralph said, "No, I have so much in small bills I was hoping a man like you would come along." In passing over the big bill, the traveler said, "I've paid my way from Illinois with that bill."

Ferriage rates at this crossing were: "Team and wagon, 40 cents; horse and rider, 15 cents; cattle, 10 cents; footman, 10 cents." The bulkiest fare collected was two armfuls of jerked dried buffalo meat.

This ferry was operating as late as 1877, when R. Daniels and D. N. Davis presented a petition to the county board for a license at or near the mouth of White Rock creek. The petition was granted.<sup>129</sup>

A bridge built in the late 1870's put an end to the ferries. This bridge was destroyed early in March, 1881, when an ice gorge eight miles long above Republic City broke. At this time there was another and larger ice gorge reported at Superior, Neb., said to be

<sup>129</sup>. Republic county, commissioners' proceedings, July 2, 1877, in the *Belleville Telescope*, July 12, 1877.

worse than any other on the river. A new bridge was completed about the last of August, that year.<sup>130</sup>

There was another ferry about six miles upstream from the Davis-Polley ferry. In a conversation with Mr. Strom, C. C. Hobson, an old settler of Big Bend township, stated that his father, John Hobson, and J. C. Price constructed and operated a ferryboat one-half mile south of the Kansas-Nebraska line in 1874 and 1875, after which it was moved two miles west into Jewell county where it was used until a bridge was built across the Republican at Hardy, Neb. This is the last and most northern ferrying place on the Republican river in Kansas.

130. *Scandia Journal*, March 5, September 3, 1881.



# A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870

WILLIAM NICHOLSON

## I. INTRODUCTION

**C**RITICISM of the methods used by the United States government in its dealings with the Indians reached a fever heat in the latter 1860's. Considerable mismanagement was alleged on the part of many agents engaged either officially or unofficially in traffic with the Indians. President U. S. Grant, with a view to correcting these political abuses, delegated the nomination of the Indian agents to the several religious organizations interested in mission work among the Indians.

In his message to Congress delivered December 5, 1870, President Grant said:

Reform in the management of Indian affairs has received the special attention of the Administration from its inauguration to the present day. The experiment of making it a missionary work was tried with a few agencies, given to the denomination of Friends, and has been found to work most advantageously. All agencies and superintendencies not so disposed of were given to officers of the Army. The act of Congress reducing the Army renders Army officers ineligible for civil positions. Indian agencies being civil offices, I determined to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians, and perhaps to some other denominations who would undertake the work on the same terms, *i. e.*, as a missionary work. The societies selected are allowed to name their own agents, subject to the approval of the Executive, and are expected to watch over them, and aid them as missionaries to christianize and civilize the Indian, and to train him in the arts of peace. The Government watches over the official acts of these agents, and requires of them as strict an accountability as if they were appointed in any other manner. I entertain the confident hope that the policy now pursued will in a few years bring all the Indians upon reservations, where they will live in houses, have school-houses and churches, and will be pursuing peaceful and self-sustaining avocations, and where they may be visited by the law-abiding white man with the same impunity that he now visits the civilized white settlements.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuant to the President's instruction, the Society of Friends undertook to select the agents for Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian territory. At a meeting of "The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs," held at Damascus, Ohio, May 18,

1. *Congressional Globe*, 41st cong., 3d sess., 1870-71, pt. 1, p. 9.

1870, the Washington committee reported as follows: "Under authority given us in the first month, we have selected and appointed Dr. William Nicholson as General Agent of the Associated Executive Committee."<sup>2</sup>

This branch of the society (Orthodox Friends) appointed several committees to take charge of the missionary work among the Indians. Since it was impossible for all members of the executive committee who were charged especially with the work among the Indians to visit the various agencies under its control and to report their condition and progress, one of its members, Doctor Nicholson, was delegated to perform that duty.<sup>3</sup> He divided his time between Washington and the Central Superintendency, which district included the Indians in Kansas and part of the Indian territory. It was on the first of these inspection tours taken in the fall of 1870 that Doctor Nicholson made the observations in his diary which are here reproduced.

Doctor Nicholson was by vocation a physician. He obtained his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1850 and practiced in the neighborhood of his home at Belvidere, N. C. By avocation, however, he was an active member of the Friends' meeting, and was a leader in what would now be called social service work. His family consisted of his wife Sarah, and two sons, William and George T. The latter was for many years associated with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, and died in 1913, while holding the position of vice president in charge of traffic.

At the close of the Civil War Doctor Nicholson was a delegate to the North Carolina state constitutional convention. Later, while still engaged in his Indian work, he moved to Lawrence where his family joined him. The *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* publishes a report he made at a conference of missionary societies meeting with the board of Indian commissioners in Washington, D. C., January 11, 1872.<sup>4</sup> The following day, at a convention of representatives of the various religious denominations engaged in the work of Christian civilization among the Indians of the United States, Doctor Nicholson was chosen secretary.<sup>5</sup> On February 1, 1876, he became superintendent of the Central Superintendency<sup>6</sup> and served

2. From a copy of the minutes of the proceedings furnished the Kansas State Historical Society by Mrs. Arthur M. Jordan of Chapel Hill, N. C.

3. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 1871-72, v. 1, s. n. 1506, p. 597.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 583-586.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 599.

6. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1876, p. 68.

for a term. A copy of a letter from C. Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, dated at Washington, May 6, 1878, acknowledges receipt of a notice from the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs announcing the appointment of Dr. William Nicholson as their general agent.<sup>7</sup> He was elected to the Kansas house of representatives from Douglas county in 1880.

Mrs. Arthur M. Jordan (Carrie Nicholson Jordan), of Chapel Hill, N. C., daughter of George T. Nicholson and granddaughter of Dr. William Nicholson, recently presented the diary to the Kansas State Historical Society for publication and preservation. She writes that Doctor Nicholson "was a tall man, grave and rather serious of mien, and possessed of that gentle dignity which is so often characteristic of the Friends."

The diary itself was recorded in pencil in a pocket-sized daybook bound in black cloth. The first eight pages contained miscellaneous and disconnected memoranda having to do with names of persons desiring employment in the Indian service, notes on Friends churches, and personal expenditures all of which was not deemed of sufficient interest to publish here.

Included in these memoranda, however, were the following notes, obviously set down to guide him in a personal survey of the health of the tribes, and of the provisions made for schools and religious training:

#### MEDICAL INQUIRIES—

Diseases—of the Lungs, Alimentary Canal, Brain, Skin—acute and chronic

Intermittent & Remittent Fevers

Typhoid Fever

Syphilis primary &c—

Gonorrhea—

Scrofula—

Diphtheria—

Parturition—average duration, difficulties and dangers—

Post parture difficulties, hemorrhage, Child bed fever— Mammary abscess  
&c Displacement of the Uterus— Frequency of births— Average number  
of children— Age of puberty & period of decline of the Menses—

Treatment during & after labor—

Treatment of new born children—

Food of children— Bathing, dress—

Mortality in childhood— Youth & mature age— average of life—

Twin births. Effects of intermarriage amongst themselves and with other  
races—upon vitality, health, & mental & moral characteristics—

7. From a copy of a letter from C. Schurz furnished the Kansas State Historical Society by Mrs. Arthur M. Jordan.



Prevalent vices—

Intellectual development—

Social affections— Conjugal affection— parental— filial— tribal.

Loyalty to their chiefs or other powers of government— Physical— endurance of pain— fear of death—

Religion—Ideas of a Supreme Being and of a future state— Sin and atonement— Strength of their feeling of moral obligation

Civilization— grade— tendency whether upwards or downwards—

Government—form— laws— enforcement & enactment—

Physical development— Muscular— nervous— bony— fatty—

Color— hair— beard— teeth

Language— Marriage— Burial &c— Increase or decrease—

Name of Agency— Agent and address—

Location, bounds & size of reservation

Number of persons in each tribe—

Lands in severalty or common. If both in what proportion—

Do they follow the chase—

Any schools— Who conduct them How are they supported— To what denomination are the Teachers attached— Average no. in Schools Number of children receiving instruction— Number in all of a suitable age to go to school

Does Government provide any support to schools—

Any school for special religious instruction—

Any openings for schools—

Aid in agriculture from the Government— Treaties in force—

Is their location regarded as permanent.

The first entry in the diary proper was dated on October 4, 1870, at the Kaw Agency in Kansas, and it is here the following reproduction begins. The portion printed is a connected narrative of Doctor Nicholson's tours of inspection from this date to December 28, 1870. In it he described his visits to agencies in eastern Kansas and the Indian territory, made comparative estimates of the industry, morals, customs, sanitation, health, and religious activities of the various tribes on the reservations, and impartially recorded the attitude of the white man—the trader, the missionary, the soldier, the Indian agent and the settler—toward the Indian. Interspersed were copious accounts of his attendance at religious gatherings, in nearly all of which he took a leading part.

Lawrence, the headquarters of the Central Superintendency, was the starting point for these inspection tours. Kansas agencies were visited first. In the latter part of October he left for the Indian territory or what is now Oklahoma, via Humboldt and Chetopa. In the territory he visited in turn the agencies of the Delaware, Osage, Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Cheyenne and Arapahoe, Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Creek Indians.

He arrived at Okmulgee on December 5 and attended the adjourned session of the first general council of the Indian territory where, with other United States Indian officials, he advised the assembled Indian delegates. A provision was made in the Indian treaties of 1866 for the establishment of this council of all the tribes resident in the Indian territory. For various reasons the council was not called until September 27, 1870. After a four-day meeting it adjourned until December when a proposed constitution for the Indian territory was reported, considered and ordered to be submitted to the several tribal councils for ratification or rejection. Delegates from the Cherokee, Creek, Ottawa, Shawnee, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Peoria, Sac and Fox, Osage, Seminole, Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes were in attendance.

Doctor Nicholson has faithfully recorded the proceedings of this adjourned meeting and has summarized the chief provisions of the new constitution. Many hoped that the machinery set up at this meeting would make the Indian territory a regularly organized territory of the union, with a legislature, a delegate in Congress, and all the usual offices of a civil government. But the Okmulgee constitution, as the document framed by the council came to be known, was never ratified by the legislatures of the several civilized tribes and congress failed to act upon it.<sup>8</sup>

After the council's adjournment Doctor Nicholson and party set out for Lawrence via Fort Gibson and Chetopa. He arrived there on December 28 and left immediately for the East, abandoning his diary for a time.

Daily entries were regularly resumed in the diary on April 14, 1871, two days after he returned to Lawrence. He again took up his work in the Central Superintendency as the general agent of the Associated Executive Committee of (Orthodox) Friends on Indian Affairs. Entries were continued until June 24, 1871, when the book was filled, but his daily notations were briefer, less connected and more concerned with personal affairs than formerly; hence they will not be included in the two installments of the diary published in this and the November issues. Doctor Nicholson records several visits to Friends meetings during these two months. Several more pages were devoted to names, addresses, and qualifications of persons seeking employment.

8. The minutes of the September and December meetings of the General Council of the Indian territory and a copy of the proposed constitution were republished by the Oklahoma Historical Society in its *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (1925), v. III, pp. 33-44, 120-140, 216-228.

## II. ENTRIES FROM THE DIARY: OCTOBER 4 TO DECEMBER 28, 1870

[Kaw Agency]

10 mo. 4 - 1870

Kaw Agency—Mahlon Stubbs, Agent Mahlon Newlin, Trader—  
Joseph Newson, Farmer. Nathan & Mary Ann Pinson, Teachers—  
Address Council Grove, Kansas —

Reservation 9 Miles N & S by 14 E & West—traversed by Neosho  
River from NW to S. E—about one third valley land—remainder  
bluff & high prairie—the latter poor— Missouri, Kansas & Texas  
R. Road traverses the reservation on the East side of the Neosho—  
with right of way & privilege of timber—

Kaws—the company [illegible] \$ [uncertain] for timber— The  
annuity of the tribe is \$10,000—payment annual— They trade  
beforehand to the amount due each & so the money passes directly  
into the hands of the trader who furnishes his own capital— The  
quality of the goods is excellent & the tribe has been well fed this  
year—

\* \* \* \* \*

(The Kaw delegation of 1866 left the facts on file at Washington  
concerning annuity due said tribe by default of Agent & sureties.  
Said facts were set forth in a treaty made in 1866 but not ratified.  
The treaty made with R. R. Company in 1869 acknowledges that  
\$18000 are due them & should draw interest, if the Kaws have to  
pay interest on their indebtedness

Dickey, Agent about 1857 or 58 used funds appropriated for bene-  
fit of Indians when they left Topeka about 1859— Treaty left with  
Mix, who has facts— Montgomery preceded Dickey & is accused  
of making a false pay roll & getting \$2000— Treaty of 1866 (with-  
drawn) acknowledges interest & principal about \$23000)

\* \* \* \* \*

Their Buffalo hunt was successful having captured about 500 last  
winter & an equal number this summer. They will go again this  
fall— Their corn, beans & pumpkins are more than usual, not-  
withstanding the dry weather— They are busily engaged in drying  
these for winter— A few of them live separately in the houses  
built by Government, but most of them are in their own wigwams  
in villages. Houses are warm & dry—made of bark or buffalo hides  
opening at top for smoke & light & at each side (if large) for en-  
trance the latter closed with buffalo skin when necessary— No  
stock but ponies & dogs— A very few keep pigs— Make their own



saddles. two forks are selected & then side pieces & all covered with raw hide & highly ornamented sometimes with brass tacks &c. Lariette ropes are sometimes made of horse hair— first twisted into small strands & then 5 or 6 twisted into a rope  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter—

They are addicted to horse racing betting ponies, blankets & even their shirts sometimes— They often have dances— Most of them have shirts & leggings—the latter sometimes of flannel & sometimes of buffalo skin Their moccasins are mostly of the latter material & some of them highly ornamented with beadwork— All wear breach cloths & blankets— Some of them have very fanciful dresses One had a head band of nice fur (otter) over the forehead was beadwork in the shape of two infant's hands, on each side was a buffalo horn, one painted red, the other green, & a long strip of otter fur descended from the back part down nearly to the floor & highly ornamented with tape &c— Their ears have 4 perforations each & sometimes each perforation is loaded with an assemblage of trinkets. Faces painted red with blue & black streaks— They must suffer much from wet feet— Hair is mostly cut close or shaven except on the top of the head— Women have long hair, but dress much as the men— The men pull out their beard with spiral wire pressing the coil over their faces & compressing the spiral & pulling it— Hair black & coarse—teeth mostly good & White but concealed by the lips—

They are polygamous & put away their wives when they please— & these divorced wives can marry again— Wives can leave their husbands also—but if a man steals another's wife, he is liable to summary vengeance— Men purchase their wives and at a very early age—girls of 12 or 14 are often sold & thus it is difficult to secure the attendance of girls at School— They have something of a marriage ceremony— The bridegroom takes his presents to the parents of the bride A crier calls for objections if there be any & then they proceed to the wedding feast—

Parturition is attended with some difficulties & dangers, but probably with no greater than with white women They are usually up & around soon after perhaps the next day— During the process they walk about sit or lie according to their own preference— Very many children die in infancy—they are poorly cared for often—tied upon a board for some months & then tucked under the blanket between the woman's shoulders— Very many of the children are Scrofulous Enlarged—indurated & suppuration [of] cervical glands or cicatrices of previous suppuration— I saw several afflictions of

the skin which seemed to be syphilitic— Many are marked with Small pox & I think it important that the tribe be vaccinated again—the last vaccination was totally unsuccessful—

The greatest mortality amongst the adults is in Spring— Pneumonia is the most fatal disease. Whenever a man gets very sick, they are apt to despair of his recovery & so they cover him closely with blankets & almost suffocate him to death rather helping him along to the happy hunting ground— Their custom is to bury without coffins & to put the clothing, bow & arrows & many small articles into the grave, with a plate of food & after the grave is filled they choke a pony to death over it & leave it there

They believe in a resurrection of the dead & think the person will need all these things when he comes to life again. The physical development of very many of the men is very good—stout muscular frame. But the majority are rather under size— Very many have a good proportion of the fatty constituents of the frame—but the most are lean looking—altho they have recently been well fed— I suppose protracted exposure to inclemencies of weather and irregularities in the supply of wholesome food have gradually interfered with proper nutrition &c— I presume that Pneumonia could be less frequent amongst them if their clothing & food were better—their moccasins do not keep their feet dry—& their blankets & leggings are a poor substitute for close fitting coats & pantaloons—but they will not wear white men's clothes— They are quite indisposed to adopt the habits of civilized life.

Unchastity is a very prevalent vice amongst the females. They do not have a very strict regard for truth, especially in matters of trade— They have not a great respect for the rights of property though not notoriously thievish—

Their conjugal attachment is not strong—but parental and filial affection is well developed— Their form of Government is now republican—the head chief is elected once in 4 years & their Council men once a year— Their religion is monotheistic—& they sometimes subject themselves to punishments to atone for sin or appease the displeasure of the Great Spirit— They have no ideas of a Savior or Redeemer— When a great man is dying they try to help him bear his suffering by afflicting themselves—cutting themselves &c &c—

In smoking they frequently puff the first whiff of smoke upwards as an offering of thankfulness to the Great Spirit— Previous to their hunts they go through with various ceremonies to secure the



help of the Great Spirit in their expedition— Möbegu Kinnekinick—

In smoking they mix sumach leaves with the tobacco—& in the process of smoking they inhale the smoke into the lungs & force it through the nasal passages in expiration— Some of their hatchets or tomahawks have a pipe in the hammer part & the handle has a canal through it communicating with the pipe—the end of the handle is shaped to be put into the mouth—handle of hickory the pith being burned out—when one has smoked awhile he passes it to another & he to another & so on. The men nearly all use tobacco in some way— The women seldom use it. The School is not very encouraging—average 20

The superintendent has \$100 for each scholar & is responsible for all expenses— The parents do not like for their children to go to school & the children often run away & go home— By allowing them to go home once a fortnight & then going after them in a wagon, some gain has been made— But the great trouble is when they leave school their friends & others make so much fun of them that they soon drop English language & citizens dress & go back into Indian habits— It is doubtful whether the boarding School system is best unless the children can be kept permanently away from the tribe. By establishing *day* schools, the children might not seem to improve so rapidly, but the older people would be lifted up with them & the children become accustomed to association at the same time with both teachers & Indians & thus be able to act out the lessons taught in the School before their own people.

The annual payment of the Kaws occurred on the 6th of 10 mo. & was made by their agent, assisted by A. C. Farnham, Chief Clerk of Supt. Hoag— They have been in the habit of trading to the amount of \$10. for each individual in advance of their payment & so of course the money passes directly into the hands of the trader— The \$10. each does not exhaust the annuity now & usually they divide the surplus & receive it in money— But owing to scarcity of provisions the last winter, they all agreed, with consent of the Superintendent to take it up in advance, in flour, coffee, sugar &c. &c. & so their surplus of \$1080 was also due to the trader— This being different from their usage, although they had fully consented to it & had received the full benefit of the arrangement, seemed at first to make them dissatisfied—they wanted the \$1080 divided amongst themselves & seemed to dislike very much to see it paid over to the trader— The whole thing had to be repeatedly explained to them



& then they waited a long time before the chief & councilmen would sign the pay roll. At last they told the trader that he must roll out some presents to them—that the old traders did &c &c—he told them he would give them some crackers & tobacco & then they signed & went out to receive their presents. They soon had the boxes opened and the articles were regularly and systematically divided— One head man divided the tobacco into 2 equal parts & gave each part into the hands of another & so on & another head man divided the crackers in the same way & they soon were all ready to start home except a few who lingered about the agency to get their supper. The former traders were in the habit of putting on about 100 per cent & then to keep the good side of the Indians, they made presents of trinkets, tobacco &c— Under the present policy of giving good articles at a moderate profit, the trader cannot afford to make many presents and altho' the Indians are delighted with the quality & quantity of their goods, they cannot seem to understand why the trader now will not make presents & incline to think him selfish, stingy & unfriendly to them & in these notions they are encouraged by persons around them who are unfriendly to the present arrangement & who lose no opportunity of making the Indians dissatisfied with their present agent & trader &c

The difference in language often gives rise to difficulty from simple misunderstanding

Another thing which gave dissatisfaction at the payment was that the Railroad company had failed to pay what it owed the Indians for wood— The most of them had traded out their full portion of this money & of course did not care, but a few had not traded all of theirs & so they insisted that the trader should pay them the balance— This he was unwilling to do, for he had already furnished goods for the principal portion & in case of a failure of the R. R. Company, he (the trader) would lose that & he did not feel justified in paying out cash for the balance— Sheginah & several others seemed very much out of humor about it— The contract with the Company was only to run 12 mos. & was limited to getting ties for that part of the road in the reservation— But Robt. Stevens, the Company's agent, wrote the contract without limit as to quantity—so that the company got some advantage unjustly, & as to how much timber they got there is no means of knowing except their own statement

10 mo. 7th 1870

To-day they met to enrol—but wanted a council first—Allagawa-hu their chief made a long speech & seemed to dwell upon the fact that they merely *saw* their money but never handled it—that the trader got it all &c— This was all explained again & again. Then they wanted a conference amongst themselves— So we retired— And when recalled, they said they wanted to trade, but not to be credited for their annuity—they wanted to save that & have it in money—but wanted the trader to let them have goods & they would go off upon the hunt & pay him in furs— He told them he was not willing to trade in that way but if they brought any furs he would buy them. They then declined to enrol & so after considerable conversation they went to their homes—

If the Kaw Reservation be sold at \$2.50 per acre it will amount to \$201,600. Their trust lands will pay their indebtedness— Their new reservation in the Indian Territory will cost \$46,000, leaving \$155,520

10 mo. 8th 1870

Kaw Council. Allaga, wâ hu the head Chief absent on account of sickness of his mother in law. The subject of their removal to the Indian Territory, west of 96° on Cherokee Lands—their new reservation to contain 160 acres for each individual of their tribe was opened by reading a letter from Indian Office at Washington & one from Supt. Hoag's Office & a clause of Cherokee treaty. Various important considerations were brought to their attention by Agent Stubbs. They talked over the measure & desired until the 10th to talk with their people & are to report at that time.

10 mo. 10th

The Council with the head chief & a large number of the tribe met & had the whole subject again explained to them by the Agent. They then took an hour or more for consultation & when we were recalled Allagawâhu the head chief made a speech in which he said they had concluded to send a delegation of the Kaws & half breeds with the Agent to view the country & if they liked it they would be willing to go. They wished to see the country & know about the water & the trees & to scratch the land to see if it would bring corn &c—that they wanted good land so they could walk the white man's road, follow the plow &c—that if their Great Father could move their present land and river and timber all down there, they would go altogether at once but as they would have to leave their present good land they wanted to see whether they could find more as good

as that is. They wanted to sell their land directly to their Great Father. Did not want to bargain with any body else &c. They wanted to go down there to see the country at once while the leaves were green & did not want to wait until they would have to dig under the snow to see what kind of soil it was. He wanted to live like white men and did not wish to have anything to do with the wild southern red men, alluding to Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches &c—said they would come and eat with the Kaws out of the same spoon & sit by the same fire & then go off & shoot them. He did not want to mix with them. He wanted to follow his plow with the white man & if the wild Indians killed him at his plow, he wanted his children still to follow the plow & to be the white man's friend— Wâ-pah, gu followed him in confirmation— Ca-wal-o gu (the giant of the tribe in stature) followed in the same strain & so did Fool-Chief & Pâ-du-cah-gah-lu. After some remarks from the Agent & some of us congratulating them upon the harmony and excellent conclusions of their council, they were again requested to consider the subject of enrollment & they agreed to come tomorrow and enrol & so separated in good humor. They had seemed very unsettled for several days. The days were rainy & during their last council the sky cleared— So their mental condition coincided with the weather—Post hoc sic non propter hoc.—

Paducahghalu wishes me to send him a copy of the treaty which he signed He gave it to Mix at Washington—

Joseph James, Interpreter of Kaw Indians—a half breed

Frank James—a brother—

Jos. Dunlap U. S. Marshall

Huffaker, former trader

We gave the Indians all the encouragement we could to send their children to school whilst the delegation went to view the country & whilst many others of them went to the Buffalo hunt.—

10 mo. 11th

Left Kaw Agency— Took train at Big John, a flag station in front of Agency buildings—on my way to Lawrence via Emporia & Topeka, to consult with Enoch Hoag, who I learned has returned from Ind. Territory— Stayed at Topeka.

In Kaw language Yolly means "Good"— Edodge means the Agent or Father—

Williamson, Ch Clerk in financial department of the Interior Office 50 millions



Clum, Chief Clerk of Commissioner Parker

New York Indians have 32 certificates for Land patents for land near Ft Scott, now occupied by settlers—1 certificate is in Neosho Agency—the others in Department at Washington, filed by Agent G. C. Snow—

Young officer Thompson at Ft Gibson—intimate friend & room mate of Leut. Whipple at Pottawattomie, stationed at Ft Riley.

[Quapaw, Seneca and Shawnee Reservations]

10 mos 12—left Topeka at 4.30 A. M. for Lawrence—found Edwd Earle on train who had been to Pottawattomie Agency looking for me— Met Enoch Hoag & Asa Tuttle at Lawrence Depot & so we all went on together to Baxter Springs. Arrived at night & found John D. Lang one of the President's unpaid Commission & [incompleted]

10 mo. 13 We all (except A. C. Tuttle who took stage for his school) left Baxter for the Quapaw who were to receive their payment by Williamson the Government Agent, commissioned as paymaster— This payment is of \$90,000, as provided in last Indian Appropriation Bill as indemnity to the Indians of the Quapaws & Shawnees Senecas & mixed Senecas & Quapaws for losses sustained during the war in the destruction of their stock & other property. Genl James Blunt bargained with these Indians to endeavor to secure indemnification for these losses, for one third of the amount secured. He says he succeeded in getting Article XII reinserted into the Omnibus treaty with various tribes after it had been stricken out by the Senate's Committee on Ind. Affairs— That it was shown there had been a quasi treaty with these Indians & the Confederate Government which prejudiced their claim & had to be satisfactorily explained & that he was at a great deal of loss of time & spent a great deal of money in securing the claim That he has paid out \$6000 & may have to pay out 10000 more. And that he does not think he will make a very big thing of it &c— It seemed to all of us a very large per cent and whilst I did not feel at all like encouraging the Indians to repudiate their obligation I tried to prevail upon Gen Blunt to return to them a few thousand doll— for Educational purposes— I think the whole thing had been carefully explained to them— They sent voluntarily to Genl Blunt to get him to press their claim & each of them had signed an agreement to give him one third of what he could secure for them & if he did not secure anything he was to have nothing— This had been care-

fully explained repeatedly by their Interpreter & seemed to be fully understood

Two Commissioners had been sent out by the Government to pass upon the claims & had made out an amount of \$110,000 or about that— The claim of about 12000 was rejected as the woman had gone amongst the Cherokees or Creeks to reside & the amount was cut down to \$90,000 by Congress— Secretary Cox had commissioned ——— Williamson to pay this money to each claimant according to the roll— I had no authority to control the money after it had passed from Williamson's hands— So it was handed to the Indian—he passed it to the Agent Mitchell; he paid the traders' claims & & handed over  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent to Genl Blunt & the balance was given back to the Indian— There seems to be no way to regulate the amount charged by these claim agents unless Congress will pass some law to regulate it. All business of the Indians ought to be transacted through their regular Agents who are directly responsible to Government & no percent charged, as these agents are paid for their services by the Government— But it has become so much the habit of Govt to delay payments justly due unless there is some one present at Washington to prosecute claims that it has given rise to the present system of claim Agents & attorneys in the Indian Department Pension office—Land office &c & there is real difficulty in getting anything done except through these agencies & thus the claimants have to sacrifice a considerable part to secure the balance— This system also gives rise to the presentation of false claims & monied influence often prevails to get these false claims allowed— This is really a great business & the country is often cheated out of large amounts.

These Quapaws, Senecas &c are very poor—and very much in need of schools— They mostly dress as citizens—and are very desirous of having schools— They are self supporting and are beginning to get cattle, horses &c all of which they lost in the war. Many of them speak English— The Ottawas have a school taught by A. C. Tuttle & wife & the Peorias have a house nearly ready and a young man John Collins Isaacs, has come from Philada. to teach their school— Philada. Friends have furnished \$1000 for the Ottawa School & will assist some in the Peoria School— J. M. Hiatt assisted by Lindly Pickering have opened a store at the Agency— Many of these people go to Seneca a town in Missouri & get whiskey— Their greatest and most urgent need is to have good schools—

We met on the 14th of 10 Mo— Paymaster Williamson (Jas. A.)



Jocnic &—Pilkinton sent by Secretary Cox to make the payment— Genl Blunt, Agent Mitchell & they commenced the payment in the afternoon— J. D. Lang and E. Hoag left for Baxter— E. Earle & myself remained.

These Indians are greatly advanced above the condition of the wild tribes— They are very decently clothed and the women look altogether better than the Kaw women— The Agent's wife speaks very highly of their good qualities & their anxiety to learn, in cooking making clothing &c— She had an Indian woman assisting her in her household duties— She seems to take a real interest in the welfare of these people & is certainly a superior lady— I am persuaded that she has a deep Christian solicitude for their real improvement— At night they gathered around their camp fire & some of them engaged in what they called a dance—which was much like a children's game— A circle of them kept moving around the fire & kept up a sort of tune—the drummer beating his drum at the same time— Drum made of a *churn* with Buckskin stretched over the head of it— They did not move the feet much in the dance except in moving around the fire—most of the motion being in a rapid movement of the knee & ankle joints Some of the women joined in the exercise— The Senecas are a decidedly *religious* people but have not been instructed in Christianity— Once a year they offer a dog in Sacrifice— They select a white male dog—keep him shut up & as clean as possible feed him highly so that he shall be very fat & at the proper time he is killed & suspended & a fire kindled under him & as he burns & the smoke ascends, they say their prayers & express their gratitude & they believe that these prayers & praises ascend upon the Smoke to the Great Spirit and they believe that He hears them. An instance was related to me in which this sacrifice was made in time of great drought & they prayed for rain & very shortly the rain came, as they believe in answer to their prayer— They are superstitious & have somewhat objected to Schools—partly because the Christian religion is not exemplified in the character of a large part of the white people with whom they have been brought into contact— They consider white people as the representatives of Christianity & they judge of the system by the character of those whom they consider its representatives— This is perfectly natural—but very unfortunate. How much they need the constant presence of solid, earnest loving Christians to live amongst them & teach them by example as well as by precept— I believe that Lindly Pickering & John Milton



Hiatt and John Collins Isaacs appreciate these things and are very desirous of securing the confidence of these Indians by an upright Christian example and precept— But a few earnest Christian *women* thoroughly practical and of industrious domestic habits—refined and desirous of doing good to these people would effect wonders amongst them— These people have the basis for a very solid character, if they can be rightly cared for & the object should not be to combat directly their superstitious notions, but to teach them the better way by *example* in connection with instruction & this is rendered peculiarly necessary because of the bad example which white people have set before them & by which they have been confirmed in the superior excellence of their own religious & social system. These Indians have but one wife & are usually faithful in their conjugal relations. One of their most remarkable moral characteristics is honesty—a sacred regard for their promises.

The payment was resumed on the 15th. We remained until 3 o'clock having witnessed about 150 payments—the entire number being about 176. We then had to leave & rode 16 miles to Wm Hills & next morning through the rain 8 miles to Spring River Meeting— Stopped at Moses [omission] and got warm & dry as there was no fire at the meeting house.

(Genl James Blunt & McBracney McBradly [McBratney?]) are Agents for the Eastern Band of Cherokees in N. Carolina & are endeavoring to secure for them their portion of the tribal funds & annuities of the Cherokee nation— The suit of this Band against their old Agent Thomas, to secure their lands which he purchased & took title in his own name & whose creditors are now driving those Indians from their homes—cannot be prosecuted because Congress failed to make any Appropriation for the costs— I wish to examine at Washington the whole matter of these Indians & their relations with their old Agent & with the Cherokee Nation & the historical facts bearing upon the cause of their remaining in N. Carolina— They receive no annuities—beyond the interest on an Appropriation made for the purpose of [omission]).

Cherokee treaty of 186— cannot be ratified because of the influence of lobbyists—

The claim of Eastern Cherokees is for hundreds of thousands Samuel Valier— Chief & Interpreter of Quapaws—

— Spicer, do. do. of Senecas—

Spring River, Sub Agency—

George Mitchell Agent

Seneca, Missouri—

Asa C. Tuttle—

McLane's Station

Ind. Territory

via Baxter, Kansas—

14 miles— S. West from Baxter— Stage leaves Southern Hotel at Baxter on mornings of 3rd 5th & 7th days—

10 mo 16—

Edward Earle & myself attended the meeting at Spring River, but the day was so stormy that not more than 20 persons were present— We dined at Moses [omission] & then went through the storm in an open wagon to Timber Hills meeting, held at present in the house of Amos W. Hampton—a minister— Here we met at 4 o'clock a company of perhaps 40 or 50 who braved the storm to attend the meeting— It was an interesting meeting— Several communications, besides what I felt called to offer— We were very kindly entertained at A. W. Hampton's by himself & wife—& next morning the storm being heavy still we concluded to abide with them until it should moderate— We have some opportunity of witnessing the discouragements which beset the people in this new country— The prospect is fair that after a long & hard scuffle they will be able to realize the fruits of their labor—but at present it is a hard time with them— They are very much in need of good meeting houses in various neighborhoods but as their lumber has to be brought from Chicago by railroad, building is very expensive— We met here Thomas Smith formerly of Iowa, who was once one of the United Brethren but has now become a member of our Society. He appeared in Supplication in the meeting at this house— We also met Selinda Johnson, formerly of Eastern Ohio— She also spoke a little in the meeting & was engaged in supplication in a sitting in the evening. There are many persons, not Friends, who would be glad to go to Friends meetings if there was room for them in the meeting houses, & thus good houses would here very much tend to build up the Society & promote its usefulness—

10 mo. 18—Amos W. Hampton took us to Columbus, as the storm had moderated— It is about 15 miles above Baxter Springs & is a suitable place to leave the train for one who goes down from Kansas City to visit the settlements of Friends in Spring River Quarter— It is 6 miles from Timber Hills meeting—

The R. Road from St. Louis to Pierce City may be extended so as to intersect at Columbus &c.

10. 19th—

At Lawrence— meeting— correspondence—

10. 20.

Letter to J. B. Garrett.

Box of books No. 1—distributed to Ottawas & Peorias— No. 2—Laurie Tatum— No. 3 Sac & Foxes Kickapoos & Wichitas, Caddoes

Three boxes are desired at once— 1 for Darlington's Agency— 1 for Quapaws & Wyandottes—& 1 for general distribution— Elementary books desired & charts & cards— No *second* readers wanted

Clothing to be sent to E. Hoag— Calico for Comforts a cheaper article for lining & batting for wadding for the Ind. women to make up.

Suggest that meeting of the Committee be 26th of 12 month— Grand Council meets on 5th of 12 mo—

John B. Garrett

217 Church St.

Philada.

[School for the Ottawa Indians]

Asa C. Tuttle and wife Emmeline (formerly Howard,) are doing an excellent work amongst the Ottawa Indians. Their School is about 14 miles S. West of Baxter and averages 26—

Their influence upon the tribe in favor of religion & morality have already been very marked— It had been a universal practice with the men & boys to carry pistols— The boys brought them to school— After a time Emmeline felt that she must speak to them about it and they told their parents & the Chief Judge Wynn— The council considered the subject & her reasons for her desire in the matter and they passed a law not only *forbidding boys* to carry pistols but *men* also & thus the entire habit of the tribe in this respect has been reformed— She was much concerned also that they should have proper regulations concerning marriage and proper views concerning chastity &c— The results of the labors of these missionaries is a good marriage law & several parties have come to Asa and requested him to join them legally as man & wife—he being a minister of the Gospel. Some of these parties had been living to-



gether but were not married. This brought him into something of a strait—but after having talked to them so much upon the subject, he felt that it was right and so in a solemn & religious manner he has performed the marriage ceremony, as nearly in conformity with our practice as circumstances would admit— The opportunities have been often remarkably serious and impressive—He speaking to them in ministry & for them in prayer and they being tendered to tears— There has been a great deal of sickness amongst them & many deaths— A physician is very much needed there and a house for the Teachers— Their boarding place is very unsuitable. It does not protect them from rain— They have both been very sick & are still feeble— Something should be done to make them more comfortable else they will utterly break down— I do not remember ever to have felt more forcibly the force of our Savior's saying "The fields are already *white* unto harvest," than when visiting the Indians of the Spring River Agency— I advised Enoch to have a house built for them as there are appropriations which can be used for this purpose— He has made out no schedule yet for the distribution of the \$60,000, because he has never received any direction from the Indian Bureau concerning it. Commissioner Parker told me more than a month ago that he had directed E. H. to make out the Schedule— But the direction was never received by E. H—

10 mo. 21st. Just before retiring for the night— Oh, Lord, give to me, to my wife and to my Georgie & Willie, an interest in *thee* and in *thy* salvation— I ask this before wealth or any earthly gift —

[Peoria Reservation]

10—20th

Edward Earle attended the payment of the Peorias who had become citizens & had drawn their share of the tribal funds, amounting to over \$72000— It took place at Paoli, Kansas & was made by paymaster Williamson— Major Baptiste, Chief of the Peorias, had one tenth for his services in getting the money drawn from the Treasury— He is an intelligent man of some wealth—speaks English well, has a fine farm—nice house, an intelligent wife & Edward says he has seldom a better dinner than she set before them. He lodged with them and spoke of the bed, parlor &c as indicating that they were under the care of a skilful housekeeper— Many of these citizen Peorias are skilful farmers and some of them are well edu-

cated evincing the capacity of the Indian for civilization even when surrounded by very adverse influences—

\* \* \* \* \*

Miami Indians HR. 2347

June 27, 1870—Bill read twice in House of Representatives

\* \* \* \* \*

10 mo 23—E. Hoag & wife & E. Earle & myself went to Hesper & attended the meeting there— It was large & lively

I spoke from the text, "I beseech you brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto Him" &c— There were several other testimonies and supplication— We dined with Wm & Penelope Gardiner & had the company of Winslow & Margaret Davis, Dr. Reuben L. Roberts & wife Rebecca (formerly Jucks) & other Friends— also met David Davis & wife—the former a young man who went with us upon part of our journey in N. Carolina some years ago & the latter a daughter of the widow Hill below Springfield, N. C.— Hesper is 10 or 12 miles a little South of East from Lawrence & 4 miles South of Eudora. A nice rolling country & thickly settled by Friends— The meeting there is a highly interesting one, containing a goodly proportion of the old the middle aged & the young— Returned to Lawrence about dark— Eudora is at the mouth of Wakarusha River where it enters the Kansas—

[Chippewa and Munsee Reservation]

10 mo 24

Chippewas & Munsees 63 in all \$15.00 to each individual— \$113.80 surplus for painting schoolhouse, firewood for School &c— Payment was made at the Mission 6 miles southwest of Ottawa— Ignatius Caleb, the Muncy chief—thinks they would like to go amongst Cherokees—they like to live here and want to be in peace with white people & to follow the Christian ways—but their cattle sometimes go off the reservation & white people shoot them and they have no redress in the law—the white people cut their timber & they have no redress in law— He feels thankful to the Lord for the little payment they are to receive & for all their other blessings—but says they are constantly diminishing in numbers & they would rather be associated with some larger & stronger tribe. These Indians are well dressed The women are as neatly attired as the same number of white women collected in the country— They have a school conducted by Romig, a Moravian—

Donahu spoke on behalf the Indians— He says the settlers have squatted upon some of the land and are not willing to pay the value of the Land— He thinks the Indians would like to be here & be citizens that they may have the protection of law—that each one may have a patent for his land so he can sell it for its full value & give a permanent title

A part of their land has been sold under their last treaty (perhaps '54 or '56) & more of it might be, if, the Secretary of the Interior would advertise it—

These Indians are diminishing in part from the remains of syphilitic disease

The tribe was once very deeply tainted with this affection & it prevents fecundity & causes the loss of a great proportion of the children— They are now greatly improved in their morals and most of them are professors of Christianity Romig & his wife are located amongst them by the Moravians— The Indians do not pay them anything, except the use of a dwelling & a farm of 15 acres— Their labors have doubtless been of great service, to the tribes but unless they are moved to the vicinity of a larger tribe & intermarry they will soon run out— Constant intermarriage in so narrow a circle and that an unhealthy circle tends to a constant physical deterioration— I saw one case, of what was probably syphilitic laryngitis in a child 18 months old— I suppose it was hereditary syphilis

[Pottawatomie Reservation]

10 mo. 25th

Went to St. Mary's—in the Pottawattomie Reservation and were kindly entertained by Dr. Palmer—who was formerly agent here. Williamson, paymaster, had not arrived— We found here a collection of Indians & white people—some said to be of a very poor grade morally—all waiting the payment—

10—26

We went to the Catholic Mission—were admitted into the girls' school room, about 80, 20 of whom were day Scholars—Most of them where white children— The Indians do not send their children much now. It is the same with the male department. They are putting up large brick buildings now for each sex & will have accommodations for many students— They have a farm of 1200 or more acres of very good land—keep 100 cows—raise wheat enough for the use of the establishment—also apples, peaches & vegetables—



The buildings are very close to the railroad & farm on both sides of it— The view southwards from the hill above the building is very fine reaching for 25 or 30 miles beyond the Kansas River, which runs about 2 miles and a half south of the Institution—

The payment is a division of the funds to those of the Pottawatomies who have become citizens—amounting to \$680 (\$525,000 in all) for each individual— Many of these are good farmers & doing well—but many others are intemperate and will not take care of their money— It is thought the whole tribe will soon be ready to go to the Indian Territory— There is not much hope of their improving where they are— Their most fatal disease is pneumonia— Consumption is very common— There is a good deal of Scrofula Syphilis is also prevalent especially with the Citizen & half breeds— Parturition is attended with comparatively little difficulty either at the time or subsequently— At the menstrual period, women separate themselves from society & in the advanced stages of pregnancy the woman is placed in a house by herself and not visited by her husband or any one except some of the elderly women— She has little or no assistance in the process— Children are treated in the same way as the Kaws treat theirs— Very many children die before the second year— There are very few *old* people amongst them— Intemperance, sensuality—untruthfulness, are prevalent— The Prairie band are blanket Indians & live much like the Kaws— Parental & filial affection well developed—Conjugal attachment not very strong— Husbands & wives often separate— They are not polygamous— The office of chief is hereditary— They have some tribal laws. Have a marriage ceremony— Their religion is monotheistic and they make a sort of offering of their first fruits— They believe in a future state of existence happy for the good & miserable for the bad— Bury soon after death—in boxes—with prepared food in the box— They always manifest great seriousness & reverence when they speak of the Great Spirit— There does not seem to be much opening for educational work amongst them as they are looking towards removal—

(Joseph N. Bóurassâ—(Búr-ra-saw) U States Interpreter for Pottawatomies.)

These Indians show the bad effects of Annuity payments. They sit and wait for their money and then use it badly

In this payment 10 per cent is charged by George Young, Dr. Palmer & Mr Bertrand, for the portion which they obtain & 12 per cent for the portion obtained by Major Ross—Col Murphy—&

Wilmarth &c. These firms join together and work in concert. They have been working for years to get the Government to make this payment. They used 6 per cent of the 12 per cent claims upon members of Congress (Pomeroy—Clarke—&c. &c.) and about \$2000 or more upon clerks in the Department of the Interior— Irving & Clum would not accept anything.

The Michigan or Wisconsin Pottawattomies numbered 250 a few years ago— \$25,000

Shaw-gue—now blind— was once a chief and a very eloquent orator— Has been to Washington—

About 150 Pottawattomies strayed off about 1861 & are supposed to be about the Wichita Mountains— They were allotted Indians & have some of the best land allotted to them on [omission] Creek. Some of the principal men are Big Kickapoo or Capt John—Shomin— Pame-je yah Niscod nemma

\* \* \* \* \*

Black Beaver says they went to Mexico with the wandering Kickapoos—

11 mo—28th

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Wilmarth

Capt John or Big Kickapoo—Shomin (dead). Pame-je-yah Niscod nemma—dead

These stray Pottawattomies are entitled to all the privileges of the tribe— Might get certificates of citizenship, patents for their land & their share of the tribal funds—

10 mo—26—

Afternoon—Williamson arrived & commenced payment— Each Indian receives his portion from the paymaster hands it to E. Earle to be counted again—directs him to pay to Dr Palmer the 12 per cent for the agents who secured the appropriation & takes the balance— Most of them deposit their money with bankers who are here from Topeka—as it is unsafe for them to undertake to keep it themselves—as there are thieves, pickpockets, and robbers around watching their opportunity. There are many saloons & gambling houses—and there is no law against selling whiskey to those Indians who have become citizens. Hence those who undertake to carry their money will be likely to lose it. Counterfeit money men are usually on hand ready to change money for the Indians & pass off their spurious bills—as many of the Indians receive large amounts

and many \$100 bills— The head of a family draws for each of his children as well as for his wife & himself It thus happens that one man often draws a large amount—

10 mo. 27th—

Payment resumed—

Louis Vieux (View) the crier— Saml Nevoir, one of the business Committee very intelligent but intemperate

10—28th

Payment continued— The paymaster closed payment at dark last night, because it was not considered safe. There was a large class of bad men known to have collected in town & it was supposed some of the Indians would be robbed, in going from the office to the camp after receiving their money— Lieut Whipple had charge of the guard—he is now stationed at Ft. Riley, but for two years, has been at Key West— Dr. Gabby & Lewis Ogee drew a part of the percentage— At noon we left for Lawrence to prepare for our journey to Ind. Territory

Mr Smith, Banker at Topeka—Mr. Laslie—Banker St Mary's

10/29 Left Lawrence by rail to Iola & then stage 8 miles to Humbolt, after dark in a severe storm of rain with thunder & lightnings— I glean from the Humbolt Union the following

Rev. W. S. Robertson, Presbyterian missionary to Creek Nation is translating (has) the Scriptures into Muscoga Rev. J. R. Ramsay is amongst the Seminoles. Will soon open School— The house to be built of lumber sawed at their own mill— He has 120 Church members— \$500 have been subscribed by members & others— The head chief is a warm hearted Christian— Mr. John Beck of Ft Scott is recommended to the Board of Foreign Missions as a suitable person to be nominated to the Government as an Indian Agent for Seminoles— Mr. Robertson has 34 members in his Church in Creek Nation—

We did not make connection at Humboldt with the train for Chetopa & so had to wait there until second day afternoon—

On First day morning, went to the Sabbath School at Methodist Church and took charge of a class which the Minister assigned me— As the services at 11 oclock were to be conducted in German for the benefit of that class of the population we did not remain— The Minister said he would have been very glad for us to have the use of the house for a meeting in the evening, but he had already given it up to a Baptist Minister from Ottawa— He seemed to



regret it much & said if he had only known that we would be here, it should have been otherwise— We attended the Presbyterian Meeting at 11 oclock—heard an excellent sermon by Dr. Lewis—Sermon on the Holy Spirit and had some conversation with the minister afterwards, in which we endeavored to encourage him as we did the Methodist Minister in the morning. These men (the only ministers in the place) seem to be earnestly working in the midst of an ungodly people, for the promotion of Christianity— Their congregations are very small— In the evening we again went to the Methodist meeting house to hear the Baptist Stranger— When the appointed hour had arrived, he was not present, altho' he was known to be in the city— The Methodist Minister seeing me in the central part of the house, made his way to me & said that the hour had arrived & the Baptist minister was not there & he felt under no obligation to wait for him & he desired me to take charge of the meeting— I told him that I did not feel free to do so until we had waited a while—as the Baptist would probably soon be in— He again expressed his regret that he had not known that we would be there— After a while the Baptist came & preached— So there seemed no open door for us to have a meeting & we left our hotel second day afternoon at 5 o'clock & went across the Neosho River to the Depot, half a mile away. But the train did not come and as we were constantly expecting it, we remained all night in the Station house—

They have but one train a day each way & no telegraph— We of course could not tell why it did not come nor when it would come & we did not want to miss it because our team is probably awaiting us at Chetopa, 60 miles southward— So we arranged some boxes of merchandize which were stored in the room & with carpet sacks for pillows & our blankets for covering we got along pretty well—tho' the boxes felt pretty hard before day— There was no fire in the room—but the weather was not very cold— Neither had we any light but the moon shone, the forepart of the night, so we could see how to arrange our boxes— By morning, we were ready for breakfast as we had no supper & we succeeded in getting something to eat & after a while an engine came down the road & said that the bridge over the Cotton Wood at Emporia was washed badly & that it was very uncertain when a train would be along— So we just have to wait here— Moreover we now learn that had we gone from Lawrence by Emporia we should have been detained there— So that we are really farther on our journey than we

should have been— I feel thankful that we are well & as comfortable as could be expected.

11 mo 1st

I weigh today 148 lbs. without overcoat, with ordinary fall suit of clothing. We waited all day at the Depot & until 9 o'clock at night & no train arriving we went again to the Humboldt House and we four had to sleep in the garret, in small quarters in which was already one man— A few nights before, at the Eagle Hotel, we *four* slept in a room just 7 feet by 11½—by actual measurement— A strong prairie wind gave us ventilation to some extent both those nights—

[Delaware Agency]

11 mo - 2nd

Again at the Depot after breakfast— The Engine again passed down but no satisfactory intelligence about a passenger train— But after an hour & a half a train came along & we joyfully took seats in the car— Arrived at Chetopa about 1 o'clock & found our driver & team & some of the Delaware Indians, al ready to accompany us—

Isaac Johnny Cake a brother of the Delaware Chief was on the train with us, having his wife & daughter They were going out to the Agency also & so we all set out together—

Seminole means a Seceder or a wild Indian as they separated from the Muscogee or Creek nation a long time ago & settled in Florida— They pronounce it *Sem-i-no-lé* putting the emphasis on the last syllable—

We left Chetopa at 3 o'clock, and arrived at McGees near Cabin Creek about sunset—10 miles South West from Chetopa— He was away hunting deer & would not be at home but his wife said we could stay

The house was small with a shed attachment—two rooms in all & no up stairs— E. H. E. E & myself & Isaac Journey Cake & wife & daughter stayed in the house & the two young men Edward F Hoag & Cyrus Frazier, slept in the Ambulance & the two Delaware Indians young men slept in their wagon— There were 14 in all in the little house— We got a good supper & breakfast & were only charged 50 cents apiece The horses also had hay furnished we having grain with us— We found them with plenty of hogs, sheep & goats & cattle— Left at 7.10 and rode 30 miles by 1.30 P. M., in a Southwestent direction—crossing several small creeks & came down between Salt Creek & Lightning Creek & crossed to the east



bank of the latter about 2 miles above its junction with the Verdigris River— We saw plenty of prairie chickens a few deer—many buffalo birds—a species of black birds which follow the Cattle and buffalo over the prairies to catch flies which trouble the cattle— We passed very many mounds or rounded hills—smooth enough to drive a carriage over though some of them too steep— We stopped on Lightning Creek at Charles Journey Cake's one of the Chiefs—the other two being John Conner & Anderson Sarcoux. Charles Journey Cake lives in a very comfortable house—has a good farm a fine carriage &c— We were invited to sit down to an excellently prepared dinner of roast beef— baked chicken *nicely baked Sweet potatoes*, very good light bread— Irish potatoes— Coffee, Rice pudding & dried Apple pie— Charles himself had gone deer hunting—he has several very large Buckskins & some fawn Skins—

The Delawares had some of them been here for several days expecting their payment—we intending to have been here two or three days ago— But many of them are upon the other side of the Verdigris River & they cannot get over as the water is high & will not fall sufficiently until a day or two more has passed— These are good looking Indians dressed like citizens. Many of them speak English — They are industrious and are beginning to get a little stock &c— They have only been down here a short time and had met with heavy losses of stock &c in the war & by thieves before coming down here— They are now incorporated with the Cherokees— A few of them have become dissatisfied, because, as they say, the Cherokees are not kind to them & these dissatisfied Delawares have gone eastward amongst the Peorias about 30 or 40 miles away— There are about 950 individuals— & they receive \$30.00 each— The Post office is Coody's Bluff—Cherokee Nation, Ind. Ter— They are the remains of the tribe with whom Wm Penn made his Celebrated treaty under the old Elm tree upon the banks of the Delaware River—

About 5 o'clock P. M. on 5th day the 3rd of 11 mo—Charles Journey Cake and other hunters came in with five or six fine deer— He killed one a few days ago which weighed over 200 lbs after it was dressed— They sell the skins at about \$1.37 per lb—after they are dressed— It takes a very large skin to come to \$2.00

Charles Journey Cake has a lithograph representation of the belt of Wampum delivered by the Indians to Wm Penn at the Great Treaty under the Elm tree at Shackamaxon in 1682 from Historical Society of Penn— "Not sworn to & never broken," furnished by a grandson of James Logan.



11 mo—4—

We sat up last night until after 1 o'clock for Superin— Hoag to get his roll corrected by the chief & Council— This morning we had a nice breakfast of venison & commenced payment at about 9 o'clock— Worked very closely & until 9 o'clock P. M.

11—5th

Commenced again and finished payment

About 100 of the Delawares are professors of the Christian Religion, mostly Baptists— They meet regularly for worship but have no regular minister— Charles Journey Cake lives so far from the meeting place that he collects the people of his neighborhood & reads the Bible to them in Delaware language & exhorts & teaches them— He gave thanks and prayer at the table before meals in Delaware— I could not understand any of it except the *Name Jesus* near the close—It was sweet to hear him pronounce that Name in reverence & with Solemnity— He has 6 daughters—4 married—the two unmarried are twins and very much alike—about 16—intelligent—educated modest—refined girls— Some of his Grandchildren were present— one, Ella May Pratt, sung very sweetly the hymn "Don't think there is nothing for Children to do" &c. It was late at night before we finished the payment. The people had been waiting several days & we worked hard to get thru & let them go home—

11 mo—6th

First day morning—

E. Hoag learns that the Osages have *not* gone on the hunt as he had been told, but are waiting for their payment so he concludes to go home at once and get their money— Edw. Earle, myself & driver with the ambulance remain here today, to spend First day & see if way opens for anything to do or say for the good of the people or the encouragement of their excellent chief— John Conner & Anderson Sarcoxie the other chiefs, are in feeble health. Conner the head chief is here but not able to leave his tent— He talks English—is very intelligent and expressed a hope of a better existence beyond the grave— He belongs to the Baptists. In the tabular statement furnished to Supert. Hoag from the Department, \$100 was directed to be paid to Capt Sarcoxie as a continuation of a special annuity to his father according to treaty 1829—Conner & Journeycake say that it was only an *annuity* of \$100 & that he received it at the spring payment & of course it is not due again

until next spring— They furthermore say that in treaty 1860 the chiefs & council men are entitled to receive pay for their services but that for the last two years their pay has been stopped & they do not know why it is—

\* \* \* \* \*

I received of Isaac Journey Cake for Thomas Haines, a teacher \$25.50—balance of his account— Pd. to Enoch Hoag Also of the same for Linneus Roberts \$50.00, balance of his school account— Pd. to Enoch Hoag—

Paid these to Enoch Hoag.

\* \* \* \* \*

They furthermore say that they have a claim upon the Government for property stolen by white people whilst they lived in Kansas— That the last treaties recognize these losses as just— & they do not know why they are not paid—

Mr. C. N. Vaun a Cherokee Lawyer proposes to draw the tribal funds of the Delawares for 3 or 4 or 5 per cent—acting in coöperation with E. Hoag If the Chiefs & Councilmen agree to it— The Delawares are rather averse to drawing their funds—though it might be better for the more industrious part of them to do so— If Congress would permit this they would be glad—

Henry Armstrong, son in law of Chas. Journey Cake has a store at Journey Cake's but he lives several miles above near his brother Charles Armstrong another soninlaw of Charles Journey Cake— John T. Smith has a store near Charles Armstrong's— C. C. Burnett is a trader over the Verdigris on the Caney—

Charles Armstrong is a great hunter. He has sat on his horse & shot a deer in one direction & turned & shot another in a different & killed both — The Caney river is the same as the Little Verdigris & runs into the Verdigris Dr. Allen married a daughter of Isaac Journey Cake & practices some amongst the Indians— Dr. Lovell formerly of vicinity of Pilot Mountain in N. C. lived on Grand River & has practiced here sometimes—

“It is very pleasant to me to hear the good book read. It almost seems to me that I can sometimes see the Savior when he Spoke these words—so pleasant, so kind, so lovely— He is full of love— He is a true Savior and there is no other but Him.” These words were spoken very deliberately and seriously by Charles Journey cake at a religious opportunity in his family after I had read the 18th Chapter of John He then knelt & offered a prayer in Delaware, which of course I could not understand except the names Jesus &

Christ— In speaking English he had to be very deliberate but in his native language he was fluent— Osage Wâh sâh she Ou sa-ge Wâ-sâ she

11-7th

We left C. Journey cake's & went Southward a few miles below the mouth of Lightning Creek & crossed the Verdigris at a ferry near Ballitt's— The bank on the west side was very bad—& steep—river 150 ft wide & 15 deep but had been much deeper. It would have been much better to have crossed it higher up about Coody's Bluff—but the water was too high there to ford & there was no ferry at that place—the road would have been much more direct to the Caney river. After crossing the Verdigris and passing the river bottom of Splendid rich land we came to Capt John Conner's, Head Chief of Delaware's— We then went North of West over the prairie and & then turned west towards the mouth of the Caney River—but as the roads were very indistinct we rather got off the exact course— We passed but one house between Capt. Conner's & John Carter's, a distance of 20 miles— We reached Carter's a little before night & thought we had better stop as they were willing to entertain us—as well as they could— We rested pretty well although the wind blew hard & the house was somewhat open. The beef & coffee were very good—though the surroundings— the table—knives—&c &c were in such a condition as under some circumstances would have rather destroyed appetite— They only charged 50 cents for each person & nothing for horsefeed— The man had a dozen horses 75 or 80 cattle & was preparing to open a little farm. He lives near the Cana below Curleyhead Creek— Cattle & horses live in the bottom lands of the Cana all winter without being fed upon cane (reeds) wild rye &c Wild Geese are there all winter A flock of 10 or 12 flew up, not more than 200 yds from the house in the morning— There are also many wild ducks & an abundance of fish in the river.

[Osage Agency]

11 mo 8—

After leaving Carter's we crossed one small creek & then Curleyhead Creek the water of which was quite deep— Between this Creek & Shoteau's store we passed some splendid bottom Land but rather wet— Prairie grass 8 ft high in some parts— It is about 10 miles from Carter's to Choteau's Store & that is one mile (200 rods) west of 96° & about 12 miles below the junction of the little or East Cana with the Big or west Cana & 22 miles below Kansas



Line— The Cana formed by the junction of these streams is also called little Verdigris & runs southward a little west of  $96^{\circ}$  & at about latitude  $36^{\circ}-30'$ —it turns Southeast & runs to the Verdigris.

There is a good deal of chill & fever in this section The river & creeks are well supplied with timber. We found entertainment, at Mrs. Gildstraps— Quite a number of Delawares are settled on the Cana & also Shawnees on Bird Creek which runs into the Cana on the Western side about 15 miles below Shoteaus— These people all supposed that they were east of  $96^{\circ}$ — And the best Government maps represent the Cana river as East of  $96^{\circ}$ , whereas it is entirely west of it until it turns to the South East to reach the Verdigris— We find upon coming here, Mahlon Stubbs & the Kaw delegation who have been examining for a location They like the country of the little & Big Cana but as that has been selected by the Osages it is difficult to arrange it unless the Cherokees will consent for the Osages to have a strip about  $8\frac{1}{3}$  miles East of  $96^{\circ}$  & which belongs appropriately to the Cana River as otherwise it would be devoid of timber. The line would then run upon the divide between the Cana & the Verdigris— near to the Cana because the Creeks of the Cana are smaller & shorter than those of the Verdigris— This strip of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles is not occupied to much extent and is mostly arable land and could be well supplied with timber from the Cana— It seems appropriately to belong to the Cana—

We find Isaac T. Gibson here also, and Joseph Newsom & Thomas H. Stanley—the two latter being with Mahlon Stubbs

Hard rope & his band of Osages came in today also—

11 mo 9—

We find that most of the Osages have gone on the hunt & that the trader misinformed E. Hoag— I suppose he wanted the money to come so he could get some of it— The weather is fine & we would be glad to be on our journey but we must be patient— We bought a pair of horses of M. Stubbs, as he was going to send all his party home & he himself going with I. T. Gibson to Tahlequa to the Cherokee Council to try to adjust the land matter—but they will wait for Enoch Hoag— In company with I. T. Gibson & M. Stubbs we hired a Cabin— built a fire, roasted some sweet potatoes & after a light supper, spread down our robes & blankets upon a pile of corn in the husk— Our blankets being narrow for two & the night cool, we were not over comfortable— but got along pretty well— In the morning we had a nice breakfast prepared by

our driver & I. T. Gibson. Coffee beef steak (cheese—bread & crackers we already had on hand— this was the morning of the 10th of the mo—

After breakfast, we read a portion of Scripture & had a devotional pause— Then sent Cyrus after some sweet potatoes & spoke to a woman to bake us some buiscuit for dinner— C. got a bucket full a peck of potatoes for 87½ & we hired a dutch oven of a neighbor & baked some splendid potatoes— also had beef— &c &c & of course Coffee for dinner I carried the potatoes to the river & washed them & then we walked over the adjoining lands, surveying for agency Buildings & after dinner Isaac, Mahlon & myself took a horseback ride over the river to view the premises there—

We crossed just westward from Mrs. Gildstraps & ascended by a bridle path to the top of the bluff & made our way towards a remarkable mound a mile & a half away— We first descended slightly & then more rapidly into a ravine where we lost sight of the mound— Then in ascending we had a beautiful view of its constantly & regularly increasing proportions— We came to a plateau or broad terrace perhaps 300 ft below the top of the mound which was very regularly conical for the last 80 ft—the upper portion resting upon a broader base of much the same character— At the foot of the basilar portion we crossed a little stream & prepared to ascend— Reaching the top of the basilar portion we tied our horses to some little shrubs & walked or clambered up at an angle of 45° to the summit which was about 40 ft in diameter— There was not a tree nor even a [illegible] bush from the top to the ravine below— Prairie grass grew to the top— Small fragments of rock were intermingled with the soil & upon these were impressions of seashells— We also found petrified sticks—coral &c upon the summit— We had a fine view of the surrounding country— the Cana immediately East & stretching first south & then in the distance winding by south— the Curley head Creek making into it from the Eastern side

Various mounds in different directions &c— Descending we went upon the south side of a mound nearly west & found an abundant supply of excellent building sandstone—some of it apparently already dressed—having two, three & sometimes 4 faces of a cube nicely squared— Upon the face of very many of these rocks were impressions of sea shells of varying character & also of leaves & stems of vegetables— On one rock the face of which measured two square feet were over 120 distinct impressions of Shells.

After a good supper we talked over the dangers of this country for men who travel with money. We felt some solicitude for our Superintendent—whom we were expecting &c and so after a time we read some in the Bible— The voice of prayer was heard amongst us & we spent an hour or two in exchanging our feelings of interest in one another's welfare & were able, I trust, to cast our cares, our fears, & our burdens upon the Lord and in peace & composure to commit ourselves unto his will— We had removed the corn to one side of the cabin & husked a part of it & made a bed of the husks upon which we spread our robes & blankets & had a good rest— 10 mo 11th [undoubtedly "11 mo. 10th or 11th" is meant here] 1870.

In the morning after a good breakfast I took another bucket of sweet potatoes to the river & washed them & then proposed to E. Earle & Cyrus Frazier to make it wash day—so changing our apparel we went to the river where it rushes over the rocks & had quite a time in washing clothes— We then tied up a rope for a clothes line & hung them up to dry near our cabin— Saw a flock of Paroquettes—red bills, yellow heads & green bodies Said to be capable of speaking like Parrots

This mound is a little S. of West from Shoteau's agency—or Mrs Gildstraps—& about a mile &  $\frac{1}{2}$  half west of the Cana river at its great westward curve— Another mound is connected by its base with the base of this— It is North West from this & a little taller— Upon the South face of this and all over the summit is the fine sandstone with petrified shells &c [The author here inserted in his diary a rough sketch of a mound which accompanied this paragraph.]

Two of the Cana River mounds as viewed from the North-East— These mounds are about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the River & about 2 miles a little South of West from Choteau's Store, or Caneyville or Gillstraps crossing— [Here a sketch of two mounds appeared.]

Afternoon of 11th of 11 mo. We rode again on horseback west of the Cana—first Northward, then Westward to the mounds again Returned at night fall— Superintendent not yet arrived.

Ennisville is about one mile east of 96° & near the Kansas line Parker is about 30 miles east of Ennisville [A roughly sketched map of the Little Verdigris river area a little south of the Kansas line accompanied this paragraph. It locates Choteau's store and names the creeks in its vicinity.]



11 mo 12th

E. E. M. S. I. T. G & myself rode Northward so far as Cotton Creek three miles south of Kansas line.

Coon creek is about 6 miles north of Shoteau's— Post Oak Creek about 6 miles above Coon creek— Junction Creek a small stream runs in at the junction of the Big & Little Cana about three miles above Post Oak Cr. & then Cotton creek is about three miles above Post Oak Cr. & then Cotton creek is about three miles beyond Junction Creek Just before reaching Cotton Cr we pass between two remarkable mounds— We saw a flock of wild turkeys & one of wild Geese on banks of Cotton Creek—& in returning saw a wolf which seemed very much frightened & ran away as rapidly as possible. We also saw a flock of 18 Sand hill Cranes much taller than geese They were about 100 yds from us, standing on the open prairie & did not seem at all alarmed by our passing so near to them— We found coal at Post Oak Creek— Upon return at night to our Cabin, we found Supt Hoag had come—with John Rankin, Post Master at Lawrence & trader at the Sac & Fox Agency and also Robt Dunlap, trader with Osages— They will go with us to the Sac & Fox Agency.

11 mo 13th

About eleven A. M we set out for the Arkansaw River 8 in Company— Crossed the Cana at a ford about 2 miles below Shoteau's Store—passed between two mounds & finally into a sort of cañon & saw immense blocks of lime stone on the hill sides— Came about 3 o'clock to Judge Roger's 18 miles from Shoteau's in a South Western course— Judge Rogers has gone to Tahlequah to the meeting of the Cherokee Council or Legislature—he being one of its members— His wife gave us permission to stay with them all night & as there was no other stopping place which we could reach, we were glad of the permission— though the quarters were not such as might be expected at a Judge's residence in the Eastern States Edward & I & Enoch & John Rankin slept on beds on the floor very comfortably— It turned suddenly cold in the night We passed no house yesterday, the whole 18 miles—

11 mo 14—

Left at 8½ o'clock In 2 miles came to Polecat Cr & 2 miles further to Bird Cr. A half mile beyond Bird Cr, the best road (though several miles the longest) turns to the right & in 5 miles leads to the Falls of Fall Creek—the direct road leads to a bad crossing some miles below the falls— The water at the Falls is about 100 ft wide & plunges over the solid rock about 8 ft.

A flock of wild Geese, 11 in number flew up just before us in the morning within easy gunshot— Also ducks— Saw a wolf in the distance—

Stopped at noon & cooked our dinner— Then met a drove of Texas cattle numbering 1000—& another drove just behind of 4 or 500— They lost 150 in fording the Arkansaw by their getting into quicksand— We reached the bank of the Arkansaw about half hour before Sunset but had to go higher up to another ferry—& as I. T. Gibson & Mahlon Stubbs were going to Tahlequah they parted company with us here & went down the Arkansaw on the North bank— We were so delayed in finding the ferryman that we concluded to camp on the North bank & soon had our fire going & our beef on a stick before it—tea made &c—& at bedtime E. E. & myself took the ambulance & the others lay before the fire— E. E. got cold & left for the fire at 1 o'clock— I rested but did not sleep soundly

#### 11. 15th

Wild Geese & wolves kept a music for us last night— We had an early & good breakfast & expected the Ferryman to come early but it was fully 8 o'clk before he came & then we were delayed in getting the boat ready & starting— The river is about half a mile in width and we had to go down the river about half a mile to avoid a shoal & the current being stronger on the other side it was difficult to get the boat to the landing place— The bank was very steep & we had to fasten the horses to the end of the carriage pole & to take everything out of it & thus were enabled to get it dragged up the bank— It was near ten o'clock before we left the west bank of the river—

The weather was fine & we went on over various Creeks—& in the afternoon over one or two considerable mountains and about 8 o'clock P. M. came to Post Oak Taylor's a Creek Indian— We had passed no other house since leaving the Arkansaw except a little settlement within a mile of the river— Taylor was not at home & none of his family except one grown daughter who had gone to bed— Supt Hoag & John Rankin were acquainted there & had stayed with them before— She could not talk English— They made her understand that we wanted corn for the horses & to sleep on the floor before the fire ourselves— She gave assent & went back to her bed in the corner of the room— E. E. J. R. & myself went into the woods & cut down a tree & brought up the wood as there was no wood pile & making a good fire we spread down our

robes & blankets & slept pretty well— In the morning we ate our breakfast, having some cold food—& having made some coffee— E. H paid the woman \$3.00 & we left her some good coffee on the table she not having left her couch—

[Sac and Fox Reservation]

We reached the Sac & Fox Agency about 1, o'clock P. M & had a good dinner at J. Crowley's the Blacksmith— Agent Miller & Dr. Williams & wife seemed glad to see us &c. In going from Shoteo's to the Arkansaw we went nearly south & after crossing the Arkansaw we went South west to the Sac & Fox Agency— From Choteou's to Judge Roger's is 18 miles Judge Rogers to the Arkansaw is 35 miles. From Arkansaw to Post oak Taylor's is nearly 40 miles— from Taylor's to Agency 20 miles— total from Shoteou's 113 miles— We passed the Deep Fork about 1½ from Agency— This runs centrally from east to west through their reservation— Enoch boards with Dr. Williams & wife & Edward & I with Jacob Crowley & wife We had a comfortable bed & good fare.

11 mo 17

Sac & Fox Reservation extends from the North Fork of the Canadian on the south to the Red Fork of the Arkansaw on the North 46 miles and from the Creek line on the east a distance of 16 ¾ miles to the west—embracing 770½ Square miles. There are 660 of this tribe. They manifest some disposition to agriculture and have a very favorable location The climate is mild and although chills & Fever prevail to some extent in the Fall, yet it will become healthier as it is brought under cultivation. Corn, sweet potatoes, cotton, Sorghum &c will be staples here also wheat. The affairs of this agency are not in so good a condition as they would have been under other circumstances. Our excellent friend Thomas Miller offered his resignation months ago, believing that the time had come for him to be released— He had very successfully & economically removed these Indians from Kansas last winter & wished some one else to take hold of the work of putting up the Agency buildings &c John Hadley has been recommended & appointed as agent but does not come & we suppose will not be able to do so and this disappointment, of course, adds to the delay in getting things ready

They need a saw mill at once. As the climate is mild, it is practicable to do a great deal of work here in the winter Agent Miller has 5 or 6 men employed in farming operations putting up temporary



buildings breaking the sod, fencing &c. He has had about 200 acres broken.

The Agency is situated near Deep Fork which has a fine rich bottom in which the wild rye remains green through the winter—The bottom is liable to overflow— It is difficult to cross this stream in high water as they have neither Bridge nor Ferry— The Osage women crossed their little babies & their property last summer by making a sort of basket of a rawhide by drawing up the edges with a rope so as to bring the hide into a cup shape—then taking the rope in the teeth the mother would swim across & carry the whole concern over & depositing the freight, would swim back for another cargo— Deer & wild turkey are abundant. But such articles as have to be brought from the States are high owing to the distance of wagon transportation Pecan nuts here are abundant—worth \$2.00 per bushel— They have 80 bushels at the trader's store— About 60 acres of the broken land is around the Agency & 140 or more for various Indians—

The general condition of these Indians does not vary much from that of the Pottawatomies— Their women are overworked and become prematurely old— There are evidences of hereditary syphilitic taint & Scrofula amongst these Indians. Very few children are born amongst them & of those few many die— They are constantly diminishing in numbers— One chief & part of his band are still at the old reservation & refuse to come down but they will get no money until they come— One article in their last treaty (Article XV) needs my attention when I return to Washington— Mo-quaw-ho-ko is the chief who will not come— The absentee Shawnees & some Delawares who live west of the Seminole Reservation about 550 in number are now placed under the care of the Sac & Fox Agent— These Indians are located within the area which the Pottawattomies will probably select—

\* \* \* \* \*

Louis Goky is Interpreter for Sac & Foxes— Keokuk is one of the chiefs— Muttatah—muttata—

Jacob Crowley—Blacksmith \$800—Mary Crowley his wife—\$300.

James Hadley	} Farmers \$600
Timmerman	
Wm Baldwin	

Dr. David Williams, Physician & wife—\$1500 per year & furnish his own medicines—

Oliver Smith—Gunsmith

Thomas Miller Agent— succeeded by John Hadley in 3rd  
mo—1871—

Sac & Fox Agency

via Okmulgee, Creek Nation, Ind. Territory

	PRICES	cts	cts
Bacon—sides .....		.50	.30
Flour .....		.10	.09½
Sugar .....		.25	.25
Coffee .....		.50	.35
Syrup .....		..	2.25
Calico .....		..	.20

Heavy cost in coming here—

\* \* \* \* \*

*(To be concluded in the November Quarterly)*

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Some Memories of the Past" is the title of a column by H. V. Butcher which appears occasionally in *The Western Star*, Coldwater.

A "Query and Answer Column," sponsored by the Dickinson County Historical Society, has been published from time to time in the Abilene *Daily Chronicle*.

The reminiscences of Allison J. Pliley, scout and Indian fighter, were printed in the Olathe *Mirror* in its issues of March 19 and 26, 1931. S. T. Seaton, the author, interviewed Mr. Pliley in 1909 and submitted the manuscript to him for correction and verification. Mr. Pliley served on the plains in the latter 1860's.

A history of St. Joseph's Alumni Association was published in the St. Joseph college student publication, *The Cadet Journal*, of Hays, in its issues of October 7, 1933, to May 26, 1934, inclusive.

The construction of the sod house, home of many early Kansas settlers, was discussed by Donald S. Gates in the December, 1933, issue of *The Journal of Geography*, published in Chicago, Ill.

Articles of a historical nature appearing in the Winter, 1934, number of *The Aerend*, a Fort Hays Kansas State College publication, included: "History of Fort Larned," by B. Z. Woods; "Meteorites of Kansas," by Elizabeth Eppstein; "Bent's Fort: Pioneer Memory," by Paul King; "A Prima Donna [Dora Hand] of Dodge City," by F. B. Streeter; "Martin Allen: Pioneer Prophet," by R. L. Parker, and "Kansas Fossils," by Letha Abell.

Several letters written during the Spanish-American War by Lawrence participants were printed serially in the *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, in its issues of February 22; March 1 and 8, 1934.

The address given by Charles F. Colcord, president of the Oklahoma Historical Society, at the Barber county old settlers' reunion held in Medicine Lodge, February 9, 1934, was published in the March issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City. Mr. Colcord related some of the frontier history of southern Kansas and the Indian territory.



An article discussing the work done by Company 1778, Civilian Conservation Corps, on the site of old Fort Hays, was contributed by Lloyd Kohler to the March 10, 1934, issue of *Happy Days*, the corps newspaper printed in Washington, D. C. The *Enterprise Journal* republished the article in its April 19 issue.

Seventy-five years in Kansas were reviewed by Frank M. Spurrier in the *Sylvan Grove News*, March 15, 1934. Mr. Spurrier came from Iowa in the summer of 1858 and settled twenty miles west of Manhattan.

Bone picking near Fort Hays in 1875 was recalled by J. L. Garrett in the *Bunkerhill Advertiser*, March 22, 1934.

"When Methodism Reached Kansas," by S. T. Seaton, was the title of an article published in the *Kansas City Star*, May 26, 1907, and republished in the *Olathe Mirror*, March 29, 1934. In the preparation of this story Mr. Seaton had access to original minute books of the church which he later presented to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Questions and answers relating to Elkhart's history were printed in the *Elkhart Tri-State News* in its issues of March 29 to May 3, 1934, inclusive.

A brief history of the First English Lutheran church of Lawrence appeared in the April issue of the *Kansas Synod Lutheran*, published at Atchison. The congregation was organized March 16, 1867.

The history of the Independence High School was briefly sketched in the *Independence Daily Reporter*, April 4, 1934, and in the *South Kansas Tribune*, April 11. The school was organized by T. W. Conway in 1884.

A brief history and the list of charter members of the old Garden City Board of Trade were published in the *Garden City News*, April 5, 1934.

The early days of Washara, Lyon county, were recalled by John Flynn in the *Emporia Weekly Gazette*, April 5, 1934. The town was founded on the Santa Fé trail in the middle 1860's.

"Bear Creek Cowboys of 1883 Left Horses in Indian Scare," and "First Known White Man Crossed Stanton in 1850," were the titles of two articles by R. I. Cockrum which appeared in the *Johnson Pioneer*, April 5 and May 3, 1934, respectively. The latter story dealt with F. X. Aubrey's activities in the region now known as Stanton county.

"Builders of Wichita," a pageant written by Manly Wade Wellman, was presented at the Wichita Forum April 9, 1934. The *Wichita Eagle* and *Beacon* published special illustrated historical sections in their issues of April 8 commemorating the first meeting of the city council held in April, 1871, when Wichita was formally recognized as a city.

"Always Ready to Help Railroads," an article reviewing Hutchinson's railroad bond elections held during the boom of the middle 1880's, was printed in the *Hutchinson News*, April 11, 1934.

The history of the Church of Christ at Miltonvale was briefly sketched in the *Miltonvale Record*, April 12, 1934. The church was organized April 17, 1884.

The recent abandonment of ninety-seven miles of the Missouri Pacific railroad from Fort Scott to Lomax led George T. Clayton and Tom Johnson to review the line's establishment as the Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota railroad in the spring of 1886, in the *Fort Scott Tribune* in its issues of April 13, and May 18, 1934, respectively.

A brief history of the Ost community in southeastern Reno county was published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 15, 1934.

The First Methodist Episcopal church of McPherson observed the sixtieth anniversary of its founding April 15, 1934, with an all-day program held at the church. A history of the organization, including a list of the early pastors, was published in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, April 16.

Pratt's First Methodist Episcopal church observed its fiftieth anniversary with a week of special services starting April 15, 1934. An eight-page illustrated supplement devoted entirely to the history of the church was a feature of the *Pratt Daily Tribune*, April 17. The *Pratt Union*, of April 19, also published an illustrated history of the organization.

The experiences of George M. Hoffman, Kansas stockman and banker, were retold by George G. Green in the *Hutchinson Herald* of April 17, 1934.

"It's an ill wind that blows nobody good," the *Johnson Pioneer* reported in its issue of April 19, 1934. The recent high winds in the West have uncovered quantities of Indian relics in Stanton and other western Kansas counties. Arrowheads of various sizes,

shapes and kinds have been picked up, as well as spearheads, stone knives, hammer rocks, and other bric-a-brac peculiar to the once rulers of the plains. On a particularly high spot twenty miles northwest of Johnson, "fire holes" are reported to be showing.

A brief history of the Richfield First Presbyterian church was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, April 19, 1934. The church was organized November 23, 1886.

The history of the Emporia city library was sketched in the Emporia *Gazette*, April 19, 1934. The first library association was formed in December, 1869.

An autobiography of Darwin B. Wolcott, Pawnee county pioneer, was published in the Larned *Chronoscope*, April 19, 1934.

"Historical Sketches of Coffey County," is the title of a series of articles by A. D. Wiseman which appear serially in the Gridley *Light*. The series, which commenced with the issue of April 19, 1934, featured the Hampden colony, April 26; record of crimes and casualties, May 3; county seat troubles, May 17; location of county seat, May 24; early newspapers, May 31; land grant warrant of 1861, June 7; LeRoy newspaper history, June 21, and defunct towns, July 5.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church, northeast of Cheney, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, April 22, 1934. A history of the church was published in the Cheney *Sentinel*, April 19.

"Tells Drama of Early-day Railroad Race," was the title of a story by William W. Gear relating a run between two freight trains for a rail crossing on the Kansas prairies forty years ago, which was printed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 22, 1934.

Experiences of Joe Talbott, freighter over the old Medicine Lodge trail, were related in the Hutchinson *News*, April 23, 1934.

Pioneer life on Elm creek, Lyon county, was recalled by Robert Langley of Miller in an interview published in the Emporia *Gazette*, April 24, 1934. Mr. Langley settled on Elm creek in 1857.

The history of Hoxie was reviewed in a series of articles in the Hoxie *Sentinel*, commencing with its issue of April 26, 1934. Several articles were contributed by members of the English department of the Sheridan county high school.

Members of the St. John's Catholic church of Herington celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their church building, May 2, 1934.



Both the *Herington Times* and *Sun* published a history of the organization by A. J. Farrell, in their issues of April 26, 1934.

The coming of the automobile to Clay Center was discussed by *The Times* in its issue of April 26, 1934.

Cheyenne county school history was reviewed by C. E. Curry in the "Old Timers' Column" published in the *Bird City Times*, April 26, 1934. Etta Linn, the first superintendent, served from July 5, 1886, to January, 1889.

The reminiscences of W. J. Richardson were printed in the *Eureka Herald*, April 26, 1934. Mr. Richardson arrived in Greenwood county in the early 1870's.

Old settlers contributing to the "Pioneer Reminiscences" column published weekly in *The Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge, include: William E. Marquand, Mrs. Lizzie Herr Sommer, April 26, 1934; M. J. Lane, May 3; Carrie C. Shaw, J. D. Mills, May 10; George McGuire, L. A. Eby, H. H. McCoy, May 17; M. S. Justis, Mrs. C. E. Thompson, May 24; Sam Smith, I. T. Strickland, May 31; Clarence E. Thompson, Rose Hildebrand, June 7; Mrs. H. A. Tedrow, R. J. Taliaferro, June 14; Mrs. Harriet Mills, Mrs. Dan H. Axtell, Bert Clark, June 21; Ben S. Kauffman, Louis Walton, L. W. Moore, July 5, and William Palmer, July 12.

Washington county's courthouse history was again reviewed in the "Special Court House Dedication Edition" of the *Washington County Register* issued April 27, 1934. The new courthouse was dedicated May 4.

John Brown's activities in Kansas territory were discussed by Eliza Johnston Wiggin, of Otego, in the *Topeka State Journal*, April 27, 1934.

The seventieth anniversary of the founding of the Ottawa First Baptist church was observed April 29, 1934. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Ottawa Herald*, April 27.

Arkansas City in 1870 was described by F. A. Chapin in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, May 2, 1934.

The Howard Baptist church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary April 29, 1934. A history of the organization was briefly sketched in *The Citizen*, Howard, May 2.

Wichita's livery stable boom was recalled by Andy S. Huff in an interview by Victor Murdock which was published in the *Wichita*

(Evening) *Eagle* in its issue of May 2, 1934. Mr. Huff settled in Wichita in 1869.

"A Tale of Prairie Days," an article written by Mrs. W. R. Bullen describing her experiences in Kansas in 1886, was printed in *The Kansan*, Concordia, May 3, 1934.

The Waterville *Telegraph* issued a thirty-six page sixty-fourth anniversary edition May 3, 1934. Among the historical articles were: "Waterville Incorporated in the Year of 1870," "Indians Massacre Six From Waterville in 1869," "Musical Development of Town Told by S. A. Bryan," "Julius Rahe Tells of Pioneer Days," "The Telegraph's First Issue January 1, 1870," "School Development Related by Mrs. Gordon," and "Early Tales of Blanchville." Histories of the city's churches, lodges, clubs, and library, and biographical sketches of pioneers were also included in this edition. A four-page supplement, which was issued May 10, published letters from old settlers and a sketch of Waterville's school system.

A history of the school in district No. 90, Marshall county, was sketched in the *Summerfield Sun*, May 3, 1934.

The forty-second anniversary of the Iola United Brethern church was observed May 6, 1934. A brief history of the organization was printed in the *Iola Daily Register*, May 3.

A twenty-page historical edition was issued by the *Tipton Times*, May 3, 1934. Tipton was established in 1872 as Pittsburg, and was named for W. A. Pitt. A few years later the Post Office Department asked that the name be changed. Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, now of Russell, recently wrote that he remembered how bitterly the settlers objected to giving up the name "Pittsburg" for Tipton. Historical sketches of St. Boniface Parish, Zion Lutheran church and the American Legion and Auxiliary were published as features of the edition.

The pioneer mill on Buffalo creek was recalled by J. H. Swenson in an article appearing in *The Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, May 3, 1934. Another story concerning the mill was printed in the May 24 issue.

A history of Morganville by Mrs. W. H. Lennard was a feature of the thirtieth anniversary edition of *The Tribune*, Morganville, May 3, 1934. The city was founded in 1870 by Ebenezer Morgan.

Some of the correspondence between Maj. Richard I. Dodge and Gov. Thomas A. Osborn regarding the Dodge City Vigilantes of 1873 was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, May 5, 1934.

"Exploring Scenes Rich in Beauty and Big With History in the John Brown Country" was the title of a story relating the high lights of a trip made by A. B. MacDonald through eastern Kansas, printed in the Kansas City *Star*, May 6, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the organization of Finney county was observed at the Finnup Pioneer day celebration held in Garden City May 8, 1934. Special historical features were published in both the Garden City *News* and *Daily Telegram* preceding the event.

Manhattan newspaper history was briefly reviewed in the Manhattan *Mercury*, May 9, 1934.

A brief history of the Osborne city library was contributed by Vera Olds Botkin to the *Osborne County Farmer*, May 10, 1934. The library was first organized in 1889 under the name of the Ladies Library Association.

Garnett as it appeared sixty-six years ago was described by J. W. Barndt in *The Anderson Countian*, Garnett, May 10, 1934.

The seventy-sixth anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Manhattan was observed May 13, 1934. A history of the organization was sketched in the Manhattan *Mercury*, May 12, and *The Morning Chronicle*, May 13.

Origin of the names of several Kansas towns as given in a radio address over KFKU by Allen Crafton, of Kansas University, was published in the *University Daily Kansan*, Lawrence, May 15, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Wilsey was observed May 15, 1934. The Wilsey *Warbler* issued a six-page special historical souvenir edition on that date, and on May 17 printed the names of the old settlers registering at the event.

The death of William "Billy the Kid" Bonney was discussed in an article by Col. Jack Potter, of Tascosa, Tex., in a recent issue of the *Union County Courier*, which was republished in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, May 16, 1934.

Morrill history was reviewed in detail in a special twelve-page edition of the Morrill *Weekly News*, issued May 17, 1934. Sketches of the railroad, churches, schools and newspapers were included in



the history, which was prepared by the senior English class of the high school under the supervision of C. R. Van Nice.

The history of Fowler was reviewed in the *Fowler News*, May 17, 1934. Ben F. Cox, Solomon Burkhalter and George Fowler laid out the townsite in 1884.

Names of students who were graduated from the Winona consolidated high school from 1915 to 1933 were printed in the *Logan County News*, Winona, May 17, 1934.

Biographical sketches of the late Selah B. Farwell and Robert R. Hays, Osborne county pioneers, were published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, May 17 and June 21, 1934, respectively.

St. Francis Catholic church of St. Paul celebrated its golden jubilee May 16, 1934. A history of the church as prepared by Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J., was printed in the *St. Paul Journal*, May 17, and republished in the *Parsons Sun*, May 24.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. John's Catholic church of Hanover was observed May 15, 1934. Histories of the church were printed in the *Hanover Herald* and *Democrat* in their issues of May 18, 1934.

A two-column biographical sketch of Charles Jesse "Buffalo" Jones entitled "The Last of the Plainsmen," was contributed by E. E. Kelley to the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 20, 1934.

The activities of Jason Lee, and other early Methodist missionaries to Oregon, were discussed by A. B. MacDonald in the *Kansas City Star*, May 20, 1934.

Special historical articles were published in the *Baldwin Ledger* and *The Baker Orange* preceding the diamond jubilee celebration of Baker University held at Baldwin May 24-28, 1934. A history of *The Baker Orange*, college student publication, was a feature of the *Orange* in its issue of May 21.

A history of Trinity Episcopal church of Arkansas City was sketched in the *Arkansas City Tribune*, May 24, 1934. The church was organized on December 27, 1884.

Names of Civil War veterans who settled in Pawnee county were published in the *Larned Chronoscope*, May 24, 1934.

A history of the *Ottawa Campus*, student publication of Ottawa University, was printed in its fiftieth anniversary edition issued May 24, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Wathena Christ Lutheran church was celebrated June 3, 1934. A history of the organization by Rev. H. C. Lubeck was sketched in the *Wathena Times*, May 25.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Garden City First Christian church was observed May 27, 1934. Brief histories of the organization were published in the Garden City *Daily Telegram and News* on May 24.

A history of Wright Park, Dodge City, was written by Dr. O. H. Simpson for the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, May 29, 1934.

A letter from A. B. Ostrander, former contest clerk in the Independence land office, was published in the *South Kansas Tribune*, Independence, May 30, 1934. Mr. Ostrander briefly related some of the difficulties a few of the settlers had in getting title to their lands.

The story of the Kidder massacre in 1867 was retold by A. H. Stewart in *The Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, May 31, 1934.

Clay county post offices in 1881 were named in *The Times*, Clay Center, May 31, 1934.

The organization of George Graham Post No. 60 of the Grand Army of the Republic on August 3, 1882, was reviewed in *The Courier-Tribune*, of Seneca, in its issue of May 31, 1934.

"On the Last Frontier," by Charles Adam Jones, a cattleman's story of ranch life in the Southwest, was published in *The Atlantic*, Boston, Mass., in the June, 1934, issue. Mr. Jones related his experiences while assisting in transporting several carloads of cattle across Kansas to Great Bend and driving them from Great Bend to Las Animas, Colo.

A narrative of the Cherokee outlet country entitled "A True Story of Frontier Life—The Killing of Johnnie Potts," was written by Harry Woods for the eighth annual homecoming edition of the *Hazelton Herald*, issued June 1, 1934.

An interview with Rev. A. M. Weikman of Wichita, pioneer Catholic priest who conducted services in Marysville in the 1870's, was published in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, June 1, 1934.

The history of Dodge City as a military center was sketched in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, June 2, 1934.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The names of Moses Milton Beck, for more than fifty years editor of the Holton *Recorder*, and William Elmer Blackburn, of the Anthony *Republican* and Herington *Sun*, were added recently to the "Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame." Portraits of these men will be added to those of their eight predecessors on the classroom walls of the department of journalism at the University of Kansas. The "Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame" was established four years ago by the University of Kansas. The names of editors selected previous to this year's announcement were: Sol Miller, *The Kansas Chief*, Troy; Maj. J. K. Hudson, *The Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, and the Topeka *Daily Capital*; Marsh M. Murdock, *Osage County Chronicle*, Burlingame, and Wichita *Eagle*; D. R. Anthony, Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* and Leavenworth *Times*; Noble L. Prentis, Topeka *Daily Record*, Junction City *Union* and Kansas City *Star*; D. W. Wilder, Fort Scott *Monitor* and Hiawatha *World*; Edward Wallis Hoch, Marion *Record*; and John A. Martin, tenth governor of the state of Kansas and editor of the Atchison *Champion*.

A tour to several Dickinson county points of historic interest was made by the members of the Dickinson County Historical Society after a luncheon meeting held at Lyona, June 12, 1934.

The Riley County Historical Society observed its twentieth anniversary with a picnic supper and program held June 15, 1934. Kirke Mechem of the State Historical Society and Mrs. Eusebia Irish were the speakers.





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Kansas Historical  
Quarterly



Volume III

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## Contributors

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DR. WILLIAM NICHOLSON was born in Perquimans county, North Carolina, on November 9, 1826. His early education was received in Friends schools in North Carolina and in Providence, R. I. In 1850 he was granted a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania. His work among the Indians of the Central Superintendency in the 1870's led Doctor Nicholson to establish his residence at Lawrence, where he continued his Friends activities and served as clerk of the Kansas Yearly Meeting from 1872 to 1888, when he removed to Pasadena, Calif. He died there on March 1, 1899. For additional biographical data see *ante*, pp. 289-291.

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO is associate professor of economics at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

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

# Ferries in Kansas

## Part V—Solomon River

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Solomon river, the largest affluent of the Smoky Hill, is formed by two branches, both of which rise in the northwest part of Kansas. The north fork has its source in the southwestern part of Thomas county, flows in a northeasterly direction across Sheridan, thence easterly across Norton and Phillips, southeast across the southwest corner of Smith, the northeast corner of Cloud, southeast across Ottawa, across the northeast corner of Saline, and joins the Smoky Hill just east of the Saline-Dickinson county boundary line. The south fork also rises in Thomas county, and takes a course almost due east across the counties of Sheridan, Graham, Rooks and Osborne, uniting with the north branch in the northwest corner of Mitchell county, about two and one-half miles from the west line of the county and near the village of Waconda.

The river had two names bestowed by the Indians, one being "Wus-cu-pa-lo."<sup>1</sup> The other was "Ne-pa-hol-la," meaning "water on a hill." The Great Spirit Spring lies near the junction of the two branches and was called by the Kaw Indians "Ne-woh-kon-daga"—"Spirit Spring."<sup>2</sup> The Pottawatomies called it "Menaton'beesh," and on passing it would make an offering.<sup>3</sup>

In Pike's account of his trip to the Pawnee village in 1806 is probably the earliest printed mention of this stream. He recorded on September 23: "Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kansas which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load."<sup>4</sup> Carey's *Atlas*, of 1817, shows the stream as Solomon's Fork. Capt. John W. Gunnison, the explorer, reached the mouth of Solomon's Fork, July 6, 1853.<sup>5</sup> Francis T. Bryan, lieutenant of engineers, in a report to Gov. John W. Geary, dated at St. Louis, Mo., December 26, 1856, calls the stream the Solomon's Fork.<sup>6</sup>

The Solomon is approximately 300 miles in length, two-thirds of this distance being above the forks of the river. It drains an area

1. Junction City Union, May 6, 1876.

2. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 411, 412.

3. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 306.

4. Coues, *Pike's Explorations*, v. 2, p. 408.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 669.



of 6,882 square miles.<sup>7</sup> The river has often been spoken of as the most rapid stream of western Kansas. Lieut. Julian R. Fitch, in his report on the river in 1864, stated that it was a rapid stream with high banks and had a watercourse eighty feet in width.<sup>8</sup> The bed of the stream, however, is said to be muddy.<sup>9</sup>

Disastrous floods have occurred from time to time on this river, that of June, 1903, being one of the most serious.<sup>10</sup> In order to obtain accurate information of the quantity of water carried by this stream during normal and flood years, a gauging station was established at Solomon, September 4, 1904.<sup>11</sup>

There were only a few ferries located on the Solomon. The first across the river was established at the mouth of the stream in 1858, by D. Bruce. He also started a town known as Bruce City,<sup>12</sup> which was located at the mouth of the Solomon, and in all probability never attained greater proportions than the rude shanty of its projector. A diligent search has been made through early records for something about Mr. Bruce, but aside from the meager statement that he laid out the "city" and operated a ferry, no other information is available.

About one year later, on June 4, 1859, Henry Whitley settled on land near the mouth of the Solomon, and likewise started a ferry. He was a native of England, born on September 4, 1830. In 1858, the year before he settled on the Solomon, he married Catherine Hall, daughter of Deacon Jabez Hall, of Toronto, Canada, and had come west with his bride, settling near the present Dickinson-Saline county line, and close to the military road which crossed the Solomon near its mouth. His nearest neighbor at this time lived at Mud Creek (now Abilene), nine miles away. The nearest post office was Junction City, thirty-five miles distant, and the closest grist mill, at Council Grove, was sixty miles distant. His chief market was Leavenworth, 170 miles away. When he went to mill or market, Mrs. Whitley remained alone in their shanty cabin for days at a time while he made the slow and laborious trip by ox team for necessities. On such occasions it is more than likely Mrs. Whitley was frequently obliged to assist in running the ferry. Not long afterwards Whitley took as partner a relative, probably

7. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau, *Daily River Stages*, Pt. XI, p. 113.

8. Ware, Eugene, F., *The Indian War of 1864*, p. 585.

9. U. S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers*, No. 37, pp. 249, 250.

10. Hollibaugh, *History of Cloud County*, pp. 146, 147.

11. U. S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply Papers*, No. 131, p. 111.

12. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 685; "Dickinson County Clippings," v. 1, p. 178, in Library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Luther Hall, and for several years operated this crossing as the Whitley & Hall ferry.<sup>13</sup> Whitley was the first postmaster of Solomon City, and served a number of years. He opened a store in connection with his ferry in 1863. He was elected commissioner of Saline county in 1861.

In 1865 much travel went west and southwest over the military road, and this year Henry Whitley, John Williamson and Luther Hall organized themselves as a town company and laid out Solomon City on lands belonging to Whitley, the SW $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 18, T. 13, R. 1 E., and the E $\frac{1}{2}$  of SE $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 13, T. 13, R. 1 E. The town was located on the west line of the county, a portion being in both Dickinson and Saline counties.<sup>14</sup>

The Whitley & Hall ferry probably had some opposition, for the Junction City *Union* in the early 1860's said that Capt. Asaph Allen, who ran a ferry across the Republican between Junction City and Fort Riley, also ran a ferry on the Solomon, the item not specifying the exact location.

Another ferry enterprise was started early in 1863, the Junction City *Union* of January 19 stating, "A ferry boat has been placed on the Solomon, which will expedite travel greatly. It was built by Fletcher, Cobb & Marvin, who are a 'hull team,' consequently it must be a 'hull' boat." No further mention of this enterprise has been located.

On May 1, 1866, the Whitley & Hall enterprise was reorganized as the Solomon River Bridge and Ferry Company. Its incorporators included Guerdon E. Beates,<sup>15</sup> Elias S. Stover,<sup>16</sup> Luther Hall, George B. Hall and Henry Whitley. The object of the new enterprise was to erect, construct and operate bridges or ferries across the Solomon river, where said river crosses the township line between township 12, ranges 2 and 3, west, and the mouth of the Solomon river. The principal office of the company was located at Solomon City. Capital stock was placed at \$60,000, in shares of \$100 each.

13. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, pp. 692, 693.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 691.

15. Guerdon E. Beates was an early resident of Davis and Saline counties, first settling at Junction City. When the Civil War broke out he enlisted in the Second Kansas infantry, and served four years and seven months. He took a prominent part in early Davis county politics, and was deputy revenue collector during 1877-'79. In 1885 he was elected to the legislature and served one term. He held many other positions of trust. His death occurred at Salina early in January, 1888, burial being at Junction City.

16. Elias Sleeper Stover was born in Rockland, Me., Nov. 22, 1836. At the age of fifteen he became a sailor, and visited nearly all the principal seaports of the United States, as well as many of those of foreign countries. He came to Kansas in 1856, settling in the vicinity of Junction City, and helped in the Free State cause. He was a Civil War soldier and participated in fifty-one different engagements. He was appointed Kaw Indian agent in 1872. Later he removed to Albuquerque, N. Mex., served in the legislature of that state, and was the first president of the University of New Mexico. He was prominent in G. A. R. circles of New Mexico, and was a past commander. In 1920 he married Margaret Zearing, of San Diego, Calif. He died in Albuquerque, February 3, 1927.

This charter was placed on file with the secretary of state May 5, 1866.<sup>17</sup>

At times these early-day ferries did not operate to the entire satisfaction of everybody. J. A. Slover, writing from Solomon, under date of July 1, 1867, said:

. . . Our ferries on Solomon and Saline are, at certain times of the year, a perfect nuisance. The one on Solomon especially, though not through the fault of the owners, or those in charge of it, but through causes over which they have no control, is anything but satisfactory at times. Twice already this season while the water was high, has the ferry been compelled to lie idle, to the great inconvenience of the traveling public. Now, why cannot Dickinson county and Saline county, unite on this, to them, important question and build a bridge across Solomon at the most convenient and accessible point to the county road of Saline county. It will be to the interest of Solomon City, and they can certainly give their support, and when the citizens of the county think of the matter, they will see at a glance, its necessity and benefit. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The next ferry point of which we have information was at the town of Waconda, Mitchell county, about eighty miles upstream. Aside from this bare mention no further history has been located. The *Waterville Telegraph*, of August 11, 1871, quoting the *Beloit Mirror*, says: "Our people are getting out the timber for a ferry, and soon we shall have accommodations for crossing the river at this point."

A state road was established by the legislature of 1866, running from Henry Whitley's, in Saline county, up the Solomon river, by way of Fort Solomon to Boblett's mill. George Hall, Henry Whitley and J. C. Boblett were commissioners appointed to lay out the road. This same year another state road was laid out from the forks of the Solomon river, via the State Salt Springs, on Salt creek, thence south, via Scripps and Mays' settlement on the Saline, to Salina, thence south, via Sharp's creek to the Santa Fé road. Charles Holtzman, Alexander C. Spillman and Mr. May were appointed commissioners to lay out the road.<sup>19</sup>

Probably there were other ferries on the Solomon river, but no record of them has been available for this paper.

17. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 144, 145.

18. Junction City *Union*, July 6, 1867.

19. *Laws, Kansas*, 1866, pp. 225, 227.



# A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870

WILLIAM NICHOLSON

## CONCLUSION

[Shawnee Reservation]

11 mo 19—

**L** EFT the Sac & Fox Agency & went Southward towards the North Fork of the Canadian— Reached the river at sunset after a drive about 6 hours over a good road except one or two quicksandy creeks—the last 15 miles was mostly prairie

The crossing is 30 miles a little west of South, from Sac & Fox, Agency— River about 120 ft wide & at present  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep— Samuel Charley a Shawnee has some fine corn here & had two wagons loaded with it & ready to cross the river— Some other Shawnees had been hunting their hogs & had got down to the Stream. They drove 6 or 8 of them into the river & swam them across—But some others were refractory & refused to go into the water— So with the aid of dogs they caught them & putting their lariatte ropes around behind their forelegs & mounting their ponies they pulled the hogs into the water, holding them up so they would not drown— The dogs swam along to see it well done.

We reached the house of John White a mile beyond the river, about dark & he said we could stay with him— He is a sort of Chief amongst these Absentee Shawnees who live in this vicinity & Black Beaver a chief of the Delawares at Wichita— He is now very sick

\* \* \* \* \*

466 now there & 175 coming from Kansas— 100 on Bird Creek  
John White— Samuel Charley— Joseph Ellis. Robert Deer  
William Shawnee

\* \* \* \* \*

These Shawnees mostly speak some English and cultivate the soil to some extent— They have horses, cattle, hogs &c— Their houses are rudely constructed and unfinished as they had nearly all their buildings destroyed in the war & they have not yet recovered from their losses— They have claims upon the Government for

these losses (\$250,000) & Major Voir, a Secretary of the Grand Council, is acting as their agent in endeavoring to secure these claims

Agent Miller of Sac & Foxes who has care of these Indians has recently been down here taking their census & looking into the matter of their losses— John White lost 200 cattle & 43 horses & others in proportion— These people came here a long time ago— some from about St Louis and have been constantly improving until the war devastated them— They left their homes & went to Kansas for protection— they being loyal and because of their being absent their property was destroyed— Their cattle were probably stolen by army contractors & sold to the Government—on one side or the other— Supt Hoag suggests that they should have \$200 out of the \$60,000 fund for their smith work to be paid to the Blacksmith & Gun smith of the Sac & Fox agency— E. Earle & myself coincide and feel that they need two good schools at once—

11 mo 20

Left John White's at 9 o'clock and traveled over rough & mostly timbered road for 10 miles in a direction a little west of south to a settlement of Shawnees a mile or two north of Little River— Here with a Shawnee for a guide we turned west & a little Northwest first through timber & then through marshy Prairie for 5 or 6 miles where we crossed the Little River & camped for dinner upon its southern bank & our guide went back— It is a narrow stream here— perhaps 30 ft wide—about 4 feet deep & very steep banks— We then went North West for about 5 miles & came again to the South bank of what we suppose was the same stream & followed the bottom in a westward & south westward direction for about 3 miles & then crossed to its north bank & went still south westward for about 4 miles when we camped for the night. We passed an encampment of Shawnees where we saw many deerskin hanging in the trees & met the Indians not far off— They were out merely to get skins

At 9 o'clock we read the 4th of Hebrews as we sat under our tent before the warm camp fire & had a solemn devotional peace in which my heart was tendered to tears in secret prayer for my dear ones at home & especially for Bro Josiah's children—thinking it most likely from what I last heard, that their dear mother had before this passed to her heavenly rest.

11 mo 21—

Beautiful, clear cold morning— ground crusted &c left about 8 o'clock & went in a westward direction about 8 miles & came down to the Canadian River, at an old trading post now deserted, & at a creek which we crossed near where it enters the Canadian here we came into the road leading up from the old Seminole Agency & were soon joined by one which we suppose came from a ford of the Canadian tho we did not go down to the bank. We saw a road on the Southern bank which seemed to lead over the hills in a South western direction— We here turned N. West & traveled about 10 or 12 miles & came to an old deserted trading post near a creek where the road forked & we stopped for dinner. Then about 8 miles further we came to another creek with a bad crossing, where was once a bridge, but it was broken down— we rode 12 or 14 miles further & camped near a creek— Our general course has been nearly north but slightly west of north—very little timber—poor prairie some buffalo grass— we have seen 10 deer— 4 wolves & E. H. killed one prairie hen today—

We have not seen a human being today— Weather clear & this forenoon a very cold wind nearly facing us—but afternoon very pleasant—The creeks which we have crossed this afternoon have run towards the north Fork of the Canadian—Camped & rested pretty well

11 mo 22—

Left about 8 and quickly came upon several flocks of wild turkeys—from 10 to 12 in each— E. H & Cyrus each killed one— in a mile or two we came to a deep large stream, which we suppose to be the North Fork of the Canadian— We crossed it and traveled all day in a North west direction going probably 35 miles or 40— We crossed some rapid streams with very steep banks. The water was not deep but there were evidences in the drift that one of these sometimes rises 20 feet above its present level— These creeks & very many ravines were very bad to cross— Near night E. H. sat in the carriage & killed a prairie chicken & as we approached some timber to look for a camping place we found turkeys perched in the trees— The streams this afternoon run in a North Eastern direction as though they are branches of the Red Fork of the Arkansaw— The waters must be very red during a freshet as indicated by the land and by the water stains upon the trees— The ground is very barren—& as our Corn is exhausted it is really a hard time for our horses— There is very little grass & that is mostly dry—



We are greatly blessed with good dry weather though it is quite cool— We think we have missed the right road to the Cheyenne Agency—but have not seen a single human being today— We passed a Prairiedog village this afternoon— Had a pretty comfortable night altho the wind blew so hard before morning that we thought our tent likely to blow over.

[Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency]

11 mo. 23—

Cyrus killed another turkey this morning— We started at 8 o'clock & in an hour or two came in sight of water some miles away—& finally reached it & crossed it. I suppose we traveled about 8 miles & we concluded it must be Red Fork— we went on a few miles further & came in sight of a wagon moving southward, (we moving N. West & soon found that we were approaching the road leading from Wichita, Kansas to the Cheyenne Agency and the wagon men soon relieved us of our uncertainty & by some persuasion we secured a few oats for our horses— We fed them, recrossed the Red Fork, a few miles above where we had just crossed it & went on over a very good road for 30 miles & reached the Cheyenne & Arapahoe Agency about 6 o'clock— & found comfortable quarters at Agent Darlington's— We are blessed with good health and I trust are thankful for our many favors—

After sunset we saw some turkeys about a hundred yards from the road perched in trees & Cyrus killed two at one shot. He & Enoch saw a large buck in the morning when they went to get the horses as they were lariatted some distance from our tent in the best grass that could be found— Our horses held out nobly for all they had so little to eat for the last two days— We now suppose that the deep stream we passed yesterday about 8 or 10 miles beyond North Fork of the Canadian was Chisholm's Creek, a branch of the Red Fork or sometimes called Cimarone River (More probably it was the head of Deep Fork)

11 mo—24

Blessed with refreshing sleep— It being thanksgiving day, the employees of the Government are released from duty and so Agent Darlington proposed a meeting

We were willing & at 10½ we met a considerable company & I think we found it a profitable opportunity— I spoke upon thanksgiving as the duty & privilege of Christians, but that no acts of thanksgiving are valueless unless they are the outspringing of a right

state of mind— That we must come to a proper appreciation of our Heavenly Father's mercies and avail ourselves of his kindness through Christ Jesus before we can be truly thankful— & when we do avail ourselves of the offers of his love, we shall give up our wills to His— give him the preference trust Him— believe his truth believe what the Bible says not a part only but all— & accepting the truth of our fallen nature we come to true repentance & desire for deliverance from both the guilt & the dominion of sin through our Lord Jesus Christ &c. &c. & then followed in exhortation & then in prayer for ability to see ourselves as we are & to be delivered from all sin & prepared for heaven while we live here &c. &c. Edward Earle then spoke & then E. Hoag followed, all in good spirit & to good purpose—

In afternoon we held a council with Bigmouth, White Crow & Yellow Horse, three Arapahoe Chiefs who want to follow the white man's road & to live in peace— They are represented by agent Darlington as very good men They plead for help and encouragement. They say that their own people & the Kiowas & Comanches are opposed to their following the ways of white people & talk about them very much They say that much has been promised to be done for those Indians who would settle down & they are now as much settled as possible and want some help in getting things arranged

They want chickens, and plows & wagons & cooking utensils &c White Crow's son was found dead last summer and it was supposed that some Osages who left the place about that time had murdered him and so the Arapahoes talked of making war upon the Osages— But upon consultation White Crow said that if they succeeded in killing some of the Osages, it would not bring his boy to life again and that he desired them to refrain from war— that if he could forgive the Osages and bury the whole matter & live in peace, he thought his people ought to be willing to do the same— This seems remarkable for an Indian— Can white men who profess Christianity show more of the Christian spirit

Brinton Darlington Agent

Jesse Townsend Elma Townsend Soninlaw & daughter of Agt Jos. Jon Hoag Israel & Ruth Negus John Williams, Blacksmith Dr. [omission] Henley— John Smith Interpreter—

Menimic—Head Cheyenne Chief

Powder Face }  
Left Hand } Arapahoe chiefs

These Indians suffer some from Intermittents when confined near the Agency— But are healthier when upon the hunt— The Cheyennes are a strong healthy people— The Arapahoes are much affected with Syphilitic affections—mostly secondary. Their women are muscular and suffer very little in childbirth— They bury the best clothing, bows & arrows & some food with the dead & kill the best horse at the grave— that they may have every thing ready for their journey at the resurrection— They believe in a happy place for the good & an evil place for the bad— They are Monotheists—and when they feel badly or are in distress they offer their own blood in sacrifice, cutting their bodies—

Red Moon, Little Bear, Lean Bear, Good Bear & Bear's Tongue

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Arapahoe head men

Little Raven	Big Mouth
Spotted Wolf	White Crow
Storm	Yellow Horse
Ice	Bird Chief
Powder Face	Tall Bear
Left Hand's (Bro represent)	Yellow Bear's Band rep

#### Head men of Cheyennes

Big Jake	Bear's Tongue
Little Robe (Menimics band)	Bear Shield
Sitting Bear	Lean Bear
Heap of Birds	Whirlwind Junr
Big Horse	Stone Calf
White Beard	White Bull
Red Moon	Good Bear
Wolf's Road	Lone Chief

(When a man will not take advice the Indian expression is— "He has no ears.")

\* \* \* \* \*

The bands of all the above chiefs have been in & drawn rations at the Agency since leaving for their Fall hunt notwithstanding Col. Nelson's statement to the War Department, that they would never return— They include the entire tribes of Cheyenne & Arapahoes.

Little Heart—a Kiowa Chief

Apaches— Tracy—

Big Mouth, Arapahoe, commanded the Indian troop which slaughtered Major Elliott & his command, perhaps the day after Black Kettle's Camp was destroyed— Big Mouth has Major Elliott's horse yet.



11 mo. 26th

Fine cool weather— Council with some Cheyenne Chiefs— Red Moon did the speaking Said the whole Cheyenne tribe was bound to the peace by what had been said— That they will use all their influence for peace— Complains of the prohibition of Ammunition— do not want it for any evil purposes but to kill small game— That the prohibition gives some of their men the idea that the object of the Government is to disarm them & make them weak so it can easily destroy them— They do not want to be confined to a small reservation— want the privilege of hunting and moving around— Do not like to be prohibited from going into Camp Supply— Do not want Railroads to come through their country— for then bad white men will come in as they did in the Smoky Hill Country & drive the Indian out—

## [Wichita Agency]

Left at 9½ for Wichita Agency— Crossed the Big Canadian at 12 o'clock but Brinton Darlington & J J Hoag being in Company & stopping to let their horses drink the wheels settled in the mud & when the horses started the Doubletrees broke & it was quite a job to get the Ambulance out of the Quicksand— this river is ⅛ of a mile wide but does not seem to have any more water in it than the North Fork which is not more than 100 feet wide— neither stream seems to have as much water here as they do above— it seems to sink away in the Sand— So also of the Arkansaw & may be the sources of springs in some lower country many miles away— These Sandy bottoms are very treacherous & it is not safe for a team to stop in crossing— The quicker you cross the better— Going on 8 or 10 miles further we came to a fine valley which gradually winds south ward to the Washita River but we found some dangerous places in it— One of our wheels horses suddenly sunk in the mud and the wheels on one side of the Ambulance went to the hub— We loosened the horses as soon as possible and then by fastening two of them to the end of the pole and digging with the Spade in front of the wheels we succeeded with difficulty in extricating it— We crossed Sugar Creek about dark & arrived at Shirley's trading post at 8 o'clock— We got some supper here and the privilege of spreading our robes & blankets on the floor—

There were some men there working for Shirley & Agent Richards & they had a man to cook for them & he kindly offered to prepare supper for us— Agent Richards has gone to Lawrence & his Indians

are upon the hunt— his house is partly built & is located  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile N. W. of the trading post which is close to the falls of Washita River— 2 [?] ft of fall—

[Kiowa and Comanche Agency]

11 mo. 27—

After Breakfast B. Darlington proposed to have the men of this place collected & read in the Bible before we leave— I went out & asked them if they were willing to come in— They readily assented & about a dozen gathered in—all that were there. E. H. proposed 55th of Isaiah— I read it & then after a pause spoke from our Savior text—"Repent ye & believe the Gospel," explaining the nature of repentance—That it was not simply a sorrow for one sin, or for many sins, but an earnest desire & purpose also to turn from & be delivered from all sin—both its guilt & its power— that the invitation is to *all—Every one*— that our being exhorted to seek the Lord whilst he may be found intimates that there is a time when he cannot be found &c. &c—Then soon followed in prayer that as in mercy we were preserved unto this day, He would put into our hearts the desire to be made wholly his— to follow him to give our wills to him— & thus to be made partakers of his love & mercy here & hereafter &c

We then started on our journey saw Mt Scott in the south— dined at the Cache Creek & bearing around to the East & South East of the Wichita mountains we came to Medicine Lodge Cr which joins Cache Cr at Ft Sill which we reached at Sunset & passed on a mile further to the Agency & were kindly entertained by Laurie Tatum— Most of the Indians are upon the hunt. Their annuity goods are not here— Left Ft Harker 7th & may be two months on the road (350 miles) ox team probably

The treaty provides for the goods to be delivered on 15th of 10 mo— just when the Indians need them as their clothing is then much worn.<sup>9</sup> After this time when the Indians are getting good robes they do not so much need their clothing— Robes \$10. best—

The annuity gds are transported by the military & they have so much to do of their own that it is always very late before they reach

9. In a section of miscellaneous matter in the back of his diary, Nicholson makes the following entry: "1871 1/8. Josiah Butler writes from Kiowa and Comanche Agency that the Annuity goods, due 10/15, 1870 had not yet arrived. Neither have their rations come. The Commissary department of the Agency has been buying & borrowing sugar for months—the stock of bacon also is exhausted— Also states that it is reported the Indians made a raid into Texas on the 2nd of 12 mo. last, and 12 miles from Montague killed a woman & three children, seriously wounded & scalped another woman & slightly wounded a boy & left three children in the house unhurt— The report had not been confirmed."

the Indians goods— It would be better for the Interior department to do its own freighting for it has to pay for it any way & is so much longer about it— The Military ordered the man of whom they bought beef to turn the whole amount contracted for at one time— The contract had bound him to deliver a few at a time as they were wanted at  $2\frac{3}{8}$  cts gross — But as he turned over the entire amount (4000 head) at once, it has cost \$15000 to herd them— The Indians get so much buffalo that they do not want much beef— The trader did not gain the whole \$15000 because he had to be in a hurry to fill his contract & he would not have bought the whole at once & so would not have been at the entire expense of herding—

Little Heart, the Kiowa Chief who is said to have killed the Mexican at Camp Supply on the night of about 29 or 30 of 6 mo— has recently died—out upon the plains—

11 mo—28th

Cloudy morning—&c

Nearly all the bands of these Indians have been engaged in raiding this year and quite a number of the Wichitas & affiliated bands— The Qua ha dee or Roving Comanches have never come in upon the reservation— never draw rations & declare that they never will come in. This band is a nucleus— Its size is very variable depending upon how many of other bands may join them temporarily for raiding purposes— thus the blame is thrown upon the Qua ha dees when in reality it is mostly members of other bands.

The Mexican influence is also very bad— Many Mexicans are amongst them as Indians— They go down into Mexico and get guns & ammunition and tell the Indians that they have a great Father in their country as big as the one at Washington and much kinder to the Indian because he will let them have all the ammunition &c they can buy and does not care how much they raid upon the Texans

The Wild Apaches of New Mexico now camped on Head Waters of Brazos are coming amongst these Indians, as the Government is fighting them there and that is an additional reason for solicitude & of probable future trouble—

The Comanches 10 years ago were in Texas and farming and herding to a considerable extent But the Texans drove them from the country & killed their Agent upon his return— The Indians will not forget all this— They laugh at the Kiowas & Apaches and call them cowards and women & in this way they induce them to join their raids— They moreover say that when they are quiet the



Government does not do much for them, but when they go to war then they are well treated & have many presents. Say they can always tell when they will have an abundance of presents & when they will have very few— Very many of them were sick last year & died & they thought they must kill some body for that also— They complain that the Government shows a want of confidence in them

In regard to the beef contract, which Col. Lee ordered to be closed at once, on 1st of 7 mo when the Commissary was turned over to Agent Tatum, a few were selected and weighed & the others estimated by the weight of these— One lot was appraised by two men one of whom was selected by Agent Tatum & the other by the man who sold the cattle & the other lot was appraised by two military men who were considered to be good judges. About 1000 head were sold to the Cheyenne & Arapahoe Agency— Another thousand have been used here— & there are about 2000 now on hand— There is a regular account kept with the mill & the product of the mill in toll is applied for any expenses which may be necessary about the mill or house—a full account being kept, but not put upon the department books, because it would have to go upon the property return & would give much more trouble— The wheat is ground and sold to the Military for horse feed—as there are no flour mill or bolt. There are about 800 bushels & sold at \$3.00 (5 cts pr lb) There is also a fair crop of corn—but this will be necessary to feed the mules—

The rations turned over to L. Tatum by N. D. Badgeon 11 mo 1869—which had apparently been issued, were sold for over \$4466 and entered upon his books and applied for the benefit of the Indians as is clearly shown by his books in the office— The house built by Col Boone for an Agency is turned into a farmer's house because it is too far away across the Creek for the Agent's house & is just where it is wanted for a farmer's house— It is adobe & no rock at the bottom— & he has built an Agent's house out of the money appropriated for the putting up of houses for employees & built it where it is much more convenient— These matters all seem to be entirely correct although upon the department reports they are not exhibited.

11 mo— 29

Edward Earle & myself have examined carefully the books & accounts of Agent Tatum and we do not discover anything that is not entirely correct and straightforward— He believes that he will

have ample funds for all his estimates of the current fiscal year— There is a balance of the \$20,000 appropriation not yet expended, amounting to over \$6000—some of which he wishes to be used for educational purposes & some for assisting in erecting houses for chiefs &c. &c.

Charles Ehresman	Interpreter for Kiowas Comanches & Apaches
Lone Wolf	} Kiowa Chiefs
Kicking Bird	
Tumbling Bird	
Pacer—Apache	

Lone Wolf complains of the withholding of ammunition— thinks it because the government wants to take the advantage of them— complains of Gen Nelson's driving them away from the vicinity of Camp Supply— said they went there because they were so sickly near the Agency and that is why they gave up farming— they thought something was wrong or else they would not be sick & die & so they wanted to try their old way of living again— Complains that their annuity goods had not come & wants E. H to give them some presents— that their women are naked & they want tobacco blankets and kettles & a great many other things— complains that the Texans kill so many of them that they want to kill some Texans also— Again & again he calls for powder & lead thinks we are big enough chiefs to give them a little to go hunting has been waiting two days to see us & when he heard last night that we had come, they were all so glad they could not sleep— that we were all big Captains from Washington and he thought we might give them a little for killing birds, turkeys deer & buffalo &c—

300 Apaches

1896 Kiowas

2742 Comanches

1000 Quahadas—

Lone Wolf says that none of the Kiowas will go—& none of the Apaches to the Grand Council He will not talk about anything but ammunition He says if they go to the Council all their words will fall to the ground— the white people wont pay any attention to them Then they persistently demand presents of clothing &c &c—E. H offered them tobacco & apples— they said they did not want them they wanted clothes & thought he might go to the traders & buy some— E. H. told him he did not have money— They said he might go to the trader's & borrow some & pay the trader when the annuity goods came— that they did not expect

the goods would be here until winter was over or summer had come— & they said it is cold now & they want goods now They have always been used to have big chiefs give them something when they come. They think it strange we do not give something to them

Kiowas.....	1896
Apaches.....	300
Comanches.....	2742
	<hr/>
	4938
Quahadas.....	1000
	<hr/>
Total.....	5938

Satanta complains of ammunition being withheld— says that he wants Enoch to tell his Great Father at Washington that if he will move Texas farther off he will not raid there any more that he wants Camp Supply removed & he wants ammunition— He says they raided last summer because they could not get ammunition— That they think the white people want to fall upon them and destroy them & that is why they will not let them have ammunition He says he does not want to go to Washington— but wants E. H to tell his Great Father what he says & then if he will send him some ammunition, perhaps after a while he will go to Washington & see him—

There were Sioux Indians here last summer—

Gen. B. H. Grierson believes that the troubles last summer were the result of a preconcerted arrangement between the Sioux, & all the plains Indians for a general Indian war. But as Red Cloud went to Washington & the thing was broken up, the difficulties in this vicinity did not amount to much— He seems disposed not to use his soldiers except in extreme necessity.

We dined to-day (29th) with Genl Grierson & had much interesting conversation on the subject of the Indians & their management He proposes to concentrate the troops at Fort Sill He objects to setting a part of the Kiowa reservation to the Wichitas— says all the Indians object to it and that it will lead to difficulty—but that those Indians are welcome to remain—only the Kiowas do not want any of their territory cut off— They will say that next thing another part will be set off to some other Indians & then another &c until they will have nothing left— The Wichitas &c used to live here near these Mountains and consider that this is just the place for them— that it is their home &c but are willing to remain on the Washita River



The Comanches— Caddoes, Wacoos &c were located on the Brazos River near Camp Cooper 99° Long—33' Latitude in 1855 and in 1859 they were driven out of the country by the Texans—

[Chickasaw Agency]

11 mo 30th

Left Kiowa & Comanche Agency at 7½ A. M. & took the road Eastward towards Cherokee town on the Washita River— A beautiful clear cold day—after some rain & wind— We feel grateful for so much good weather— At 30 miles we passed within 2½ miles of Dr. Sturns—south of the road— We camped about 40 miles from fort Sill & had an excellent rest—& this morning—12 mo 1st we are off at 7½— We found good roads yesterday afternoon Read the 4th of John before retiring last night— Cyrus killed a turkey just before we started— There were very many near our camp & a great many prairie chickens were near our road for the first 2 hours— We saw a large Buck also & several flocks of wild geese— In about 10 miles we came to where the road from the Wichita Agency came into ours & then we kept down the Washita valley—passing one Ranche—some herds of cattle— The valley is from one to 2 miles wide & very fertile, the musquite grass being green in many parts of it and looking as if it would afford pasturage all winter— We passed on after dinner across a deep Creek & then down the valley of the Washita to Smith Paul's large farm— then took the left to the Ferry opposite Cherokee Town— crossed by moonlight & then went to Dr. Shirley's 2 miles beyond Cherokee Town, through a muddy circuitous route— Smith Paul's farm will yield 200,000 bushels of corn this year— He is a Georgian who married a Chickasaw woman. A man can occupy all the land that he will fence & is entitled to a strip 1/4 of a mile all around his fence—so that no one shall encroach upon his pasture & timber— There are about 5000 Chickasaws & 1500 Freedmen— These Freedmen are not citizens The Chickasaws voted according to treaty to allow the \$300,000 which the Government was to pay them for the Kiowa Reservation to be appropriated for the Colonizing of the Colored people— But nothing has been done yet by the Government & the Chickasaws will probably now be willing to let them remain as citizens At present they are not amenable to law and are engaged sometimes in Cattle Stealing & other improper practices.

The Chickasaws are sending their children to the States to be educated, as their law allows their school fund to be used in this

way. The colored people have no right to any lands and if one makes any improvements a Chickasaw can come in and expel him—

Dr John Shirley is a trader here & brother of Wm Shirley trader at the Wichita— He lives about 80 miles from Ft. Sill & just about half way between Ft Arbuckle & old Ft. Arbuckle.

12 mo-2nd

We have had excellent accommodations (for this country) at Dr. Shirley's— Good feather beds— a stove in each room &c— The morning is very fine—clear, cool & frosty— We trust we are not altogether devoid of appreciating these blessings— "Bless the Lord Oh my Soul & forget not all his benefits—"

We traveled over a road quite muddy from recent rain & crossed the Canadian at Topofki ford, 5 miles above the mouth of Topofki Creek, a little before Sunset— The water was not deep but it is a treacherous bottom & we kept the horses moving on a brisk walk, for fear of quicksand— were favored with safe crossing and found accommodation at the house of an industrious colored man named Tecumseh, who lives about one mile north of the Canadian— Tecumseh has between 200 & 300 hogs— 200 cattle & 21 horses— he lost much stock during the war— His hogs get fat on acorns & those that are designed for bacon, he drives up & fattens on corn— But he eats a great deal of fresh pork— Says that he kills a hog every other day—there being other families around— He has 6 children— no school for his children. He was a slave to a Creek Indian and came when quite small with his parents & master from Alabama when the Creeks were removed thence He speaks English well & is enterprising & industrious— He has one small very comfortable log house for travelers with a good bed in it & this was placed at our disposal— 2 of us occupied the bed & two arranged robes &c upon the floor— had a splendid fire & felt that we were well provided for— Our horses too were well supplied with corn well cured blade fodder (the first we have had) hay—oats &c. We have traveled 30 miles to day.

12 mo—3rd

Blessed with a very comfortable rest upon robes, blankets &c upon the floor— A good breakfast & ready to leave at a little before 8. A very mild clear morning— Wind from the South, indicating rain— I read some chapters in the Bible to Tecumseh & his family last night & we explained matters as well as we could to them— His wife is a Baptist— They occasionally have meetings at his house— It is a pity they cannot have a school in that

neighborhood— We traveled for 15 miles to Little River— here we found a considerable company on each side, detained by high water— No ferry boat—water 15 ft—river about 75 ft wide— Indications of rain—river rising instead of falling & no prospect of its being fordable in a week—

From the Kiowa & Comanche Agency at Fort Sill to Dr. Sturn's a little south of the road leading to Cherokee Town is about 30 miles— From Dr. Sturn's to Cherokee Town a mile or two east of the Washita is 50 miles from Cherokee Town to the Canadian is 30 miles from Canadian to Little River is 15 miles— from Little River to the Seminole Agency is 15 miles— from Seminole Agency to Okmulgee is 50 miles & thence to Ft Gibson is 50 miles— From Ft Sill to Ft Gibson is 240 miles

We got the assistance of 2 colored men & one Seminole and all hands went to work to make a raft and got it launched by night.

[Seminole Agency]

12 mo—4th

Commenced to raft— sent over baggage— then wheels then ambulance body &c assisted by Lieutenants Doyle & Beck & Willey & their men— We got over & then swam the horses— It was near eleven o'clock before we got started— & but for there being a heavy force of men there we could not have succeeded— Lieut Willey was in charge of a large train of commissary stores for Ft Sill and was on the North Bank & his teamsters helped us to pull the Ambulance off the raft & put on the wheels & then pull it up the bank— The ambulance weighs about 1200 lbs— The other Lieutenants were on the South bank and were traveling in the same direction that we were— It is First day morning & it seems much like work—but the Council is to convene tomorrow 55 miles away and it seems necessary to hasten (Dr. Bryner of Pittsburg is the New Seminole Agent)

We reached Seminole Agency at 2. o'clock & got dinner— then drove until night when the forward wheel striking a stump, caused a fracture of our carriage pole, so we camped for the night & by 9 o'clock next morning we had a new oak sapling pole & started on our journey— We crossed North Fork of the Canadian on a good Ferry boat—and also Deep Fork and reached Okmulgee about moonlight—finding comfortable quarters for this country at [omission] Smith's— Not very many members of the Council have arrived yet.



## [Okmulgee and the Meeting of the General Council of the Indian Territory]

12 mo —6—

The weather is cool & looks as if we might have snow— Smith is a white man but his wife is colored— She keeps an excellent table— The colored people in the Creek country are upon an equal footing with the Indians & a man who marries a colored woman becomes a member of the nation the same as if he had married an Indian woman.

They have excellent Sandstone here for building purposes—some of it fine enough for grindstones. It hardens upon exposure to the air— We saw some beautiful specimens, scattered over the hills, yesterday. They seemed to be fragments of a solidified stratum of reddish sand over which water had been flowing & left it in ridges of a waving character— We often see the sand left in just such a condition upon the subsidence of a stream—in waving ridges—just imagine such a surface to become petrified & then by some upheaval broken into fragments of from 6 by 8 inches up to two or three feet square & from 3 to 6 inches in thickness & we have somewhat the idea

At 2 o'clock the Council convened—but there was not a quorum present— Credentials were presented by several who were not here at the last Session President Hoag made remarks encouraging the members to confer with one another and endeavor to mature their views & plans of legislation so that when a quorum should arrive, they might be able to act promptly & wisely.

He advised them to consider themselves as persons who were sent here to devise measures (not of their own personal aggrandizement) but for the good of their people at home— that legislatures should remember that their power comes from the people & that it is their duty to look to the true interests of the people & that their attention should be given to those educational, agricultural, & general industrial measures which will tend to the elevation & permanent improvement of the tribes which they represent— Upon motion the Council then adjourned until tomorrow 9 A. M.

This General Council consists of delegates from each of the tribes that chooses to be represented, and that lives in the Indian Territory— Each tribe is entitled to one delegate & then to an additional one for every thousand people or fractional part of a thousand above five hundred— Major Vore, Secretary pro tem— (Vore) (Vore)

12/7—

Council met—no quorum Some addition was made to a few of the Committees— Super Hoag gave a short account of the condition of some of the tribes, which he had recently visited— & called for remarks from any members who were willing to speak— Francis King, of the Ottawas said his people have only been in the territory 2 years— that they are now improving in civilization— have mostly good houses— a saw mill— a good school and religious meeting every Sunday— He bore testimony to the great value of the Sabbath meetings, both as a religious point of view and as a civilizing institution— that before they had these meetings, if you went over to a neighbors at 8 or 9 o'clock of a Sunday morning, you would find the morning's work unfinished— the dishes unwashed upon the table— the children with their soiled clothes & other evidences of sloth and carelessness—but now they provide all the week for Sunday— rise early that day— put the house in order— dress the children in clean clothing and go promptly to their meetings— He said his people were deeply interested in the proceedings of this Council and he hoped the stronger tribes represented in the Council would not oppress the weaker— that he himself felt an obligation to look to the interest of his neighbor as well as to his own interest and he sincerely hoped all the members would be influenced by such a consideration in their deliberations— He furthermore said that many of the delegates present are men of education and intelligence and capable of expressing themselves clearly and forcibly and that many others like himself had had fewer opportunities— could speak English with difficulty and had had no experiences in legislative matters— This diversity leads to some delay and hesitation—the former class do not like to say much because they suppose it will not be understood or appreciated & the latter because they feel distrustful of their capacity to express themselves These hindrances will gradually diminish and he looked hopefully to the future—

Augustus Captain, of the Osages said his people were out upon the plains hunting buffalo— that the matter of securing a home in the Indian Territory had been delayed by unavoidable causes— that they had given up their homes in Kansas because the settlers had treated them so badly—and were now practically homeless— he could not say that they gave much encouragement to schools and civilizing influences as the treatment which they had received at the hands of the whites tended to prejudice them against the

ways of the white man— President Hoag said he was sorry for all this but believed the land question would soon be settled & hoped the future of the Osages upon their new home would be brighter than the past—

Edward Earle addressed a few words of encouragement to the Council and assured them of the great interest which he felt in the welfare of their race— spoke of the great kindness and hospitality which we had received from them on this journey, in such striking contrast with what had so often been represented as to their savage and barbarous nature &c— After the Council a Cherokee named W. A. Duncan who lives near the Arkansas line and who is evidently a man of education and intelligence, thanked E. E. for the kindly interest which he manifested in the Indians. Said it rejoiced him to find that they have some friends in the midst of the general indifference & hostility manifested towards them— He is not a member of the Council but being in Okmulgee on business came in out of interest in the proceedings— Council adjourned to 9 A. M. to-morrow.

W. A. Duncan called upon us after dinner and we had much interesting conversation. We find him very intelligent, of a well balanced mind, well educated and a minister of the Methodist Church— His address is Evansville Arkansas & he resides on Barren Fork of Illinois river near the Arkansas line and perhaps 20 miles East of Tahlequa or a little North East—

There are of the Cherokees 18000 of all ages, & colors— they have about 42 public schools— their colored people have separate schools— Thirty five per cent of all funds due the nation & which may hereafter accrue to them are appropriated to the support of common Schools and for other educational purposes— the people in the Eastern part of the Cherokee nation are largely engaged in farming— wheat does remarkably well— corn & sweet potatoes also— In the western portion of the nation, stock raising is the chief occupation of the people— We feel a great desire to encourage education amongst them and that they would as soon as possible, have native teachers— We feel very desirous also of encouraging Normal Schools that the System of instruction in their schools may be improved as rapidly as possible. At night W. A. Duncan had a religious meeting of an interesting character. He spoke from the text "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord"— gave a description of the attributes of the Creator— his love— his justice— his mercy— his truth & truthfulness &c. & improved



the teaching of these truths by an Exhortation to all present to accept in their hearts the God of the Bible and to endeavor to be as near like him as possible— to copy his character— to imitate in our example and life that which he reveals to us as his character— They then sang in Muscogee language, in a very earnest and spirited manner—

I then spoke a few words and Thomas Miller followed— They then sang again— The Minister spoke in English and what he & the rest of us spoke was interpreted in very good style by a young man David Hodge into the Muscogee language— Checota, head chief of the Creeks is a minister and very earnest 2160 Seminole

12 mo—8th

Council met at 9—A. quorum present— 37 delegates present— 64 being the entire number— Journal of yesterday & day before read & confirmed. Mr Purcy of Chickasaw amended by Scales, Cherokee, moved appointment of Interpreters to such as need— carried— Sands to whom was committed the duty of inviting the wild tribes to participate by delegations in this council reports that he sent the message but has had no reply— He sent it to the Absentee Shawnee & they to Cheyennes &c in runner style— But many of the tribes were on the hunt & did not hear of the request in time for the appointment of delegates. President Hoag read an extract from Commissioner Parker's official report just published, giving a favorable report of the proceedings of the late session of the Council and expressing a hope of good results from its present session— The journal of the late session of the Convention was then read and interpreted— 2 additional rules were introduced regulating contested Seats of members & providing for a fine of \$4.00 for disorderly conduct or for expulsion by a 2/3 vote, if necessary— Adjourned to 2 P. M.

2 P. M.—Met according to adjournment. The rule proposed for disorderly members was rejected as an imputation upon the good character of the Indian people. The rule concerning legal qualifications was adopted and a committee of 5 directed on Credentials— There being 2 sets of Credentials presented by those who claim to represent the Muscogee nation, they were referred to Com. on Credentials

On motion a Com of 10 was appointed to propose a plan for permanent organization of the tribes & nations of the Ind. Territory in accordance with the provisions of treaties of 1866— adjourned till 9 A. M tomorrow—

12 mo 9th—

40 delegates present. President Hoag remarked that we were dependent upon the Divine blessing for all good & that it was a duty resting upon us all to ask for that blessing—& that a pause for devotion would be made at the opening of each morning session & he exhorted every member—ministers and all others to attend to their impressions of duty & if they feel prompted by the Good Spirit to pray publicly that they be faithful to do it. After a devotional pause the Secretary was directed to call the roll— read minutes of last meeting &c in routine— Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow Morning so as to give the Com. on Organization time to work as every thing seems to hang upon the report of that Com.

\* \* \* \* \*

Judge Baker—Railroad man Lobbyist

\* \* \* \* \*

We had an interview to-day with John White, Joseph Ellis & Robert Deer of the Absentee Shawnees & we propose to assist them in building three school houses & also to help them about their blacksmith business— there are some farming implements on the way to them— they are a deserving people, desirous of improvement but lost \$200,000 dollars worth of property, in houses stock &c during the war— About 100 have been living on Bird Creek which runs into Cana— 175 or more are on the way from Kansas & some Delawares from Washita are coming & there are 460 or more already between the North Fork & Canadian— Those now in Kansas will many of them come down & I suppose in a short time there will be at least 700 collected in that region.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Cramer—teacher

Timothy Barnard—Colonel

\* \* \* \* \*

12 mo—10th

Devotional pause— Quorum— Com. on Credentials report against 2 claimants from Creek nation— Report adopted— The Committee on Organization report recommending a form of Government for the Territory, republican in form, providing for Executive, legislative & judicial departments—and to be based upon & strictly in conformity with the various treaties of 1866—so arranged also as to protect the weaker tribes from oppression by the Stronger & to promote the general good of all the nations and tribes & not to

be binding upon any except those who accept and consent to it— Mr. Johnson, Cherokee, opposed the report of the Com on the ground of its not being specially provided for in the Cherokee treaty which had been adopted as a basis of legislation. He concluded his remarks with a motion to adjourn until 12th, 9 o'clock— Carried—

12 mo 11—

Commissioners of President arrived yesterday and to-day at 3 o'clock had meeting with delegates & others—& spoke to them upon various matters of interest— I appointed a meeting for the evening and read a part of 4th Chapter of Philippians & spoke from the 8th verse, first dwelling upon the proofs of the authenticity of the Bible &c & then pressing the duties prescribed therein— the evils of war & Intemperance were specially dwelt upon and I had great freedom of utterance especially upon the latter Subject, going into it quite fully— Thomas Miller then spoke— Then Judge Baker & the meeting was very quiet and orderly— Delegates mostly present—

\* \* \* \* \*

The Council met Sep—27

Com on organization of the Council & order of business

Com on Relations with U. S.

Com on International (tribal) relations

Com on Judiciary

Com on Finance

Com on Education & Agriculture

Com on Enrolled bills

The Com on relations with U. S were were instructed to report a memorial to President of U. S. setting forth our relations with the Gen. Gov as defined by Treaty Stipulations, & protesting against any legislation by Congress impairing the obligation of any treaty provision & especially against the creation of any government over the Ind. Territory other than that of the Gen. Council. And also against the Sale or grant of any lands directly or contingent upon the extinguishment of the Ind. Title to any Railroad company or Corporation now chartered for the purpose of constructing a Railroad from a point north to any point south or from a point East to any point west through the Indian Territory, or the construction of any other R road other than those authorized by existing laws— Assurances were sent to Kiowas Comanches Apaches— Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Wichitas &c of friendship & kindly feeling & invitation



to meet at the next convention of the Council which adjourned till 12. 5th

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12-11

Strangers present at Okmulgee J. D. Lang— Robert Campbell— John V. Farwell of the President's Commission— Major Reynolds former Seminole Agent— Mr Denman, former Super. of Northern Superintendency— Mr. Fenlon beef contractor— Judge Baker & Mr. Hubbell of Springfield Missouri as the agents or attorneys of the South Pacific Rail Road— Mr. Hanna of Kansas City— Mr M. E. Joyce reporter for N. Y. Herald— Mr (Mr Fales-Missouri Republican) & Mr. H. A. Goldsmith of Kansas City Times— Gen E. S. Parker Commissioner of Ind. Affairs — Dr Long of the Chickasaw—

12-12

Quorum— Upon motion of Mr Johnson the yeas & nays were ordered when the vote shall be taken upon the report of the Com on organization— Mr. Ross spoke of the necessity of organization— Legislation by the Genl Council is useless without Executive & Judicial powers & processes He favored organization as a matter of necessity—humanity, & essential to carrying out the principles of the treaties of 1866— Mr. Johnson opposed the report of the Commit & proposed some alterations Mr. Vann again defended the report— Mr. Folsom of the Choctaw, approves the report, but feels they are launching upon a sea which they may never be able to navigate—but the crisis is upon them—they must meet it— there is difference of sentiment, but we must freely express our views & endeavor to do the best we can under the exigencies of the times. If we work with trusting hearts in the Great Over ruling Hand above, we may be able to work a temporal salvation for our people & unite ourselves under such a form of Government as shall be favorable to the growth of a happy & great & harmonious people— Mr Johnson again spoke in opposition— Mr Fry of Choctaw hoped they would get to some solid foundation & all unite upon it & promote education and the spread of the Gospel & all its civilizing influences— Genl Jackson in 1837 promised us this country & took our country in the east from us— So we were forced here— there is no other land to which we can be removed— here are our hopes— here the problem must be worked out— here is the place of our destiny— let us form a government which shall be able to promote our best interests & shall suit the Gov— U States—

Mr La flore Choctaw defended the report— was unwilling to confine himself to the Cherokee treaty— The Choctaw treaty went further & was more conformable to the general Indian policy of the U. S. Gov. He was willing to conform to the wishes of the U. S. Govern in any way which did not compromise their own rights & privileges to their own detriment — He was sorry that the movement meets with opposition at the threshold— Pres. Hoag read from the Cherokee treaty the article defining the powers of the Council— It may legislate upon matters pertaining to the intercourse & relations of the Indian tribes & nations & colonies of Freedmen resident in Ter— the arrest & extradition of Criminals & offenders escaping from one tribe to another or into any community of freedmen the administration of justice between members of different tribes of said territory and persons other than Indians & members of said tribes & nations & the common defense & safety of the nations of said Territory He considered the last clause as fully authorizing the proposed organization— Mr. Porter, Cherokee defends the report of the Com. & calls for the question. Ayes 48— Nays 5—

Mr. Carter, Chickasaw, moves a Com of 12 to draft a Constitution—(No law shall be enacted inconsistent with the Constitution of the U. States or laws of Congress or existing treaty with U. S. The legislative powers of the Council may be enlarged by consent of the Councils & consent of President of U. S. The President seems to have the power of suspending the operations of the laws of the Council, when he deems it necessary)

Mr W. P. Ross Chairman of the Committee Messrs Leflore— C. Carter— J. F. Brown F. King J. P. Folsom, G. W. Johnson C. P. H. Percy— Oktarsar Harjo (or Sands), G. W. Stidham, Riley Keys— Augustus Captain—& [omission]

Adjourned to 2. o clock—

## 2. P. M—

Resolutions were passed expressing the gratification of the Council at the visit and words of cheer and encouragement of Messrs. Campbell, Lang and Farwell, Commissioners on Indian Affairs appointed by the President of the U. S.— The Committee on Agriculture made a very interesting report— The largest farm is that of Smith Paul enclosing 2000 acres. The Cotton crop of Chickasaws is estimated at 5000 bales— Mr. Vann one of the delegates, lost his entire herd by the war— He does not know how many cattle he had but he knows that for several years before the war he marked over 600 calves each year How sad the devastations of

war— Report adopted— Mr. Brown proposed rules 1st No member to be placed on more than 3 Committees without his consent—

2 Some one to be called upon by the President to pray before commencing business in morning— referred to Com on Rules & Regulations— adjourned to 9 A. M. tomorrow

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### Roll of Delegates—

	W. P. Ross	Riley Keys
Cherokee	Allen Ross	S. H. Binge
J. W. Adair	John Sarcoxie	O. H. P. Brewer
Jos. F. Thompson	S. M. Taylor	J. A. Scales
	Stealer	Moses Alberty
	Ezekiel Procter	Joseph Vann
	Henry Chambers	Stand Watie
	Geo. W. Johnson	
Muskogee or Creek	D. N. Hodge—temporary	Mortopyarhola
		Vice Grayson
	G. W. Stidham	J. R. Moore
	P. Porter	L. C. Perryman
	G. W. Grayson, Secretary (resigned)	J. M. Perryman
	S. W. Perryman	Oktarharsars-harjo
	Charke	Timothy Barnett
	J. M. C. Smith	G. W. Walker
Ottawa	Francis King	
Eastern Shawnee	Lazarus Flint	
Quapaws	Robert Lumbard	
Senecas	George Spicer	
Wyandottes	George Wright	
Confed. Peorias	Edwd Black	
Sac & Fox	Keokuk & Muttatah	
Absentee Shawnees	John White & Joseph Ellis (Robert Deer Interpreter)	
Osages	Augustus Captain	
	Samuel Bevenue	
	Hardrope	(Wati-inca)
Seminole	Fushatche harjo	
	John F. Brown (Brown The Trader)	
Chickasaw	Chas. P. H. Percy	Colbert Carter
	Joseph James	Jackson Kemp
	Hopiah tubby	
Choctaws	Campbell Leflore	
	John McKinney	James Thompson
	Wm. Frye	Joseph P. Folsom
	Maha tubber	Alfred Wright
	Alex R. Durant	Coleman Cole—
	* * * * *	* *



12 mo—13—

Gen. E. S. Parker— Commissioner of Ind. Affairs, addressed the Council— expressing his own deep interest in the welfare of the people of this Territory and also the deep interest of the President of the United States and of many members of Congress. He expressed the hope that this Council would take such a course as would organize the nations & tribes of the territory into a compact, territorial government for mutual protection and encouragement. He believed it most likely that Congress will accept the presence of a delegate from this Government, who shall be charged with the duty of representing in Congress the interests of the People of this territory and that the territorial Government may in due time be changed into that of a State Government & thus the Territory become a State with all the privileges of any other in the Union— He also recommended the opening in the Territory of a United States Court, because it subjects the people here to a great deal of trouble to have to go out of the Territory to attend the Courts of the U. States— besides it is necessary for the people here to become accustomed to forms of law. It would be better also for juries to be formed of Indians for the trial of cases arising in the Courts— Another point is that, other friendly tribes may be introduced into this territory— This will require some legislation— that there may be some uniformity of action in the matter—

He wished them also to indicate their preference of a Secretary— He should be a man in whom they have full confidence— He should not be partisan— Should not favor one tribe more than another— He will commission such a man, as they will prefer— It is important for the journal to be accurate and such in every respect as will command the respect of Congress, when submitted to their inspection— He was responded to by C. Leflore of the Choctaws & by P. Porter of the Creeks & that very handsomely— Remarks also by Farwell & Lang of President's Commission— Com. Parker says Sen Harlan has introduced a bill for the reception of a delegate from the Territory & that his idea is to form a Territorial Government, preparatory to a State Gov as in other cases—

2. o'clock

Committee on Constitution granted privilege of retiring— adjourned to 9 o'clock—

12 mo—14—

Mr. Scales—Resolution requesting the Supert of Southern Superintendency to inform through their respective agents, the wild tribes of the plains, that the Cherokees &c have met in general Council and wish to extend to them the assurances of their friendship & kindly feeling and their desire that these tribes should maintain the peace amongst themselves & with the people of the Un S. & that this is the object of the Confederation as well as to promote the general welfare of all Indians & secure peace amongst them—secure their lands exclusively to themselves & to their children referred to Com on Intertribal relations—(Adopted)

Sec. Interior, through Commissioner of Ind Affairs appoints George W. Grayson Secretary of the Great Council to hold said office during pleasure of said Secr. Interior— Vote of thanks to Maj. J. G. Vore for the satisfactory manner in which he has performed his duty as temporary Secr of this Council & requesting the Pres. to make him due compensation for his services—Adjr 9 A. M. Tomorrow

At a Conference of the Council of the Creek Nation—Checote—(Governor presiding)—presented to Commissioner Parker the case of Surveying Creek lands— that of two white Creeks now confined in jail in Arkansas who having lived here from childhood & been adopted into the nation were placed upon the Light horse or Police of the nation and were present and participated in the attempt to arrest a Creek charged with crime.

He resisted and was killed Who of the Police force did the killing is unknown but as they were whites they were considered subject to U. States law & arrested for trial— Also the case of funds improperly paid by Late Agent Capt Fields, of the orphan Fund— Also the case of Traders licensed by the agent who refused to respect the Nation's laws in prohibiting the selling of goods on the Sabbath day—

The Commissioner informed him that Wm Rankin had been ordered to resurvey the Creek lands as the former survey is not satisfactory— Also that it is probable the Seminoles were located too far East and that perhaps some change in the Creek line may be necessary in order to prevent disturbing the Seminoles—

As to the men in Prison, the Government claims jurisdiet over all white men whether in the Ind. Ter. or not. They can either defend them as Creeks and if convicted appeal to the U. States President & he will probably pardon—or they may present all the facts in the case to the Attorney General & perhaps he would direct

a nolle prosequi— He would inquire into the money case & no agent will be allowed to violate the Sabbath laws of the nation—

John Chupeco, Chief of the Seminoles was in 1859 a blanket Indian in Florida—but now has 140 acres in cultivation and a large amount of stock. He is a Presbyterian & an excellent man— About 500 came when he did from Florida. Chupeco, loyal—

The Seminoles on one occasion wanting beef & flour for a Council meeting were offered what they wanted for rails and in 24 hours they split 3100 rails & purchased what they desired— The beef was supplied by (E J. Brown) Brown the trader—

A Seminole Indian seeing John F. Brown making a Field Gate stood by and watched him all day long— Next day he went to the Sawmill & bought timber and when (E. J. Brown) Brown went to his house not long after, the Indian had made 5 or 6 gates and erected them in different parts of his own farm—

John Jumper, the other chief of Seminoles is a Baptist minister, an excellent man, very industrious and has an excellent farm Mr Brown has sold them over 180 wagons since the war— this shows thrift—for they paid for them with their own earnings—

12—15—

A committee of three on Revision of the journal—to produce the revised copy to be read in Council before its adjournment— Allen Ross G. W. Walker & E. J. Brown Com on revision— Adjourned to 2 o'clock—

Will meet the wild tribes in Council whenever practicable & desired by the Superintendent of Ind. Affrs.

Adjourned to 9 A. M. Tomorrow

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12—16

Education—

Choctaws— neighborhood schools & maintaining about 20 youths at schools in the States— A male & a female Boarding School are to be opened as by authority of Council— Annual school fund \$30,000— Neighborhood schools 3 for each of 16 counties = 48— Children at each 20 to 40— Whole number of children of the Choctaw Nation at School 1460 Population 16,000 to 17,000—

Cherokee—Population about 17,000 School & orphan fund consists of money invested in State & U. S. bonds 596-140, 219,774

School Fund \$596,140

Orphan Fund 219,774

5 to 7 percent interest



48 Public Schools. 3 colored

$\frac{3}{4}$  of teachers natives

Total no of pupils.. 1928

Males ..... 973

Females ..... 955

Orphans of these pupils are boarded & clothed by the orphan Fund  
One Moravian Mission School and a few *private* Schools, besides

Muscogees—population inclusive of Freedmen 13000 22 Public  
Schools—with a Supt of Public Instruction. 1 teacher to each School  
Salary \$400 for 10 months 9 more Schools will soon be opened =  
total 31— One Boarding School besides has 80 pupils & another  
will be ready by Spring for an equal number (80) Salaries of  
Super. & teachers of these boarding Schools are paid by the Method-  
ists & Presbyterians— balance of their expenses by the Nation—  
6 of the public Schools are exclusively for the freedmen—

Treaty Stipulation fund.....	\$10,000
Contingen on President's pleasure.....	1,000
National appropriation .....	13,758

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Total ..... \$24,758 annual

Average no of Children at School for Scholastic year 1870—700

Seminole—Population 2500 4 neighborhood Schools— Teacher's  
salary \$600 per Annum Whole no. of pupils at these 4 schools is 225  
—average daily attendance about 40— A mission building is in  
process of erection Rev Mr Ramsay Superintend to accommodate  
over 50 pupils

School fund—annual Treaty Stipulation—\$2500

Chickasaw population 5400 11 neighborhood schools 440 the  
whole no of pupils— 60 pupils at \$350 each (annually) are at school  
in the States at expense of the nation—

School fund .....	\$29,000
For children going to state schools.....	21,000

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Annually ..... \$50,000

Osages—popula 3000 to 4000 50 pupils at Catholic Mis. School  
School fund \$3000 Annually

Confed. Peorias, pop—170 One Public School No. pupils 25  
average daily 20 School fund (entire) 35000 to 40000

Shawnee	80	} no schools
Wyandotte	160	
Senecas	188	

## Educational report—

Afternoon 12—16

	<i>Population</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Colored</i>	<i>Boarding or Mission</i>	<i>No. of pupils in all schools</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Annual school fund</i>	<i>Salary of teachers</i>	<i>No. sent to the States</i>
Choctaws .....	16,500	48	..	..	2	1460	...	\$30,000	....	20
Cherokee .....	17,000	48	45	3	1	1928	...	50,000	....	..
Creek .....	13,000	31	25	6	2	...	700	24,758	\$400	..
Seminole .....	2,500	4	..	..	1	225	160	2,500	\$600	..
Chickasaw .....	5,400	11	..	..	..	440	...	50,000	*....	60
Osages .....	3,500	..	..	..	1	...	...	3,000	....	..
Confed Peorias.....	170	..	..	..	..	25	20	2,000	....	..
Ottawas .....	1	1	..	..	..	52	...	....	....	..
Sac & Foxes.....	700	..	..	..	..	...	...	....	....	..
Quapaws & Others.....	660	..	..	..	..	...	...	....	....	..
Absentee Shawnees.....	700	..	..	..	..	...	...	....	....	..

\* \$3.00 per month for each pupil.

Entire population represented in the General Council 60,000—  
 140 School— 4800 pupils— Entire School fund (annual) \$163,000.

\* \* \* \* \*

The people of the nations of Indians inhabiting the Indian Territory have met to frame laws and arrange the machinery of a Government for the country occupied & owned by them, in order to draw &c & relying upon the guidance & favor of Almighty God to carry out in a consistent & practicable form the provisions of treaties

Report of Com. on Organization objects are to draw themselves together in a closer bond of union for the better protection of their rights— the improvement of themselves and the preservation of their race—

## Art 1

Section 1—gives the boundaries of the Ind. Territory & the name of the Government viz—Indian Territory

Sec 2—guarantees to the citizens of each of the nations entering into this compact, the same rights of transit commerce, trade or exchange in any of said nations which he has in his own, subject only to consistency with existing treaties with the U. S. & the laws regulating trade & intercourse, & under such judicial regulations as are hereinafter provided. No rights of property or lands or funds owned by one nation shall be invaded by citizens of another and the rights of each nation to its lands, funds & other property remains sole and distinct to itself— Any Indian nation now represented in this Council & which may hereafter lawfully enter the Ind Terr. or may now be lawfully in it, shall be admitted to representation & all the privileges of this joint Gov— by accepting the provisions of this Constitution

Art. 2 Sec 1—Provides 3 distinct departments, Legislative— Executive & Judicial—for the powers of the Gov.

Sec. 2 No one belonging to one of these departments shall exercise the powers belonging to any other except as hereafter prescribed

#### Art 111

Sect. 1—Vests the Legislative power in a Senate & House of Representatives—Style of enactment is by the General Assembly of The Indian Territory—

Sect 2—Provides that the Senate shall consist of one member from each nation whose population is 2000—and one member for every additional 2000 or fraction thereof greater than 1000—provided that nations whose individual population does not equal 2000, may unite & be represented in the same ratio & Provided further that the Ottawas, Peorias & Quapaws shall be entitled to *one* Senator & the Senecas Wyandottes & Shawnees to *one* Senator— & the Sacs & Foxes one Senator—

Sect. 3—limits eligibility to the General Assembly to *bona fide* citizens of the nation represented & to those who have attained the age of 25 yrs—

Sec. 4—House Representatives shall consist of one member for each nation and an additional member for every thousand population or fractional part of 1000, greater than 500—

Sec 5—Members of the Gen Assembly are to be elected by the qualified voters of their respective nations, according to their laws or customs— term of office is 2 years— Vacancies to be filled as original Elections—

Sec. 6—Senate shall choose its own President & other Officers— The House shall choose its Speaker & other officers— Each House to judge of the qualifications & returns of its own members— A majority constitutes a quorum for each house A smaller number may adjourn from day to day or take measures for compulsory attendance of absentees, as each house may provide

Sec. 7—Each House shall provide its own rules of proceeding— punish for disorderly behavior & with the concurrence of 2/3 expel a member— but not twice for the same offence— Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings—

Sec. 8—General Assembly shall have power to legislate upon all subjects pertaining to the intercourse & relations of the Ind. Terr., the arrest & extradition of criminals escaping from one nation to another—the administration of justice between members of the



several nations and persons other than Indians & members of said nations and the common defence & safety of the nations of said territory— But they shall not legislate upon any other subjects than these

Sec 9—Provides oath or affirmation of office—obliging to a support of the Constitution of the Ind. Territory & to a faithful & impartial discharge of official duty

Sec. 10. Provides a per diem of \$4. for every day's actual attendance in the Genl Assembly—& \$4 for every 20 miles of travel—going & returning—by the shortest practicable route to be certified by the presiding officer of the house— No member to receive per diem compensation for more than 30 days at any annual session—

Sec 11—Except for treason, felony or breach of the peace, members are exempt from arrest during the sessions of the Gen Assembly or in going & returning

Sec. 12—No power of suspending the laws of this territory shall be exercised except by the Genl Assembly or its authority— No retrospective law or law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be passed—

Sec. 13—Gives power to Gen. Assembly to raise revenue—but only as actually necessary & in accordance with law—which law shall be uniform in its operations throughout the Terr.

Sec. 14—All Appropriation bills shall originate in the House of Representatives—but Senate may propose amendments or reject the same— Other bills may originate in either house & be subject to the rejection or concurrence of the other—

Sec. 15. The House of Representatives shall have sole power of impeachment— All impeachments to be tried by the Senate—Senators being on oath & the Chief Justice presiding A concurrence of 2/3 shall be necessary to conviction

Sec 16—Governor & all civil officers liable to impeachment—but punishment not to extend beyond removal from office & disqualification for holding any office of trust, honor, or profit in the Territory—but the party whether convicted or acquitted shall be liable to indictment trial & punishment according to law as in other cases—

## Art 5

Sect. 1—Judicial Power is vested in one Supreme Court—three district Courts & such inferior Courts as may be provided by law

Sec 2—Supreme Court to consist of three Judges to be appointed by the Governor, with the approval of the Senate, as district judges.

Two of said judges shall form a quorum of the Supreme Court for the transaction of business— Official term 6 years—one to be vacated in 2 years— one in 4 & one in 6 &c The Chief Justice shall be the one appointed for 6 years & afterwards the Senior judge in office

Sec. 3—Supreme Court to meet at Capital—1st Mondays in June & December—to be a court of Apellate Jurisdiction from the District Courts & of original jurisdiction in cases prescribed by law—but such jurisdiction shall not interfere with the civil & criminal jurisdiction retained by each separate nation by the treaties of 1866—

Sec. 4. Supreme & district judges shall have power to issue writs of habeas corpus & other necessary process—

Sec. 5—District Courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil & criminal cases arising from the trade or intercourse between the several nations—and all cases arising under the legislation of this Gov. according to law—

Sec. 6—Writs of Error, Bills of exceptions & appeals may be allowed from the final decisions of the district courts, as prescribed by law

Sec. 7—Genl. Assembly to divide the Ind. Terr. into 3 districts of as nearly equal dimensions & population as possible— assign a judge to each—& provide for holding terms of the District Court in each at such times & places as may be deemed expedient—

Sec. 8—Judge must be 30 yrs of age—of good character & suitable qualifications—

Sec. 9. No judge to sit upon a case in which he is interested or connected with either party by consanguinity or affinity, except by consent of parties & in case of disqualification, vacancies to be filled according to law—

Sec. 10—All writs & other process are to run in the name of the Indian Territory & bear test & be signed by the clerk issuing the same—

Sec. 11. Indictments conclude against the peace & dignity of the Ind Territory.

Sec. 12—Every court to appoint its clerk to be qualified according to law & compensated also—

#### Art—VI—

The General Assembly may propose such amendments to this constitution as three fourth of each branch may deem expedient & the Governor shall issue a proclamation directing all civil officers of the Territory to promulgate the same—as extensively as possible

within their respective limits at least six months previous to the annual session of the National Council of the nations parties hereto, & if three fourths of such national councils, at such next annual sessions— shall ratify such proposed amendments they shall be valid to all intents & purposes as a part of this constitution

#### Art. IV—

Sec. 1. The Executive power is vested in a Governor whose term of office shall be two years to be elected by the qualified voters of each nation on 1st Wednesday in April— The mode of examining the returns the same as usual in such cases— Governor must be 30 yrs of age— Compensation to be fixed by law— liable to impeachment— His office to be filled (in case of vacancy), by the President of the Senate & The usual powers & duties of the Governor of a State or Territory are prescribed. He is also clothed with the *veto* power. Provision is also made for the appointment of a Secretary of the Ind. Territory & he is ex officio, the Treasurer also—& An Attorney General— district attorneys, marshal & deputies are provided for— The Bill of rights is essentially the same as in the Constitution of the United States and of the Several States of the Union.

12 mo—19—

Council met after having had all of the 17th for interpreting & fully understanding the Constitution—as they could do this better out of session than in it. Quorum— Journal read— Resolution allowing mileage to Smith & others who left their homes but failed to reach Okmulgee in time for the September Session before its adjournment— Constitution read & interpreted the Second time Com. on Education presented a revised report— adjourned to 2 o'clock.

2. P. M—19th

Schedule—Secretary to transmit a duly authenticated copy of the Constitution to each nation represented in this Council & to ask the ratification of the same by their respective Councils— When the secretary receives official notification from  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the National Councils, of their ratification, the Secretary is to call together the delegates from those nations assenting in General Council and that Council shall provide for the election of Governor and members of the General Assembly— fix the time for the meeting of the General Assembly, that it may provide for the necessary laws for putting this Constitution into working condition— This Constitution shall



not be obligatory upon any nation which does not duly ratify and adopt the Same— continued to read & interpret the Constitution for 3rd time— Adjourned to 9 A. M. tomorrow.

12 mo. 20th

Proceeded to finish 3d reading of Constitution— The Constitution was finally adopted ayes 52, nays 3—Adjourned to 2 o'clock.

2 P. M.

Council voted, viva voce, as to where the next Council meet— It was, as follows—Okmulgee 28— Ft Gibson 13 & North Fork Town 10— decided to meet at Okmulgee on the 1st monday of June 1871—

The President made some remarks congratulatory of the kindness, &c of the delegates— A vote of thanks was tendered the President for his impartial, and faithful discharge of the duties of the Chair Also a vote of thanks to Thomas Miller—Edwd Earle & myself— for our assistance &c to the members of the Council in their important work— At the close of Enoch Hoag's remarks Thomas Miller was engaged in earnest vocal supplication— I responded in a few words of gratitude for the kindness of the Council in permitting us to be present in its deliberations and expressive of my deep interest in their work & my earnest desire for its complete success &c—

We had a most satisfactory adjournment after which most of the members came up to give us a cordial shake of the hand and say, "*good bye*"

We have boarded since being here with Silas Smith who is a white man but his wife is a colored woman— Their dwelling and cook house are in the yard and the dining room is under the same roof as our room. Five of us have slept in this one room and sometimes *eight* during the past fortnight In the day time and evening our room has frequently been thronged and as the floor is very limber it has been difficult to write much, for both the above reasons Yet E. Earle— C. Frazier & myself have managed to do the correspondence for 5 or 6 newspapers as we were desirous that accurate reports should be furnished to the public press of the proceedings of the Council and of our observations of the working of things in this portion of the Territory— Amongst the Creeks there are many instances of intermixture between the Indian & African races— Four or five of the delegates are at least half African— With the other tribes, there is much more of an aversion to a social equality with

the colored race— Indeed with many, there is much the same feeling as exists in our Southern States.

These were slaveholding nations before the war — very many of them went into the Confederate Army and when the war closed the Government of the United States dictated the abolition of Slavery amongst them as it did in the Southern States— It is perfectly natural that the old feeling should still be to some extent apparent, but we may hope that it will gradually disappear as a new generation comes upon the stage and new circumstances surround these nations—

[Seminole Business]

According to provisions of Seminole treaty of 1856, the sum of \$3,000. was to be appropriated annually for ten years for Educational purposes— the sum of \$2000 for agricultural purposes and the sum of \$2200. for Smith & Shop work, annually for 10 years— The former appropriation is due up to Aug 1, 1861 when the Confederate treaty was signed— The two last are due to December 1st 1860— The Seminole treaty of 1866 (Art. 8 & 9) reaffirms and assumes all the provisions of the treaty of 1856 not conflicting with the treaty of 1866. The Seminole Government believes that the above monies are still due them & desire they may be paid to Supt of Ind Affrs & by him to the Council to be used for Support of Schools Smith work &c amongst them—

[Creek Business]

Of the \$200,000 provided in article 3rd of Creek Treaty 1866, it is alleged that 25 per cent was paid to Perry Fuller, as Claim agent, by direction of the Creek Council, Gov. Checota at its head—in presence of D. N. McIntosh— T. Barnett— \$2000 was paid for the damages to the Mission building and \$10,000 were set apart for the payment of the delegates who went to Washington to ratify the treaty— Of this \$10,000, it is alleged that a son of Agent Dunn received \$3,000 & that \$7,000 were placed in the treasury of the Creek Nation — T. Barnett, treasurer, & that the delegates have never received any compensation— Some say that the \$10,000 were specially appropriated by Congress & did not come out of the \$200,000—

Perry Fuller	}	traders Ft. Smith
F. Lense		
D. N. McDonald	}	Little Rock, Ark.
— Smith		

Maj Dunn Agent of Creeks—

Capt. Fields & Lieut. Joslyn assessed the losses of the loyal Creeks— freedmen— soldiers &c at \$6,000,000— It was cut down to \$1,800,000, and \$100,000 directed to be paid out of the money received by the U. States from the Seminoles. The Seminoles paid the U. S. 50 cts per acre— The U. States agree in Art. 3 to pay to the Creek Nation 30 cts per acre for the West half of its territory— & in Article 4 they agree to pay out of the proceeds of these lands, the losses of the loyal Creeks, freedmen & soldiers, at least to the amount of \$100,000— In effect the Creek Nation pays \$100,000 out of the proceeds of the sale of its lands, to the loyal portion of its citizens as indemnification for their losses in the war— The Government of the U. States pays no part of it really— The money paid by the Gov. for the Sac & Fox reservation is now due to the Creek Nation, with interest on \$275,000— Sac & Fox land costs \$144,000 at \$.30 pr acre

12—18—

Thomas Miller, Edward Earle & myself went to a meeting for worship held in a Creek School house near the residence of Checota the Governor of the nation— They have meeting there every Sabbath at 11. o'clock— The Governor usually preaches— But today after singing in the Creek language, Thomas Miller preach at length & the Governor interpreted— Then they sang again & Wm Frye, prayed with much animation in the Choctaw language— then they sung very impressively in Creek— The hymn in English is "Come along"— "Come along" Then the Governor spoke a while in Creek & pronounced the benediction— One woman was shedding tears during the singing—and another woman began to tremble & gradually to bow her head until she became very much bent forwards & was in a universal tremor her shoe heels making a most rapid tapping upon the floor— This soon ceased when the singing closed—but she showed the earnestness of her feeling in coming forward at the close of the meeting & shaking hands with all in our vicinity— This was remarkable for an Indian Woman—they are usually very backward & keep their faces downward in the presence of Strangers— I think the woman, above mentioned was partly African as her hair was slightly curly— this may partly account for her agitation as the colored people are more demonstrative in their worship—

12—19

Snow Storm—4 or 5 inches of Snow—much melted & still falling—



12 mo. 20—

Cold clear— Council adjourned.

12 mo. 21—

Clear cold morning— We left early & soon found the Creeks obstructed by ice so as to require the aid of our Axe & of poles to make way for the horses— About 9 o'clock Col. Wm P. Ross & Allen Ross came up riding in an open Buggy with two horses & Judge Key on horseback— they took the lead and were of great service in breaking the ice— In one creek with 4 feet of water as Col. Ross' horses came to the ice upon the further shore, one of them with great sagacity, reared up & threw his fore feet upon the ice & crushed it— then advancing again, he repeated the operation and they next time, leaped upon the bank and took the buggy squarely up on the shore line ice— After our horses had mounted the bank & the front wheels came in contact with the frozen bank, it was impracticable to raise the wheels until we all jumped out— the horses had to make a turn very suddenly & the ice was so solid upon the hill side that it was very difficult for them— We drove on until near night— It became cloudy early in the day & was very cold— We succeeded in getting entertainment at the house of a colored man named [omission] and were permitted to have the sole use of a room about 11 feet square with a fire place & one narrow bed— Mr Thompson another of the delegates joined us a little after we got in so there were 8 of us— We furnished our own coffee & bread and they gave us some sweet potatoes & fried pork & we made a good supper— We then took the bedstead out of the house & put down our robes, blankets &c & we 8 wedged ourselves into the 11 feet of width & having some hay spread on the floor, under our robes & a good fire, we succeeded in being comfortable—

[Creek Agency]

12/22

In the morning, it was colder—a strong N. West wind & snowing moderately— We were up early, took a cup of coffee, some cheese & crackers & then started on our way— The snow storm increased & at 10½ we reached the Creek Agency & stopped for dinner & to get the horses shoes fixed so they would not slip on the ice so badly — It has been very hard on our horses— They had to stand out all night last night, though had blankets & plenty of food—& also had grain this morning before we left— We find very comfortable quarters here at the Creek Agency—

Evening— It was nearly sunset when the Blacksmith finished shoeing the horses & so we concluded to remain here to night as there was no house nearer than 8 miles & we were strangers to the road—

12/23

It was extremely cold this morning— One of our Company is a native of Canada & two of New England & they seem to think it is about as cold as they almost ever felt it— We got off after early breakfast & got down to the Arkansaw opposite the mouth of Grand River & a little below the mouth of Verdigris & in sight of Fort Gibson. The steam Ferry Boat was on the other side & they said the pipes were frozen— So we waited all day until dark, they assuring us they would soon be over— We had a fire under the hill & did not suffer extremely with the cold— After night we succeeded in getting permission to stay in a house near by & 4 of us occupied a room with 4 others (strangers) who had come down to cross the river but had to beg a chance to stay in the house—

We fixed beds upon the floor, spreading our robes blankets &c— We had a good fire in the forepart of the night & were comfortable— but as the fire went down it became very cold in the room & at a little before 5 o'clock, I got up & put on wood— As soon as the fire got fairly under way we were able to rest a little more comfortably as our beds were as close to it as we dared to place them.

12/24

We learn this morning that the real reason why the boat does not run, is the ice— They fear it will be cut through— The Surface of the Arkansas is covered with masses & sheets of floating ice, & in the channel, but the still water is hard frozen— It is beautifully clear this morning— wind has changed from N. W. to East or South East— We suppose it will soon be warmer.

This place is called Nevins' Ferry & Nevins receives \$1000 per year rent for the privilege of landing the Ferry Boat on his premises. Edward Earle & Francis King (the Ottawa delegate, half French, a machinist) have gone over in a little canoe— To night they return & say that after they had thawed the pipes, they found the boat fast upon a log — The pump rod broke & they had to go to Ft Gibson to get it repaired— All hands have worked hard all day and moved the boat somewhat & think that in 3 hours effort in the morning they will succeed — In the mean time the river continues to fall & the boat rests more heavily— so we cannot tell when we shall get over— I believe we are favored with a good degree of

patience & feel thankful for health and many comforts, considering our situation—

12/25

It is now past 1 o'clock P. M— They have been working hard all day and the boat is still fast — We have understood that they move it a little & expect to get it off before night— Enoch, Edward & Francis King are over helping the men at the boat & so are many others— Cyrus & I have packed up, harnessed the horses & paid our bill, hoping to see the old boat move her wheels, but we may after all have to stay where we are a while longer

We learn that all the ferries in this part of the river are impassable so that we should fare no better elsewhere than here— The weather has moderated but the wind is chilly from the south-east and it is quite cloudy— It looks quite as if we might have another snow storm. We expected to be in Lawrence to-day & to meet the Committee there to-morrow unless they have changed the time and place of meeting. We have done our best to meet the engagement. It is simply impossible to make any accurate calculations about traveling through this country—

We thought we had given ourselves ample time in arranging for the Committee meeting. But it will require 4 days yet for us to reach Lawrence even though we could cross the river to-day & if the snow melts suddenly we may expect high water in some of the Creeks between here & Kansas—

Well at half past one P. M. the old Boat blew her whistle and after various efforts to reach the landing places & she finally came so near that we succeeded in getting aboard & by 4 o'clock we were on the north bank of the Arkansas or rather we had to be landed on the west bank of Grand River. We were rejoiced & our horses seemed as much so as we— We drove 15 miles although a part of it was through the woods & would have been exceedingly bad but for being frozen— Came to a Stage Station which was already filled with men mostly very rough profane fellows but fortunately *not drunk*— One of the men Captain of a surveying party was so clever as to give up his bed to Supt Hoag as he had a mattress & blankets of his own & as I was rather unwell from a cold, Edward Earle made me share the bed with Enoch—refusing it himself— He & Cyrus had all our robes, most of the blankets &c & said they were comfortable F. King & E. Black, got a place before the fire in the family room— Edward & Cyrus spread down in the dining room or kitchen which was as open as a barn— Enoch & I with 11 or 12



others occupied to the full the company room— I believe there were two or three families in the family room where King & Black slept— So the house was full—

12/26

Edward was up early, started a fire in the cook stove & made a pot of coffee— warmed our frozen biscuit & so we breakfasted on coffee, cheese & Biscuit & left a little before sunrise and reached Alberty's Store about 11½ & stopped for dinner— Here we met [F. ?] Adair a prominent Cherokee lawyer who lives opposite this place, east of Grand River & is detained by ice— The weather is still very cold—though clear to-day— The roads are frozen & smooth & our horses get along finely since their shoes were fixed— We begin to hope we may reach the railroad to-morrow night as we are making greater speed than we have hitherto done on this journey We are now 37 miles north of the Arkansas

Night—Well we are at Cochran's, 40 miles from Chetopa— We arrived here just at dusk and half an hour before getting here we noticed that Faithful Jennie one of our wheel horses seemed sick— As soon as we stopped the Ambulance here, she dropped upon the ground — She seemed in great agony & in 20 minutes she was dead— We cannot tell what was the matter— She had done her part most faithfully upon this long journey & and it was a grief to us to lose her—though, as we are now within one day's journey of the railroad, we can easily make it with three horses— But a faithful performance of duty endears even our domestic animals to us— We learn that about 50 horses have died this year on the road from Chetopa to Ft Gibson—

12 mo/27

We rested pretty well last night though the accommodations were poor—

We left at 8½ o'clock & a man who stayed there put his horse in & drove 10 miles & then we put one of our horses ahead of the other two & reached Chetopa at 3½ o'clock— I trust we feel thankful to get to the railroad again & hope to be able to leave at 5 in the morning & to reach Lawrence in the Afternoon—

\* \* \* \* \*

At Chetopa, Enoch Hoag— Edward Earle & myself adjusted our accounts—

Enoch has in very many instances paid my expenses, as his assistant, he being allowed an assistant by the Government— Edward

Earle has supplied most of our Commissary Stores— My part of Edward's bill is

	\$32.70
My board bill at Okmulgee.....	10.62
My other expenses are.....	4.18
Before Leaving Lawrence for the Territory, I had paid out in traveling expenses since 8/13.....	142.00
My traveling expenses from 8/16 to 12/28—	\$189.50
Fare from Lawrence to Washington.....	\$42.00
Sleeping car .....	2.00
Supper 12/29 .....	.75
Dinner 12/30 .....	.75
Baggage &c.....	1.50

\* \* \* \* \*

12/28

Left Chetopa at 5 A. M.—

Just before leaving the hotel Enoch came to our room & said that he had lost his key and wanted a collar— I had just closed my trunk, but told him I would open it & get him one— When I got upon the train I found that I had lost my own keys— I suppose that I locked my trunk & laid the keys upon the floor to adjust the other fastenings & then failed to pick them up— I mention this incident, to remind myself of my own carelessness and to make me careful about complaining of the carelessness of other people— We were momentarily expecting the omnibus to call for us & were of course in some haste—especially as they failed to waken us as early as we expected them to do— Upon arriving at Lawrence, we found Joseph Jonathan Hoag there and with his usual readiness, he set about getting me some more keys & succeeded in supplying the loss of Enoch & myself—

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“The School is not a success & yet I believe Nathan & Mary Ann Pinson are doing the best they can— The Kaws are very much opposed to sending their children to school &c—”

I learn that some Friends have drawn the inference from the above quotation, that I consider the want of success to be due to incapacity in the Superintendents above named— I did not mean this at all— I believe them to be earnest, faithful and capable laborers—but the difficulties against which they have to contend are very great— I felt very great sympathy with them and am sorry that in the haste of correspondence, I should have used expressions

which could possibly be construed unfavorably to these dear friends—

The want of success does not refer to any defect in the management or mode of teaching. The children actually at School are doing all that could be expected— The teaching is successful— I only meant that the school as a *paying* Institution is not a success— The Superintendents are allowed \$100 for each pupil, per annum— Now it costs nearly as much to run the establishment with only a few children as with 40 The great difficulty lies in the disinclination of the Indians to keep their children at the School”—

Sent to Review 12/29 as explanation—

12/28

We were favored to reach Lawrence this afternoon—I learned that the Committee were not in session— A letter from J. B. Garrett instructs E. Earle & myself to attend to such matters as we deem necessary with Enoch Hoag & then come East. We endeavored to do so & left Lawrence 2½ P. M. & at Kansas City, Edward took the Hannibal & St. Joseph, road via Chicago & Boston & I the North Missouri for Washington via Richmond, Ia— We had been almost constantly together for more than 11 weeks and with our other traveling companions had been closely united in our views & feelings about the work we were engaged in— We parted, as we had journeyed in good feelings towards one another—



# The Gompers-Allen Debate on the Kansas Industrial Court

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO

ON THE night of May 28, 1920, in New York City, occurred the climax in the controversy over the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. Carnegie hall was crowded to capacity. Every seat was taken, and fire regulations were stretched to allow standing room. People from all walks of life were there, for everyone expected a great debate, a debate which in the words of its chairman, the Hon. Alton B. Parker, was perhaps to be the most momentous clash since the historic meeting between Lincoln and Douglas.

The industrial court law had been enacted a few months earlier after severe and trying strikes had caused some suffering and much public indignation. Upon the operation of this act the nation's interest was riveted. Against it organized labor stormed furiously, while its adherents offered a relentless and even vociferous defense. The debaters, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Henry J. Allen, governor of Kansas, were recognized leaders of men, were unusually skillful debaters, and by their previous work had given abundant proof of deep faith in the positions they defended.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the question to be debated had not been specifically formulated. Mr. Gompers had desired to debate the question: "Has the state a right to prohibit strikes?" while Mr. Allen had insisted on the broader statement: "The Industrial Controversy; President Gompers will present the remedy of the American Federation. Mr. Allen will present the remedy as proposed in the Industrial Court."<sup>2</sup> Consequently, though the cheers, applause, groans, and boos of the audience testified eloquently to the interest and satisfaction of the equally divided adherents, there was nevertheless little consistent opposition of argumentation. It would seem fair to say that in this historic debate the minds of the two contestants rarely crossed. Each man developed his own project, and each merely put on record his own views of the struggle between capital and labor.

1. A representative of the American Federation of Labor challenged Governor Allen to debate the industrial court law with Clarence Darrow. This challenge Governor Allen declined, but suggested a debate with Gompers.—*New York Times*, April 26, 1920, 17:7.

2. Henry J. Allen, *The Party of the Third Part* (N. Y., Harper and Brothers), pp. 93, 94.

Mr. Gompers began by stating that the issue involved two principles: On the one hand, freedom, justice, and democracy; on the other hand, tyranny and injustice. He assumed it is a fundamental principle that liberty consists of the ownership of one's self, that the right to organize, strike and peacefully picket flows naturally from one's ownership of himself, and that therefore this right is essential to liberty.

If ownership of free men is vested in them and in them alone, they have not only the right to withhold their labor power, but to induce others to make common cause with them, and to withhold theirs that the greatest advantage may accrue to all. It further follows that if free men may avail themselves of the lawful rights of withholding their labor power, they have the right to do all lawful things in pursuit of that lawful purpose. And neither courts, injunctions nor other processes have any proper application to deny to free men these lawful, constitutional, natural and inherent rights.<sup>3</sup>

These principles, Mr. Gompers maintained, are among the inalienable rights embodied in the Declaration of Independence and are to be found in the statute laws, especially in the Clayton act, and in court decisions.

Not only is it true, he argued, that the right to organize, strike and picket is "lawful, constitutional, natural and inherent," *i. e.*, "divine," but that it is essential to the public welfare. The rocky road of progress, he pointed out, is long and hard, filled with obscure turns and treacherous pitfalls. Valiant bands must of necessity find the way and lead others onward and upward. In the vanguard are the trade unionists, leading the toiling masses to a better life. By being organized into unions, this noble army makes greater and more rapid headway. And it is the better able to overcome those obstacles that naturally lie, or are deliberately placed, in the pathway of their progress. The strike, that terrible weapon which Mr. Allen dreads so much, is used only as a last resort. When all other means have been tried and found ineffective, then, by the sheer force of a strike, the obstacle is overcome, and the onward march is again resumed. The immortal Lincoln could say: "Thank God we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workingman may stop."

Violence, he asserted, "in the form of any attack upon life, body or property," is of course wrong, and those responsible for it must be punished to the end that it be wiped out. But to tie men to their jobs by making strikes unlawful is a confession that republican

3. *Gompers-Allen Debate* (N. Y., E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920). All quotations are taken from this book except where otherwise noted.

institutions and democracy no longer exist. And it is a subterfuge to say that antistrike legislation does not deny the individual the right to quit. The dissatisfied worker may indeed quit his job, "and just imagine what a wonderful influence such an individual would have . . . in the United States Steel Corporation." Deep in every man's breast is the hope of freedom, of better times for himself and his own; and only a poltroon would refuse to struggle for a better day for himself, his dependents and those who are to follow. Strikes, to be sure, are frequently uncomfortable and make for inconvenience; but there are worse things, and among them is that "degraded manhood" which results from antistrike legislation.

And how good have unions and strikes been, for America, land of liberty, whose Declaration of Independence was signed in the hall of a carpenters' union! Precious children have been rescued from the black depths of yawning coal pits, Mr. Gompers declared, from the interminably weary hours of mill and factory, and have been put into schools and into God's sweet sunshine to develop manhood and womanhood. Men and women have been rescued from the degrading sweatshops of the needle trades and from other equally degrading "home" work, when laws for their protection enacted by the state have failed. Those who favor nostrums such as that embodied in the Kansas industrial court law are men who, "impatient of the struggle of the human family, want to find a royal road to the goal of tranquility and peace." Alas! There is no royal road.

During the World War, Mr. Gompers said, American trade unionists loyally fought abroad and faithfully labored at home, to the end that autocracy might forever be destroyed. And now, now that the victory abroad has been won, they find that selfsame autocracy being forced upon them, find their hard-won liberty being destroyed at home. What a travesty on our sacred dead in Flanders Fields. The world is seething with deep unrest. In many countries this unrest is expressed in terms of mild or radical revolution. In our country it is expressed in terms of labor organizations and their activities. Our labor movement has brought so much light and hope and opportunity to the masses that every law which forbids strikes will be futile, and "will simply make criminals and lawbreakers out of workmen who are honest, patriotic citizens." "We are at the parting of the ways," he warned, "and the time is at hand when it must be determined whether eternal principles of freedom, of justice and democracy shall hold sway or be supplanted by the tyranny and the injustice as of old."



Governor Allen began his presentation by describing in some detail the events leading to the passage of the industrial court law. There was the lifting of the fuel ban by Doctor Garfield, the national coal strike and the exorbitant demands of the union, the receivership of Kansas mines, the governor's own fruitless efforts to induce Kansas miners to return to their work, the call for volunteers to operate the mines, and the production of coal by those volunteers. Interspersed throughout his talk were "human interest" stories. There were stories of shivering patients in a local hospital, of a poor washer-woman fearful of harsh and revengeful unionists, of groups of union miners willing to work, but afraid of their leaders, of a brave coal miner who, refusing to strike, was ostracised by his fellow unionists, and of uniformed ex-service men moving bravely and resolutely to the coal-mining front. But all this was not the substance of his remarks.

The substance of Governor Allen's statement was that the public was faced with a formidable condition. Time was, said Mr. Allen, when unions were harmless. That was thirty-five or forty years ago, when economic conditions were simpler. Under the guiding hand of those early unions, progress was made, victories were won from reluctant capital; and the governor could say he was glad for all "legitimate" progress made by unions. But now that times have greatly changed, that economic life has become so interdependent and so exceedingly complex, unions have become truly dangerous. What was liberty then is tyranny now. "Organization has become a huge thing like a Frankenstein in its potentiality. Its power seems unsuspected by Mr. Gompers, who has watched it since its inception as a crude, rudimentary thing, devoted to simple and laudable objects."

The right of an individual worker to quit his job cannot be questioned, and it is not questioned, the governor said. The Kansas law specifically safeguarded that right. But a strike? That is different. A strike is a private conflict between capital and labor. And more important still, it is a conflict that is initiated by union leaders rather than by union workers. The Kansas industrial court law was not really aimed at the workers; it was aimed at their leaders. "The law does not take away from the individual workman the divine right to quit work." It merely takes away from Mr. Gompers the "divine right to order a man to quit work." Naturally, union leaders resent this. Yet the law does not even take away the worker's right to organize and bargain collectively through union leaders, for

these rights are both specifically safeguarded in the act. But it does require reasonable continuity of operations, and eliminates that "economic pressure" from both workers and employers, of which the public has "had enough."

To-day, he continued, strikes bring unendurable suffering to an innocent party—the public. That is a great wrong. The union worker may gain, but the public loses, more even than the union gains. Surely, in a civilized society, this should not be. There should be some way to prevent the needless suffering of the party of the third part. Man's activities in other lines have been curtailed and regulated for the public welfare. Why not here? Already the state has protected the workers. Child-labor, anti-black-listing, anti-injunction, convict labor, free employment services, mechanics' liens, laws regulating the working conditions of women and minors, safety codes for mines and factories, and other laws have already been enacted and made effective. "The quarrel between capital and labor is the only private conflict the government still allows to go on." Unions and strikes are costly. High dues and loss of wages take a heavy toll from workers.

The time has now come when the capital-labor conflict should also be regulated. Surely, Governor Allen insisted, a just government can do better by mankind if it makes impossible a recurrence of those awful conditions which prevailed in the winter of 1919-1920, when miners and operators were at each others throats and the public was helplessly freezing. A fair law can impose justice upon both employers and workmen and give first consideration to the interest of the public. This Kansas has done, and the industrial court law is the only effective method yet attempted to protect the public interest. The right to strike has been curtailed. A great hue and cry has gone up, and it is shouted from the house tops that labor has been deprived of its only weapon. But it is an adequate answer to say that labor has been given "in every honorable controversy the more reliable weapon of the state government." Indeed, many workers, even some trade-union leaders, and many prominent persons have expressed approval of the industrial court. Trade unions in Kansas are actually using it. For, although the wheels of justice may grind slowly, they grind exceedingly fine, and this is being more clearly recognized by thoughtful persons.

In brief outline these were the principal arguments of the two opponents. During the course of the debate, as each alternated with the other in presenting his ideas, both Mr. Gompers and Governor

Allen necessarily took some cognizance of the other's remarks, and there was some thrusting and parrying, but for the most part this was done only in a desultory and haphazard manner. At one point, perhaps the most significant one in the entire debate, Governor Allen asked Mr. Gompers three questions:

When a dispute between capital and labor brings on a strike affecting the production or distribution of the necessities of life, thus threatening the public peace and impairing the public health, has the public any rights in such a controversy, or is it a private war between capital and labor?

If you answer this question in the affirmative, Mr. Gompers, how would you protect the rights of the public?

And . . . who had the divine right to forbid the switchmen to strike in their outlaw strike? Who controls this divine right to quit work?

This thrust struck home. The philosophy of the unionism Mr. Gompers preached was of the "more here and now for us" variety. If the public is hurt, why that is too bad, but we must progress. Let the employer pass the burden on to the consumer, to the public. Yet he couldn't say this, for then Governor Allen would have made his point.

Mr. Gompers therefore attempted first to put off the answer. "If I had the time, I would answer the governor." From the audience came cries of "You can't! You can't!" This nettled Mr. Gompers, and he shouted: "I will prove it to you, if I live long enough." Then he attempted to parry the thrust. It is "really a catch question" comparable to the question "Do you still beat your wife?" "Let me say this, however, that an innocent child can ask more questions of his father. . . ." Here he was again interrupted by laughter and great applause, and cries from the audience exhorted him to "Answer it! Answer it!" But the veteran president of the American Federation of Labor could only say in reply: "I assure you of an answer, if I have the time, even this evening."

The questions were not answered during the course of the debate. All that the idol of organized labor could say was that if strikes in this country had prostrated the economic system, there might be some justification for the questions, but that the United States, with all its strikes, led the world in production. He added that "if strikes were the abomination and the curse that some people want to attribute to them, then China ought to stand at the head of civilization."

A month later Mr. Gompers attempted in a supplementary statement to answer Governor Allen's questions. I shall discuss first Mr. Gompers' reply to the third question. The question concerning



"rebel" strikes, *i. e.*, those not authorized by unions and opposed by union officials, no doubt greatly troubled Mr. Gompers. Had he answered it properly, he should have had to distinguish between "regular" and "rebel" strikes. This would have led him openly to qualify the "divine" right to strike, and would necessarily have led to other qualifications. But the question was not properly answered. Mr. Gompers said it was absurd and revealed the insincerity of the critics. "Labor is damned if it does and damned if it doesn't," he declared. The whole thing boils down to this, that a "minority, goaded by employers beyond endurance," defies the majority. "That is all there is to that."

This is certainly an unsatisfactory answer, assuming that the strike is "divine," or is an inherent right. For on that assumption no one, including union officials and even a majority of the members of a union, has the right to oppose a strike. But if, on the contrary, the right to strike is based essentially on democratic principles, which theory the writer accepts, then Mr. Gompers' answer is sound as far as it goes. Yet it does not go so far as some might wish. For the same democratic principles justify the state, which includes the union, in forbidding any or all strikes. Thus Mr. Gompers' answer was rather an *argumentum ad hominem* than a reasoned reply.

In discussing the question relating to the public welfare, Mr. Gompers tried first to evade it by saying that the language was improper because it described a strike as a "private war between capital and labor," which, he said, is perilously near thoughtlessness or ridicule of mankind's struggle towards an ideal. Governor Allen had not really described the conflict in that way; he had asked if such a struggle was a private war. Then came another attempt to evade the issue in the statement that to the employer employment has meant profit while to the workers it has meant a "means of sustaining life." This statement might have been lifted bodily from the works of Karl Marx, for whom, it must be added, Mr. Gompers had no love.

Large strikes, Mr. Gompers continued, temporarily affect the general public, but the general public includes union men and women, who account for one-fourth of the total. Now when a strike affects the production and distribution of the necessities of life, thus threatening the public peace and impairing the public health, he admitted, the public does have rights. Here for the first time Mr. Gompers really joined the issue, and could be expected to explain what are the public rights and perhaps how they are protected.

But that he did not do. He merely said that when these strikes occur, the union strikers are usually the first to recognize that the public has rights. But how do unionists show this recognition? Mr. Gompers did not say, did not even suggest. Here he might have struck a blow for organized labor. Had he shown that striking trade unionists do concern themselves with the public interest Governor Allen's sword would have been broken! Instead, he contented himself with saying that there are few such serious strikes which so affect the public. More evasion on the part of Mr. Gompers, and he asserted that most of these have been "strikes in which employers, or public officials influenced by the employers, have created the breach of peace by the use of thugs, armed guards and detectives," a statement which contains only too much truth, but which is quite beside the point.

And then for once he really defined his position. "The public has no rights which are superior to the toiler's right to live and to his right to defend himself against oppression." This constitutes the first ground, the middle ground, and the final ground on which Mr. Gompers stood. The trade unionist is in the vanguard of human progress. "So far as labor is concerned, the right to strike must be and will be maintained, not only as a measure of self-defense and self-advancement, but as a measure necessary to public progress." When, but only when, "industry ceases to be operated for profit alone" will it be time to "relax that eternal militant vigilance which has saved the workers from the abyss and given them a position of power and intelligence fitting our Republic and our time."

What have we here? Samuel Gompers, arch-enemy of socialism, converted to the hated doctrine? I think not. We have rather a man who has been pushed to the wall, inadequately armed and fighting desperately.

This is strictly in accord with the philosophy of the trade unionism which Mr. Gompers represented. That unionism is almost totally devoid of altruistic principles. Mr. Gompers maintained that in bettering their own conditions, trade unionists improved the lot of the masses. This, I think, is true. But it is also true that the improvement of the masses is purely and simply a by-product, and the dominant type of trade unionism does not concern itself with the by-product. Mr. Gompers was unable to answer Governor Allen's main question, and for the inescapable reason that the public welfare was not one of the prime considerations in his brand of unionism.



Perhaps the question was unfair in a debate. It is no simple matter to evolve on the spur of the moment a short answer to a momentous question.<sup>4</sup> But I do not think the question was unfair. For months Governor Allen had been speaking before groups in different parts of the country, extolling the virtues and the success of the Kansas industrial court law. And Mr. Gompers trailed after him, trying to undermine what the governor had said. The fundamental problem involved in the court law was not new to Mr. Gompers. Any trained debater should easily have forecast the tenor of Governor Allen's argument. Why, then, when for the first time in the history of American organized labor, the challenge of the public interest was effectively hurled at trade unionism, did Samuel Gompers, the foremost spokesman of the American trade union movement, persistently evade the challenge? I can see only one answer. Gompersian trade-union philosophy had not adequately felt and considered the challenge.

But a different type of union leader, representing a different brand of unionism, might have answered the question, even on the spur of the moment. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, might have said that the struggles of his union were for the purpose of introducing a better industrial organization, one which promised not only to better the conditions of the worker, but to increase the efficiency of industry and to assure the public a better and a more certain supply of goods.<sup>5</sup> The soundness of this reasoning most certainly would not have appealed to all men. But the issue would have been definite. The question could then have been debated. Trade unionism could then have attempted to show that its methods are superior to state regulation. It would have been possible to appeal to science and reason rather than to emotion and sentimentalism. The strike could have been considered pragmatic rather than divine. But it was not so. And at this crucial point where the minds of these two men clashed, Governor Allen undoubtedly succeeded in inflicting the greater damage.

Governor Allen answered Mr. Gompers' supplementary statement in a stinging sur-rebuttal. That statement, Governor Allen said, was in essence this: "The public be damned." The toiler's right to live is not questioned. But many great strikes are called rather "to dictate the terms of life to society." Mr. Gompers failed to distinguish between a strike in private industry and one in an

4. "The Kansas Challenge to Unionism," *New Republic*, v. 27, No. 339, June 1, 1921, p. 4.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.



essential industry, which attempts to "coerce the public" and force the issue by means of economic pressure or distress. To say that industrial conflict in essential industries cannot be settled by the state is equivalent to saying that we must be governed by organized capital or organized labor. The capital-labor conflict is anti-social, and "there is no element of progress in the strike. It is reactionary." The collective bargaining which Mr. Gompers offered as a basis of industrial peace "is not a conciliatory or harmonizing function, but a one-sided arrangement whereby the employee dictates to the employer and lets the devil take the hindmost, which is usually the public."

Here, I think, Governor Allen's enthusiasm led him astray. To say that without compulsory arbitration we have government by organized labor or organized capital is to identify the scope of limited industrial action with the broader scope of government. It rarely happens, even in important conflicts, that the victorious contestant rides rough shod over the vanquished and the public. To say that the capital-labor conflict is anti-social and that there is no element of progress in the strike, shows, I think, a misunderstanding of social processes. This does not mean that the capital-labor conflict represents the most desirable form of social process in that field. But it does mean that the struggle between capital and labor is, in general, a useful social process. It is costly, perhaps needlessly so, but it is nevertheless useful. Competition is also costly, perhaps needlessly so, but it has certainly not yet outlived its usefulness. I think also that Governor Allen is wrong in his belief that Gompersian collective bargaining is a one-sided arrangement which the union dictates at the expense of the public. The collective bargain is rarely ever dictated by the union, but is generally the product of much deliberation, of give-and-take by both sides, and nearly always with some consideration for the public. It is unfair to organized labor to say that the employer and the public are both at its mercy. And I think it is also an unjust criticism of Mr. Gompers to say, as Governor Allen did, that he once considered the strike a last resort, but now considered it the first resort. The strike is a last resort, and it has, in general, been so used by organized labor.

In conclusion, Governor Allen said that Mr. Gompers' first appeal was on behalf of union leadership, his second on behalf of organized labor, and that for the unorganized worker and for the public he had no consideration whatsoever. Here again it appears to me that Governor Allen was less than just. The large number of union

officials drawing salaries seemed to irk the governor, and on more than one occasion he gave vent to his feelings on that subject. I think Governor Allen both misunderstood the function of the full-time union official, and underrated that official's loyalty to the rank and file of organized labor. Samuel Gompers set a high standard of honesty, faithfulness, and efficiency for his fellow leaders, and he cannot properly be charged with being mercenary in his motives or acts.

I think, also, that the whole episode would have been lifted to a higher plane, and would have been less confusing if Governor Allen had clearly and consistently limited his discussion to strikes in essential industries. That he certainly did not do. Many, and I think most, of his severest criticisms can fairly be interpreted as applying to all strikes. And I also believe that Governor Allen really felt bitterly towards all strikes and not merely towards those in essential industries. But whether or not this last opinion is sound, I am convinced that the issue was not drawn clearly enough or maintained consistently enough. It therefore follows, I believe, that the solution of the fundamental problem involved in prohibiting strikes was not appreciably advanced in the debate between Mr. Gompers and Governor Allen. Consequently, this much heralded clash, which at the time appeared to hold great promise of enlightening the public on the fundamentals of the struggle between capital and labor, has sunk into almost complete oblivion.

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

Historical articles of particular interest to Kansans, appearing in recent issues of *The Aerend*, a quarterly magazine published by the Fort Hays Kansas State College, include: "Tragedies of a Cow Town," by F. B. Streeter, a story of frontier Ellsworth and the shooting of Sheriff C. B. Whitney, featured in the spring and summer, 1934, numbers; "Sorghum—The Emigrant Crop of Kansas," by Arthur F. Swanson; "Wild Bill—Peace Officer in Hays," by Paul King; and "Fort Zarah," by Elizabeth Eppstein, published in the spring number; "Harvest, Then—And How!" by Christine M. Herl; and "The Christening of a Kansas Town [Herndon]," by Alfred Carney, printed in the summer number. Mr. Streeter's story, "Tragedies of a Cow Town," was republished in part in the *Ellsworth Messenger*, July 26, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Newton First Congregational church was observed May 6, 1934. Notes on the history of the organization were printed in Newton newspapers following the event.

A journey from the Cherokee Nation in present Oklahoma to the California gold fields in 1850 was recorded by John Lowery Brown in his diary, which was edited by Muriel H. Wright and published by the Oklahoma Historical Society in its *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for June, 1934. The party of Cherokees, of which Mr. Brown was one, went northwest from the Grand Saline, Cherokee Nation, struck the Santa Fé trail in present central Kansas and followed it to Bent's fort in present southeastern Colorado, on its way to the coast.

A history of the Larned Portia club, as prepared by Mrs. C. E. Grove, was printed in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, June 7, 1934, and in the *Chronoscope*, in its issues of June 7, 14, and 21.

"When Sherman County was on Frontier," was the title of a series of articles by Lewis C. Gandy which appeared in the *Goodland Daily News* from June 8 to 15, 1934, inclusive. Another series by Mr. Gandy entitled "Old Fort Wallace and the Smoky Hill Trail," was commenced June 22.

The activities of the Homesteaders' Protective Association, later renamed the Homesteaders' Union Association, and the organization



of Sherman county were reviewed in a three-column article published in *The Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, June 14, 1934.

Lawrence school history was reviewed by Dr. A. R. and Jane Kennedy in the *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, June 14, 1934.

The history of the Plainville Nazarene church was sketched in the *Plainville Times*, June 14, 1934.

Larned postmasters were named in *The Tiller and Toiler* in its issue of June 14, 1934. The post office was established in Larned on August 15, 1872. George B. Cox was the first postmaster.

A brief historical sketch of the First Baptist church of Wathena was published in the *Wathena Times*, June 15, 1934. The church was organized on June 13, 1858.

"Geologic History of Stevens County, and Southwestern Kansas and Vicinity," is the title of an article by J. W. Dappert, of Taylorville, Ill., being published serially in the *Hugoton Hermes*, commencing with the issue of June 15, 1934. Mr. Dappert was an early-day surveyor in southwestern Kansas.

The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of St. John's Lutheran church of Topeka was observed June 17, 1934. A brief history of the organization was written by Arnold Senne for the *Topeka State Journal*, June 16.

A two-column history of the Chilocco Indian School, located six miles south of Arkansas City in present Oklahoma, was printed in the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, June 16, 1934. W. J. Hadley established the school for the United States government in 1884.

Notes on the building of Gen. William T. Sherman's house north of Topeka in 1859, a brief history of Topeka's fire department, and W. K. Myers' account of the Battle of Adobe Walls in 1874, were features of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 17, 1934. Mr. Myers' story was a reprint from the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, of June 13.

Wichita, as it appeared in 1869, was described by Victor Murdock in an article relating an interview with Landon Haynes, former cattleman, which was published in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, June 19, 1934.

A two-column biographical sketch of C. R. "Buck" Teeters, one of the Fort Wallace buffalo hunters, was written by A. H. Stewart

for *The Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, in its issue of June 21, 1934.

The early history of the Baileyville Baptist church was reviewed by Mrs. Bert Hay, of Holton, in *The Courier-Tribune*, Seneca, June 21, 1934. The church was organized on August 23, 1884.

A history of West Powhattan school was published in the *Horton Headlight*, June 21, 1934.

"Sixty Years of Newspaper History in Butler County," by George F. Fullinwider, was the title of a four-column article printed in the *El Dorado Times*, June 22, 1934. The *Walnut Valley Times*, founded at El Dorado on March 4, 1870, is the first on record. Additional notes to this newspaper history were supplied by T. P. Manion in the *Times* of July 14.

The fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the Centennial Methodist Episcopal church building near Halstead was celebrated June 17, 1934. A brief history of the church organization was published in the *Halstead Independent*, June 22.

A brief history of the old Hesper Academy near Eudora was printed in the *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, June 28, 1934. The Society of Friends chartered the institution on June 10, 1884.

"Post Office Closing Recalls Early Day," was the title of a historical sketch of Bayneville in the *Clearwater News*, June 28, 1934.

Goodland history was reviewed by Jean Beckner in *The Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, June 28, 1934. A biographical sketch of Col. George Bradley, pioneer of Sherman county, written by A. H. Stewart, was another feature of this issue.

"Some Early History" was the title of an article by Lillian Forrest recalling early Jewell county Fourth of July celebrations and the organization of a Union Sunday School, which was published in *The Jewell County Republican*, of Jewell, in its issue of June 28, 1934.

"When Humboldt Was the Distributing Depot for the Great Southwest," an article by J. H. Andrews, was printed in the *Humboldt Union*, June 28, 1934. Humboldt in 1870 was the nearest railroad point to several southwest Kansas towns, Mr. Andrews reported, and trainloads of supplies were deposited there for re-shipment overland by wagon.

Attica observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with a celebration held July 4, 1934. Histories of the city's newspapers, early business houses and railroad were published in the "Golden Anniversary Number" of the *Attica Independent*, issued June 28, 1934. Names of pioneers registering at the event and their recollections of early-day Attica were recorded in the *Independent* July 5.

The history of Oakley, as written in detail by Clarence Mershon, librarian at the Oakley Public Library, is being featured in current issues of the *Oakley Graphic*. The series was commenced in the issue of June 29, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the laying out of the city of Coldwater was recently observed. A letter from Cash M. Cade, of Shawnee, Okla., one of the members of the original townsite company, was included in the historical articles printed in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, June 29, 1934.

A paper by B. R. H. d'Allemand relating the history of Stevens Park at Garden City and the part the late S. G. Norris had in its development was published in the *Garden City News* June 30, 1934.

The pioneer-day celebration held at Greensburg, August 3, 1934, commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Kiowa county. The July and August issues of the *Greensburg News* and *Progressive-Signal*, the *Haviland Review* and the *Mullinville News*, Kiowa county newspapers, contained many historical notes and articles contributed by pioneers and others. The Kiowa County Historical Society, organized on August 19, 1932, assisted in the arrangements.

"An Unexplained Mystery of the Western Plains," was the title of an article by Leta Edgar relating the history of the Beales-Royuella Spanish land grant, published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, July 1, 1934. Dr. John Charles Beales, as a part of his project to colonize this empire of 60,000,000 acres, which included portions of the present states of Texas, Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico, brought out 100 Catholic families from Massachusetts in 1824, settled them in this region, and then was unable to find the colony again, wrote Miss Edgar.

The history of the *Atchison Globe* was sketched by Samuel T. Bledsoe, president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad at a dinner held in Topeka, June 30, 1934, honoring Edgar Watson Howe,



founder of the *Globe*. William Allen White, publisher of the *Emporia Gazette* was toastmaster. Other speakers included Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, Gov. Alf M. Landon, and Frank A. Ripley, president of the Topeka Chamber of Commerce. The speeches by McCormick and Bledsoe and Howe's response were printed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 1.

Early western gunmen were recalled by Fred Sutton in a three-column article appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, July 1, 1934.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the University Methodist church of Salina was observed at special services held at the church July 1, 1934. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Salina Journal*, July 2.

Reading history was sketched by Joyce Gibbs in the *Emporia Gazette* July 3 and 4, 1934.

Names of Chase county school teachers listed in five-year periods from 1890-'91 to 1905-'06 were published in the *Chase County News*, Strong City, July 4, 1934.

The Spanish bull fights held at the opening of Dodge City's fair grounds in July, 1884, were described in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, July 4, 1934.

Early Downs and Osborne county history was recalled by W. A. Liston, of Salem, Oregon, in a letter printed in the *Downs News*, July 5, 1934. Mr. Liston arrived in the Downs vicinity in 1879. Additional Downs history was reviewed in the *News* in its September 27 issue.

The fifty-first anniversary of the organization of the Calvary Sunday School, near Randall, was observed June 24, 1934. A history of the organization was briefly sketched in *The Jewell County Republican*, of Jewell, in its issue of July 5.

Early Wichita and southern Kansas history was recalled by L. C. Fouquet, of Chandler, Okla., in a letter published in the *Humboldt Union*, July 5, 1934. Mr. Fouquet arrived in Wichita in 1870. He later served as postmaster at Magnolia and Andale.

"Haun's Bluff Cooled the Dodge Toughies," was the title of an article relating the reminiscences of C. E. Roughton, of Jetmore, which was printed in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, July 5, 1934.

Mr. Roughton wrote of a gang's unsuccessful attempt to kill Thomps Haun in 1879.

"Pioneering With Wash Kennedy," was the title of a two-column article published in the *Greensburg News*, July 5, 1934. Mr. Kennedy came to Kansas in 1862.

"Changes of Forty Years in Coldwater," by H. V. Butcher, is the title of a feature column appearing occasionally in *The Western Star*, of Coldwater. The first article of the series was published in the issue of July 6, 1934.

A biographical sketch of Jules B. Billard, first mayor of Topeka under the commission form of government, was written by Dwight Thacher Harris for the *Topeka State Journal*, July 7, 1934. Mr. Billard came to Kansas in 1854.

The history of Fairmount college, now the University of Wichita, was sketched by Rea Woodman in the *Wichita Beacon*, July 8, 1934.

Anecdotes from the life of Col. Sam Rades, for many years publisher of the Topeka city directories, were recalled by Oscar Swayze in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 8, 1934.

The settlement of the territory around present Plainville was reviewed by W. F. Hughes in his column, "Facts and Comments," published in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, July 12, 1934.

Historical topics of general interest discussed in Harry Johnson's column, "Past and Present," printed in recent issues of the *Garnett Review*, include: "The Ferry Boat Across North Fork," July 12, 1934; "Anderson County's First Citizen—Eliza Priest," and "First Burials in Anderson County," July 26; and "Our Early Autos," September 6.

The political activities of the late Chester I. Long and Jerry Simpson were mentioned by D. D. Leahy in his column, "Random Recollections of Other Days," published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, July 15, 1934.

Brief histories of Sylvan Grove School District No. 22, west of Horton, were printed in the *Horton Headlight* and *The Tri-County News* in their issues of July 16, 1934. The school district was organized in the middle 1860's.

A thirty-six page historical edition commemorating the founding of the South Haven Methodist Episcopal church was issued by the

South Haven *New Era*, July 19, 1934. The church was organized by the Rev. B. C. Swartz on August 27, 1873.

Life in territorial Kansas and John Brown's slave-running activities were recalled in the *Garnett Review*, July 19, 1934.

The first court docket used in what is now Garden City was briefly discussed by the *Garden City News* in its issue of July 19, 1934. The first case was tried on September 1, 1879, the *News* reported.

"Lawrence, Kas., Was Founded as Free State Stronghold Eighty Years Ago," was the title of an article published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 19, 1934.

Barber county old settlers contributing to the "Pioneer Reminiscences" column appearing occasionally in recent issues of *The Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge, include: Arthur D. Shaw, Wm. L. Derrick, July 19, 1934; Aubra Donovan, Allen E. Herr, July 26; H. A. Tedrow, Robert L. Groendycke, August 2; Lela Teagle Yoke, August 23, and Mrs. J. W. Young, September 6.

A biographical sketch of Gen. Henry Leavenworth, founder of Fort Leavenworth, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, July 21, 1934.

Prairie fires, drought, Indian scares, the grasshopper invasion and scurvy combined to make 1874 one of the hardest years ever experienced in Sumner county, the *Caldwell Daily Messenger* reported in a feature article printed in its issue of July 25, 1934.

A story of the building of Chase county's courthouse and the temporary quarters used before its erection, was written by Carrie Breese Chandler for the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, July 25, 1934. The county's present courthouse was completed in 1873.

William Hammond's reminiscences of the drought of 1860 were published in the *Emporia Gazette*, July 25, 1934. Mr. Hammond went to Emporia with his parents in June, 1857.

"Just a Country Town," was the title of an article by C. B. Andrews, which appeared in the *Seneca Times*, July 26, 1934, describing a little town in Nemaha county forty years ago.

Pioneer days in Mitchell county were described by the late Mrs. James Humes, of Beloit, in a paper published in the *Beloit Gazette*,



July 26, 1934. Mrs. Humes arrived in Mitchell county in September, 1871.

The reminiscences of Henry Lord, of Dodge City, a former Indian fighter, were printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 26, 1934. Mr. Lord was a member of the Eleventh Kansas regiment.

A history of Shell Rock township, Greenwood county, by Royal Wolcott, was published serially in the *Madison News* in its issues of July 26, August 2, 9, 16, and 23, 1934.

Eighty years of Atchison history were briefly reviewed by the *Atchison Daily Globe* in its issue of July 27, 1934. The first town meeting was held on the townsite of Atchison July 27, 1854.

The history of the Shawnee Methodist mission near Kansas City was recalled by Mrs. Harry B. Tasker, of Topeka, in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 29, 1934. Mrs. Tasker is chairman of the Shawnee mission committee of the Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution.

The sixty-second anniversary edition of the *Wichita Eagle* was issued July 29, 1934. "The Story of the *Eagle*," by Kent Eubank; "Recollections of Col. Marsh Murdock," founder of the *Eagle*, by David D. Leahy, and "Wichita Was Once a Military Post," by Hortense Balderston Campbell, were features of the edition.

Five special services were held by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethany church of Lindsborg during August, 1934, in observance of the sixty-fifth anniversary of its organization. Historical notes were published in current issues of the *Lindsborg News-Record* in conjunction with the event.

A brief history of Cadmus Grange, No. 350, of Linn county, was printed in the *Kansas Grange Monthly*, of Kingman, in its August, 1934, issue. The grange was organized on July 21, 1873.

Herington newspaper history was reviewed by Muriel Harris Knox in a page article published in the *Herington Times-Sun*, August 2, 1934.

The history of Garden City's first experiment station was sketched in the *Garden City News*, August 2, 1934. The experiment station was established two miles north of the city in 1888.

A historical sketch of the Eskridge Covenant church, by Mrs. J. R. W. Stevenson, was featured in the *Eskridge Independent* on August 2, 1934. A committee of the Kansas Presbytery, with Rev.

J. R. Latimer, moderator, organized the congregation on April 16, 1884, with twenty-five members.

Incidents happening at Fort Saunders, Douglas county, during the border warfare period, were briefly discussed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, August 3, 1934.

Several Kansas newspaper presses have been sunk into a watery grave by irate readers as a result of strong editorial policies on the part of their editors. One newspaper to meet this fate was *The XVith Amendment*, of Ness City, edited by Joseph Langellier, and devoted to the cause of prohibition. In 1885 it published almost regularly the names of those who bought liquor at the local drug store for "medicinal" purposes. According to an article published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, August 7, 1934, some of these citizens so publicized "did not like to have their tastes aired" and saw to it that the press was dumped into Sunset Lake in Ness City where it rests to-day. Mr. Langellier did not revive the *Amendment* after this disaster.

A history of the St. Mary's Catholic church of McCracken was sketched in the McCracken *Enterprise*, August 10, 1934. The Rev. Father Hardis, of Liebenthal, held the first Catholic service in the community on August 12, 1884.

The fiftieth anniversary of the organization of Saint Peter's Lutheran church of Holyrood was observed August 12, 1934. A history of the church was published in the Holyrood *Gazette* in its issue of August 15.

"The Old Home Town Band Stand," was the subject of a two-column sketch by Harry Johnson appearing in *The Anderson Countian*, of Garnett, August 16, 1934.

A history of the Pony Express was contributed by John G. Ellenbecker to the Hanover *Democrat* of August 17, 1934.

The history of the Kimball United Brethren church was reviewed by R. E. Morgan, of Kimball, in the Chanute *Tribune*, August 17, 1934.

A cartoon strip entitled "History of Topeka in Pictures," by Robert Currie, is a weekly feature of the Topeka *Daily Capital*. The series started with the issue of August 19, 1934.

The accomplishments of the Beloit Women's Civic Club since its organization on March 15, 1922, were reviewed in the Beloit *Daily Call*, August 23, 1934.

Early postoffices and the Santa Fé trail in Lyon county were discussed in the *Emporia Gazette*, August 23, 1934.

The droughts of 1860 and 1934 were compared in the *Humboldt Union*, August 23, 1934. In 1860 relief rations were hauled from Missouri river points with starved teams, the writer reported.

The story of the massacre at Lone Tree in 1874 in which O. F. Short and a party of surveyors were killed by Indians was retold in the *Meade Globe-News* and the *Meade County Press* in their issues of August 23, 1934. A bronze tablet honoring the surveyors has been purchased. It will be placed upon the trunk of the original Lone Tree.

A brief history of the *Kansas City Advertiser* was published in *The Wyandotte County Record* of Kansas City, August 24, 1934. The *Advertiser* is a continuation of the *Argentine Republic*, established in Argentine in 1887.

The history of the Liberal Christian church was briefly reviewed in the *Liberal News*, August, 27, 1934, and in *The Southwest Tribune*, August 30. The church was organized on August 26, 1894, with J. H. Knapp as the first pastor.

Henry Burnard's pioneering experiences in southern Kansas in the early 1870's were related in the *Mulvane News*, August 30, 1934. Mr. Burnard came to Kansas in 1870 and settled along the Arkansas river bottom near present Udall.

The Cheney Methodist Episcopal church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary September 2, 1934. The names of former pastors were included in the history of the organization published in the *Cheney Sentinel*, August 30.

Early Kansas newspaper history was briefly reviewed by Milton Tabor in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 2, 1934.

"Graveyard at Chelsea First of Cemeteries in the Prairie Empire," was the title of an article by Victor Murdock published in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, September 5, 1934. Chelsea is the oldest neighborhood in the Butler-Sedgwick county region, wrote Mr. Murdock, and the cemetery was started contemporaneously with the establishment of the town.

Neosho Falls in the 1880's was briefly described by Mrs. Luta Van Boskirk, of Kansas City, in *The Woodson County Post*, September 6, 1934.



Fort Leavenworth history was reviewed in the annual "Fort Leavenworth Edition" of the Leavenworth *Chronicle*, issued September 6, 1934.

The Newton First Presbyterian church celebrated the sixty-second anniversary of its organization on September 9, 1934. A brief history of the church was published in the Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican*, September 8.

An article relating the history of the prohibition movement in Kansas was printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, September 9, 1934.

The introduction of electric lighting in Topeka was recalled in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 9, 1934. F. B. Roper, who made the installation in 1881, still resides in the city.

Clark county history is being reviewed in detail in a series of articles contributed by John R. Walden to *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland. The series was commenced in the issue of September 13, 1934.

The experiences of Thomas A. Butler, western Kansas railroad contractor, were printed in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, September 13, 1934. The story was obtained by Victor Murdock from the son, Newton W. Butler, of California, and was first published in the Wichita *Eagle*.

A series of articles concerning the personnel of Veteran Company 1779, Civilian Conservation Corps, is being contributed by Capt. Albert Whipple Morse, Jr., commanding officer, to the Burr Oak *Herald*. The series was commenced in the issue of September 13, 1934.

The part Arkansas City played in the opening of the Cherokee strip in 1893 was recalled by F. B. Hutchison in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, September 15, 1934.

A biographical sketch of Gen. James G. Blunt, by Kirke Mechem, was published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, September 16, 1934. General Blunt was Kansas' first major general.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the St. Andrew's Episcopal church of Fort Scott was observed September 20, 1934. The history of the organization was reviewed in the Fort Scott *Tribune* in its issue of September 19, 1934.

A French settlement made over seventy-five years ago in Chase and present Marion counties was discussed by John Madden in an article printed in the *Marion Review*, September 19, 1934. Names of Kansas pioneers who came to the state before 1880 and who attended the Marion old settlers' meeting held September 13, were also featured. In the issue of September 26, the Irish colonization in Marion county was described by Mr. Madden, and in the October 3 issue the English colonization was reviewed. The history of the Mennonite colony was reviewed in the October 10 issue, by William Burkholder.

Weir's history was briefly sketched by J. W. Farrell in the *Weir Spectator*, September 20, 1934.

Commemorative editions of the *St. John News* and *The County Capital* were issued September 20, 1934, honoring the founding of the First Methodist Episcopal church at St. John fifty-one years ago. A history of the church compiled by Mrs. W. H. Waters, Mrs. L. L. Carleton and L. B. Asher, was published. Photographs of persons prominent in the church history were also featured.

The *Pittsburg Headlight* and *Sun* printed their sixth annual "Kansas Coal Edition," as a part of their issues of September 24 and 25, 1934, respectively. Included in the featured articles was a two-page history of the southeast Kansas industry as it was thirty years ago, republished from the industrial edition of the *Headlight* issued September 10, 1904.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Lyona Methodist Episcopal church was observed during the week ending September 23, 1934. A brief history of the church published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 25, related that the Lyona church was the first organized in Dickinson county.

A. D. Searle's survey of the Lawrence townsite begun on September 25, 1854, was recalled in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, September 25, 1934. The two-column story related the origin of street names and located some of the early boundaries of the city. Over four square miles was included in the original townsite.

"Early Wallace County, General Custer, and the Seventh Cavalry," a series of articles written by Lewis C. Gandy, has been resumed in *The Western Times* of Sharon Springs. The series commenced with the issue of September 27, 1934.

A history of the Dry Creek school, as written by C. H. Gustin in 1900, was published in the *Toronto Republican*, September 27, 1934. The school district was first organized in April, 1866.

A letter from Rev. H. E. Ross, of Whitewater, relating his early-day experiences as a Methodist pastor in Hugoton, was printed in the *Hugoton Hermes*, September 28, 1934. Reverend Ross arrived in Hugoton in 1897.

"When Civil War Threatened Kansas Seventy Years Ago," was the title of an article by Manly Wade Wellman, reviewing Gen. Sterling Price's campaigns around Kansas City in October, 1864, published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, September 30, 1934.

A biographical sketch of Oscar Stauffer, Arkansas City newspaperman, was printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, September 30, 1934.

The history of the Masonic Order in Kansas was briefly reviewed in the October, 1934, issue of the *Kansas Masonic Digest*, published at Wichita. Lodges were established in Kansas a few weeks after the territory was opened to settlement in 1854.

Cale, a town founded near the state line southwest of Arkansas City in 1886, was described in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 2, 1934. The town did not prosper and the townsite was abandoned a few years after its founding.

A biography of Eugene Fitch Ware, Kansas poet and former editor of the *Fort Scott Monitor*, was published in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 3, 1934. A copy of the manuscript as written by A. M. Keene was placed in the cornerstone at the dedication ceremonies for a new school building at Fort Scott, October 2. The school will bear the name of the poet.

Names of persons still alive who resided in the Conway Springs neighborhood in 1884 were listed in the *Conway Springs Star*, October 4, 1934.

Biographical sketches of Civil War veterans who made their homes in the Waterville community are being published in the *Waterville Telegraph*. The first of the series appeared in the issue of October 4, 1934.

The history of Havana, located four miles west of Burlingame on the old Santa Fé trail, was reviewed by Marie A. Olson in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 7, 1934. A colony of Germans from



St. Louis and Chicago laid out the townsite in 1858, but abandoned it in the early 1870's.

A biographical sketch of F. Dumont Smith, Hutchinson attorney, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 7, 1934.

The story of Presbyterianism in Kansas, from its Indian-mission work in the early 1800's to its present-day membership, was related by Rev. Drury H. Fisher, of Manhattan, at a meeting of the Kansas Presbyterian synod in Clay Center, October 10, 1934. A résumé of this address was printed in the *Clay Center Dispatch*, October 11.

Waushara Methodist church, near Eskridge, celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of the building of its present church edifice on October 7, 1934. A history of the organization, by Lester E. Bush, was published in the *Eskridge Independent* and the *Harveyville Monitor* in their issues of October 11. Names of teachers and members of the various public school boards in Wabaunsee county were listed by Anna Nash-Wagner, county superintendent, as another feature of the same issue of the *Independent*.

A history of Ravanna, a boom town of the 1880's, was briefly sketched by R. K. Myers in the *Dodge City Journal*, October 11, 1934.

The history of Vinland Grange and the Grange Fair was reviewed by Allison Andrews in the *Baldwin Ledger*, October 11, 1934. Vinland Grange was organized on May 24, 1873, with twenty-eight charter members.

Mennonite settlements in Kansas were briefly reviewed by Laura Knickerbocker in an article published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 14, 1934. A description of the Shawnee Methodist mission as it appears to-day, and a biographical sketch of William Allen White, were other Kansas features included in the issue.

The history of Haskell Institute at Lawrence was sketched in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 16, 1934. The first building of the Institute was erected in 1884.

Life at old Camp Nichols, established by Col. C. Carson on the Cimarron cut-off of the Santa Fé trail in present Cimarron county, Oklahoma, was described in the *Dodge City Journal*, October 18, 1934. Crumbling rock walls are all that remain to-day of that camp erected in 1865 to house soldiers who acted as escorts to wagon trains through the territory from Fort Dodge or Fort Larned southwest to the camp.

The golden anniversary of the Block Trinity Lutheran church was observed October 21, 1934. The history of the church was briefly reviewed in the *Miami Republican*, October 19.

Oswego's First Methodist church history was sketched in the *Oswego Democrat and Independent* in their issues of October 19, 1934. The sixty-sixth anniversary of the organization of the church was observed at a homecoming on October 14.

The eightieth anniversary of the organization of the Plymouth Congregational church of Lawrence was observed October 21-24, 1934. The church was organized on October 22, 1854, with ten charter members, the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World* reported in its issue of October 19. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, of October 21, also published a history of the church.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Anna Vandervourt Smith, a pioneer Kansan, were recorded by Jennie Small Owen in the *Topeka State Journal*, October 20, 1934. A story of a dog and the protection it gave to a party of whites during an Indian attack in present Jewell county in 1868, by Lillian Forrest, was another feature of this issue.

A biographical sketch of Fred Stone, Kansas actor, was published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, October 21, 1934. Mr. Stone is now featured in the new play *The Jayhawker*, written by Sinclair Lewis and Lloyd Lewis, and based on Kansas' part in the War of the Rebellion. The *Star* in this same issue also printed a biographical sketch of Earle W. Evans, of Wichita, who is a former president of the American Bar Association.

The history of the Norton Community High School was briefly reviewed in the *Norton Nugget* in its issue of October 22, 1934.

## Kansas Historical Notes

A Pony Express marker, erected in the city park at Hanover, was dedicated August 22, 1934, as a feature of the Hanover "Days of '49" celebration.

Desire Tobey Sears chapter, D. A. R., of Jewell county, has erected a memorial in the city park at Jewell commemorating the establishment of Fort Jewell and honoring the pioneer settlers. A bronze plate on the marker bears the inscription, "Fort Jewell, Built May 13-14, 1870."

At the twentieth annual reunion of the surviving members of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas regiments, held in Topeka September 12, 1934, Frank M. Stahl was reëlected president; John McBee was elected first vice president; H. L. Burgess was reëlected second vice president, and Mrs. Ella Shaul was reëlected secretary-treasurer.

The Kansas state chapter of the United Daughters of 1812 dedicated the two rooms which have been assigned to it at the Shawnee Methodist Indian mission at ceremonies held at the mission September 19, 1934. The dedication furniture was a walnut bedroom suite which had belonged to the family of Mrs. S. H. Kilgore, second state president of the Kansas chapter.

At the annual meeting of the Riley County Historical Society held in Manhattan on October 1, 1934, the following officers were elected: C. M. Correll, president; Mrs. Caroline A. Smith, vice president; Mrs. Gertrude B. Failyer, secretary; Mrs. John Flick, treasurer; G. H. Failyer, historian and custodian, and Mrs. C. A. Smith, assistant custodian. Directors of the Society who were elected are: W. D. Haines, chairman, Mrs. Caroline A. Smith, Mrs. Medora Flick, Mrs. C. B. Daughters, Mrs. F. L. Murdock, Mrs. Ida Warner, G. H. Failyer, C. W. Emmons, and C. M. Correll.

W. B. Trembly, of Kansas City, was elected president of the Twentieth Kansas infantry at the thirty-fourth annual reunion held in Topeka, October 8, 1934. Other officers are: Fred A. Recob, Topeka, vice president, and Jerry C. Springstead, Topeka, secretary and treasurer.

A temporary sign was recently placed west of Ingalls, in Gray county, marking the old Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas river on the Santa Fé trail.



Many Kansas cities and towns annually sponsor pioneer meetings or old-settler reunions. Newspapers in some of these localities issued historical editions in conjunction with these meetings which are mentioned elsewhere in these notes. In other localities historical facts brought out in the newspapers, which, although not listed in separate paragraphs, are of sufficient importance to be catalogued here; consequently, a list of communities sponsoring meetings, and the dates, are appended for reference: Wabaunsee, May 30; Hazelton, June 1; Wichita, June 2; Cameron, June 3; Scott City, June 12; Shields, June 13, 14; Garden Plain, July 22; Downs, July 25; Quenemo, July 26, 27; Wilson, July 26-28; Nickerson, August 2, 3; Lebanon, August 2-4; Halstead, August 8, 9; Baldwin, August 10, October 9; Jewell, August 10, 11; Leoti, August 13, 14; Lakin, Selden, August 16; Hanover, August 21-23; Russell, August 22-24; Melvern, August 23, 24; Sparks, August 23-26; Colby, August 24; Oskaloosa, August 24, 25; Americus, Mulvane, Spring Hill, White Rock, August 30; Holton, August 31; Drury, Severy, Syracuse, September 3; Thayer, September 5-7; Solomon, Stafford, September 6; Reading, September 7; Cimarron, Uniontown, September 8; Topeka, September 10; Neosho Falls, September 12-14; Marion, September 13; Howard, Lawrence, Pratt, September 14; Toronto, September 16; Humboldt, September 17-22; Oakley, September 18; Fontana, September 20; Herington, September 21; Weir, September 22, 23; Cherryvale, Smith Center, September 26; Pike-Pawnee park celebration, September 27-29; Fall River, September 29; Stockton, October 2; Ford, October 5; Bennington, Olathe, Sedan, October 6; Rush Center, October 10; Mt. Hope, October 11; Dwight, Manhattan, October 13; Oswego, October 20, and Paola, October 26-31.

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## Errata in Volume III

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Page 52, lines 1 to 4. The Buford mentioned here was Maj. Jefferson Buford of Eufaula, Ala., instead of John Buford as suggested in footnote 9. For an account of Major Buford's activities in the territory see Walter L. Fleming's "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," in *The American Historical Review*, v. 6, pp. 38-48.

Page 123, lines 17 to 19, referring to ownership of Dyerstown or Juniata, an error.

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