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THE
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Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor



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Contents of Volume VI

Number 1—February, 1937

	PAGE
KANSAS CITY, MO., A FAMOUS FREIGHTER CAPITAL.....	<i>Walker D. Wyman,</i> 3
FERRIES IN KANSAS: Part XII—Marmaton River, Part XIII— Wakarusa Creek, Part XIV—Turkey Creek.....	<i>George A. Root,</i> 14
THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY IN THE KANSAS CONFLICT, <i>Samuel A. Johnson,</i>	21
AN OLD PLAY ON JOHN BROWN.....	34
EXPLORING THE SOLOMON RIVER VALLEY IN 1869: From the Journal of Robert McBratney.....	Edited by <i>Martha B. Caldwell,</i> 60
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing the Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; President E. E. Kelley's Address, "Some Southwest Kansas Pioneers"; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society, <i>Kirke Mechem, Secretary,</i>	77
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	97
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	106
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	111

Number 2—May, 1937

	PAGE
DISORGANIZING EFFECTS OF THE MEXICAN WAR ON THE SANTA FÉ TRADE, <i>Lewis E. Atherton,</i>	115
THE STUBBS	<i>Martha B. Caldwell,</i> 124
FERRIES IN KANSAS: Part XV—Marais des Cygnes River, Part XVI— Verdigris River, Part XVII—Cottonwood River, Part XVIII— Spring River, Part XIX—Ninnescah River, Part XX—Walnut River, Part XXI—Independence Creek, and Part XXII—Pottat- watomie Creek—Concluded.....	<i>George A. Root,</i> 132
THE KANSAS PRAIRIE: Or, Eight Days on the Plains.....	<i>Isaac Moffatt,</i> 147
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE GARDNER PHOTOGRAPHS OF KANSAS, <i>Robert Taft,</i>	175
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY: Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland,</i> Librarian,	178
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	200
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	211
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	223

Number 3—August, 1937

	PAGE
A FRAGMENT OF KANSAS LAND HISTORY: The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract.....	Paul Wallace Gates, 227
LETTERS OF CYRUS KURTZ HOLLIDAY, 1854-1859.....	Edited by Lela Barnes, 241
HISTORY OF SUN-GOLD SECTION.....	Eugene F. Ware, 295
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	315
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	325
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	335

Number 4—November, 1937

	PAGE
THE SOUTHERN KANSAS BOUNDARY SURVEY: From the Journal of Hugh Campbell, Astronomical Computer..	Edited by Martha B. Caldwell, 339
MEDICAL SKETCH OF THE NINETEENTH REGIMENT OF KANSAS CAVALRY VOLUNTEERS	Mahlon Bailey, 378
WICHITA AND HER PUBLIC LIBRARIES.....	Hortense B. C. Gibson, 387
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	394
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	404
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	414
INDEX TO VOLUME VI.....	419

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Volume VI

Number 1

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Contributors

WALKER D. WYMAN is associate professor of the department of social sciences at the State Teachers College of River Falls, Wis.

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

SAMUEL A. JOHNSON, formerly associate professor of history of the Emporia Kansas State Teachers College, is professor of history of Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Mo.

MARTHA B. CALDWELL is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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

Kansas City, Mo., a Famous Freighter Capital

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE overland trade to New Mexico was the most ancient and honorable of all ox-team freighting from Missouri river towns. Beginning in the eighteen twenties, it grew slowly until the Mexican War;¹ then the necessity of supplying troops stationed in the area, as well as other Americans, created a new era in this traffic. Lower Missouri river towns outfitted this trade in its infancy. But when Kansas City came into existence in the forties it soon became the headquarters. Its fame lies in being the patron saint of the trade down the old Santa Fé trail. It enjoyed practically an unbroken monopoly on the private trade to New Mexico, but only a small proportion of the other western trade.

Independence, Mo., located in the fat farming country ten miles east of the Kansas boundary, and four miles below the river, was the depot for the Santa Fé and Indian trade as early as 1832, favored because it was the westernmost point of settlement.² This it enjoyed until a new settlement, farther to the west, at the bend of the river, grew up to steal the whole business.

Thomas Hart Benton, spokesman for the West in this middle period, once prophesied:

There, gentlemen, where that rocky bluff meets and turns aside the sweeping current of this mighty river there, where the Missouri, after running its southward course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to the Mississippi, a large commercial and manufacturing community will congregate, and less than a generation will see a great city on those hills.³

Evidently other men, not necessarily shrewd men either, saw that there where the current ran close to the rock bank, making an excellent landing, *should* rise a frontier depot. Just below this ideal landing place, upon the trail from Independence, there was growing a settlement known as Westport, noted for its "truck and dicker" trade with the Indians and the sale of last-minute knickknacks to emigrants. Although goods were landed there at the bend after 1832, freighters still loaded in Independence until the middle of the forties.

1. The classic volumes covering the prewar days of Santa Fé freighting is Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1845), Vols. I and II. Two years before the war started four companies went out from Independence, Mo., employing 160 men, 92 wagons, 60 oxen, and 780 mules. See the article, "Commerce of the Prairies," *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, v. XI, p. 475. Author not given.

2. See Gregg, *ibid.*, v. I, pp. 33-34; W. H. Miller, *The History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), p. 23; and S. W. Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. II, p. 26.

3. Quoted in P. W. Morgan's *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas, and Its People* (Chicago, 1911), v. I, p. 113.

When H. M. Northup came up to Westport Landing in 1844 with the "largest stock of merchandise ever yet offered" to the conveyors of overland goods, and when W. H. Chick built a warehouse, outfitting had properly made its debut. Four years before, W. G. and G. W. Ewing had built a warehouse for Indian goods. The next year, 1845, Bent and St. Vrain shipped there the first load of goods. When this train of twenty-five wagons was unloaded the warehouse was full from top to bottom and 5,000 tons of buffalo hides covered with a tarpaulin were stored on the levee.⁴ Within another year it was "conceded that Kansas City and Westport fairly divided this great trade with the city of Independence . . ."⁵ The first commission house grew up in Westport, but the history of the two towns is inextricably interwoven. The economic differentiation during the first few years is as difficult to ascertain as are the boundaries of Westport today.

The Kansas City of the fifties was but little more than a few rough warehouses. Its narrow levee was accessible through a ravine and walled in by hills covered with a mighty forest and studded with a few cabins hanging perilously to the precipice. All the life was at the wharf, where the few inhabitants gathered to see the daily show of churning steamboats, men bustling about loading or unloading goods, and plodding oxen, drawing prairie schooners up the ravine, urged on by Missouri or Mexican profanity. This was the beginning of the golden age of steamboating. The railroad menace was yet to come. Some sixty steamboats were to make regular (or as nearly regular as a boat could be on the Missouri) trips to the bend of the river, and half as many "tramps" were to operate on a "come and go when possible" basis.⁶

From the turn of this decade this town among the hills claimed a lion's share of the freighting to the mountains and to the Southwest. Six hundred wagons left there in 1850. In 1854 the business of Kansas City was given thus: merchandise, \$3,185,502; warehousing, \$545,000; livestock, \$2,148,200; and exports, \$1,767,761.⁷ The Santa Fé trade was growing; as the Indians sold their birthrights for an-

4. W. H. Chick in the *Kansas City* (Mo.) *Star*, December 14, 1906.

5. C. C. Spaulding, *Annals of the City of Kansas* (Kansas City, 1858), p. 33. The beginning of this trade is compiled from C. P. Deatherage, *Early History of Greater Kansas City* (Kansas City, Mo., 1927), v. I, pp. 362-363; C. W. Whitney, *Kansas City* (Chicago, 1908), v. I, pp. 95-97; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, passim; Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-34; and Eldridge, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

6. Reminiscence of a pioneer in a clipping from the *Kansas City* (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, September, 1925.

7. Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, "Commerce of the Prairies," v. XLIV, pp. 25-26; and Deatherage, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

nunities more wagon loads of glittering trinkets and kegs of whisky were needed; and the hinterland began to fill up with farmers to save Kansas. Merchants realized that the fish-barrel could not repose on the calico counter. Specialization began in earnest. Stores selling dry goods, drugs or hardware alone characterized the business life before the end of the decade.

In 1857 some 300 merchants and freighters were engaged in the mountain and New Mexican commerce and a total of 9,884 wagons loaded at the levee for the territories and the hinterland. Hides, pelts, and furs worth half a million dollars were shipped in and a New York buyer bought them for export. Wool was first imported this year. In 1854 the saddle and harness business amounted to \$14,000 in Independence, but in 1857 that trade had mounted to over \$81,000 in Kansas City alone. Freight charges and commissions paid at the warehouses were close to \$500,000.⁸ Fourteen thousand seven hundred horses, mules, and oxen were sold, and 52,000 stock cattle from Missouri, Texas, Arkansas and the Cherokee country, changed hands there for California, Salt Lake, Forts Kearney and Laramie, and home markets. The city had become a rendezvous for cattle dealers from far and wide, a place through which coursed cattle from the West going east and from the East going west.⁹

8. Total pounds of freight, 59,304,000; mules and oxen used, 98,840. Some writers state that this number constituted the New Mexican trade, a position which seems incredible and in error. The *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, October 17, 1857, gives 13,440 as the total for the year. See Spaulding, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34, 74-81, and the writer's "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fé Trail," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, November, 1931, pp. 22-23.

Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 79, gives the following as the total warehouse business:

Number of packages	381,628
Number of wagons	1,172
Number of plows	2,246
Number of sacks of flour	49,266
Number of sacks of meal	4,560
Number of sacks of oats	2,160
Number of sacks of corn	2,760
Number of sacks of potatoes	1,760
Number of bales of hay	336
Number of kegs of powder	1,940
Number of dry hides	2,280
Number of bales of buffalo robes	7,040
Number of bales of furs and skins	2,580
Number of bags of buffalo tongues	514
Number of packages of furniture	7,768
Number of gallons of stone-ware	5,936
Number of carriages	256
Number of pianos	32
Mexican wool received	865,000 lb.
Lumber	1,277,200 ft.
Lath	844,200 ft.
Shingles	656,090 ft.
Amount of gold and silver received	\$1,139,661.50
Amount of silver ore from Gadsden Purchase	2,000 lb.
Other freight	12,985,600 lb.

A total of \$3,183,502.34 in business was done that year, lumber, dry goods, groceries, and furs being the greatest items of trade.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79; and the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal of Commerce* for 1858, scattered issues.

Kansas City realized that her future, as that of no other town on the Missouri, lay in the commerce of the frontier. Each year over \$5,000,000 in specie was distributed there by the government, emigrants and freighters: \$1,100,000 in annuities went to the Indians; the army spent \$2,000,000 for stock, forage, and salaries, and if any of it was withheld from circulation there was "more husbandry in our army than it had credit for"; mail contractors were paid \$200,000; an estimated \$300,000 was spent by emigrants; and the Santa Fé traders paid out some \$1,500,000 annually to merchants, blacksmiths, producers of livestock, and bullwhackers.¹⁰ This was sufficient to stave off any panic similar to the one of 1857 which struck most towns so hard but left Kansas City fairly intact. The question of agricultural surpluses was cared for seemingly for all time; they were not to be disposed of in Europe but between the Missouri border and the Rockies, "around the campfires of emigrants and freighters—in the cabins of the pioneer and the wigwam of the Indian, far, far away in the mountains."¹¹

The merchants believed they had every advantage necessary for a grasp upon the commerce of the whole plains, prairies, and mountain areas. They purchased largely in the East, as did many St. Louis merchants, and sold for cost plus five percent, as did their down-river brethren. The extra freight charges up river from St. Louis were offset by lower rents in Kansas City. Competition of the rising Kansas towns was not feared for they lacked the abundance of stocks and the stability of prices.

As the year 1858 loomed over the horizon, business prospects seemed bright. The turmoil in Kansas was waning and trade with the West was potentially greater. In April several Santa Fé as well as local merchants and freighters were granted contracts for food supplies to be delivered at southwestern forts.¹² Russell, Majors, and Waddell were also to start ten trains from McCarty and Ranson's warehouse, the official depot rented by the army.¹³ There was reason, therefore, for the organization of a chamber of commerce, the grading and macadamizing of Front street (at the river front), the extension of the levee three times normal size, the erection of

10. Spaulding, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

11. Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, November 7, 1857.

12. Flour contractors and destinations were: Joseph Hersch, Santa Fé and Albuquerque; Ceran St. Vrain, Fort Union; A. J. Otero, Fort Defiance. Beans: Ceran St. Vrain, Fort Union, Fort Massachusetts and Cantonment Burgwin; F. White, Fort Fillmore and Fort Bliss; F. and C. Huning, Albuquerque. Vinegar: Dens and May, Fort Fillmore; Kesler and Zecken-dorf, Albuquerque; Thomas Logan, Fort Thorn; Joseph Nangle, Fort Bliss. Salt: James Cumming, destination not given.—*Ibid.*, April 10, 1858.

13. *Ibid.*, June 19, July 1, 10, 1858, and January 4, 1859. Also the *Weekly Kansas Herald*, Leavenworth, July 24, 1858.

new warehouses and a packing plant, and the improvement of the Westport road.¹⁴

As soon as the ice broke steamboats began to unload everything from lager beer to church bells, destined for over thirty towns in the Santa Fé area and for that many in Missouri and Kansas territory.¹⁵ Mexican traders—Jose Chaves, Juan I. Peres, P. Delgado, J. C. Armigo, and others—Yankee freighters, and local farmers loaded over 8,000 wagons at Kansas City and nearly 2,000 from Westport, paying about \$800,000 for freight and commission at the warehouses.¹⁶ This was not all Santa Fé business, for fewer than 2,000 wagons creaked down that trail.¹⁷ This year, for the first time, most of Indian trade from Bent's Fort, Laramie, and the Osage, Ottawa, and Cherokee countries concentrated there instead of at St.

14. *Journal of Commerce*, December 17, 1857; January 23, March 6, November 7, December 17, 1858.

15. These articles were seen in one warehouse: doors, circular saws, bands, packing, machinery, sashes, whisky, sugar, cog wheels, shovels, wheels, church bells, grind stones, furniture, bedding, brooms, stoves, nail iron, lager beer, fan mills, crockery, crates, saw mill, wagon fellos, bows, spokes, horse collars, cement, soda, syrups, wine, leather, glass ware, preserved fruit, log chains, bacon, flour, emigrant chests, axietrees, rope, and pianos.

The destination was Bent's Fort, Fort Union, Fort Massachusetts, Fort Thorn, Albuquerque, Pena Blanca, Atrisca, Rio Ariba, Santa Fé, Bernalillo, Ranchos, Las Vegas, Las Lunas, Regada, Taos, Peralto, Valverde, La Micia Donna, Socorro, Sabine, Parida, Louis Lopez, Limitar, Moro, Anton Chico, Donna Ana, Las Castillo, Algodennis, San Miguel, San Jose, Tocolote, West Point, New Santa Fé, Harrisonville, Westport, Dry Wood, Tecumseh, Lawrence, Brownsville, Wyandot, Wabonsa, Topeka, Butler, Ossawatimie, Prairie City, Leroy, Centropolis, Council Grove, Cofacheque, Neosho, Manhattan, Fort Riley, Oakland, Monticello, Emporia, Lexington, Olathe, McCannish, Oxford, Shawnee, and Richardson.—*Ibid.*, June 25, 1858.

16. *Missouri Republican*, July 18, 1859, and Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Western Journal of Commerce*, January 1, 1859. This summary of the year's business is given by the latter: merchandise sold, \$3,232,921.52; brick sold, \$96,000; livestock sold, \$2,241,217; and exports, \$2,018,045.75.

The exports were given thus: Mexican wool, 1,051,000 lbs.; goat skins, 55,000; dressed deer skins, 60,000; dry hides, 61,857; specie in boxes, \$1,527,789; estimated furs, peltries, and skins, \$50,000; or a total of \$2,018,045.75.

The cattle trade report showed the sale of 16,600 horses, mules, and oxen, for \$1,328,900; stock cattle from Missouri, Cherokee country, Texas and Arkansas, and sold for California, Salt Lake, Fort Kearney, Laramie, Riley, Chicago, and home markets, 864,000 (11,000 being taken to Chicago), valued at \$864,000; 5,063 hogs, \$45,557; and 1,825 sheep, \$3,650; a total of \$2,241,217.

The merchandise business was thus distributed: dry goods, \$399,231.68; boots and shoes, \$151,875.25; hats and caps, \$25,228.15; clothing, \$105,131.04; boots and stationery, \$16,136.10; hardware, \$150,146.38; powder and lead, \$49,042; glassware, \$26,138.64; wooden ware, \$10,926.02; stoves and tin, \$71,948.50; plows, wagons, carriages, \$56,052; groceries, \$526,536.20; flour and meal, \$395,645; bacon and lard, \$103,163.04; liquors, \$151,234.28; cigars and tobacco, \$55,941; robes and hides, \$582,190; drugs, etc., \$93,002.25; soaps and candles, \$41,095; confectionery, \$12,998.64; crackers and pilot bread, \$27,653.78; saddles, harnesses, and leather, \$92,563.19; furniture, \$74,840; lumber, shingles, and such, \$324,319.28.

The warehouse business in detail was thus given: number of packages received, 513,292; wagons, 1,836; plows, 2,117; sacks of flour, 76,324; meal, 3,275; oats, 3,168; corn, 5,400; potatoes, 2,120; bales of hay, 175; Mexican wool, 1,051,000 lbs.; lumber, 1,926,750 feet; number of shingles, 857,000; laths, 1,234,000; kegs of powder, 2,054; dry hides, 4,628; buffalo robes, 8,080; bales of furs and skins, 2,718; bags of buffalo tongues, 746; buffalo meat, 75,000 lbs.; packages of furniture, 10,806; gallons of stoneware, 10,600; carriages, 158; pianos, 43; and gold and silver in boxes, \$1,527,789.

17. S. M. Hayes & Co., located on the trail at Council Grove, recorded these engaged in the Santa Fé trade: 2,440 men, 1,827 wagons, 429 horses, 15,714 oxen, 5,316 mules, 67 carriages, and 9,608 tons of goods. These statistics are pasted in front of a copy of John Maloy's "History of Morris County, Kansas, 1820 to 1880" (newspaper clippings), which is in the Kansas State Historical Society.

It was also reported that a "wind wagon" or "Ship of the Prairie" was to make a trial run to Santa Fé. In 1860 a "steam wagon" was exhibited at the court house. See the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Western Journal of Commerce*, April 22, August 30, 1859, and February 11, 1860.

Louis.¹⁸ The army sutlers at Fort Laramie also purchased at this place, and at least one merchant sent goods "comprising everything that is needed to constitute a stock in trade of a miner's merchant. . . ." ¹⁹

From spring until late summer the warehouse, wharf and stores bustled with activity. Hacks and drays rattled up and down the hilly streets. The prairie southwest of town was covered with the camps and corrals of the traders. In June "at least four thousand head of stock" grazed serenely on the prairie grass. An observer mused over the thought of an easterner's reactions to such a sight, saying that "in any of these places [in the East] every housetop, window, and balcony would be crowded with people looking at this mountain caravan. . . ." ²⁰ Of course, frontiersmen would also gape at the sight of clipper ships lying in harbor.

The border editor, speaking for the business interests of his bailiwick, carried upon his shoulders the troubles of the town, and periodically gave the people something new to worry about. In 1859 the *Journal* looked sadly at liquor and wagon importations. Why should corn from the prairies of Kansas be shipped to Kansas City, down to St. Louis, and then returned in bottles, two-thirds of which was sent overland to New Mexico? Across in Clay county, Missouri, Henderson and Reed were distilling liquor. Could not such be done in Kansas City? Why should freighters and farmers import nearly 2,000 wagons annually from Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and the town of Indiana in Pennsylvania, at an average cost of \$160 plus fifteen cents per hundred pounds freight costs to Kansas City, when there were 13,000 acres of timber in the area of the "City of Hills"? ²¹ Within a few years local wagon makers were to take the suggestion literally, but that was a time when the heavy wagon had been relegated to second position by many freighters for a lighter type of vehicle.

The gold discovery at Cherry creek was not greatly to affect the economic life of Kansas City. Certainly its position as border depot was not so dependent upon it, as was any river town above there.

18. *Journal of Commerce*, July 15, 1858. The Cherokee traders noted were Major Linn and Colonel Bryant, the latter being "the largest and most popular dealer in the nation"; from Laramie were Ward and Geary, and Maj. A. Drips; the Creek trader was a Mr. Warfield; the Osage was A. B. Canville; and Col. William Bent came from Bent's Fort, a man said to have "probably transported more merchandise over the Great Western Plains than any one man living."—Compiled from *ibid.*, June 5, 19, 26, July 8, 15, August 5, 7, 12, 1858.

19. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1858.

20. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1858.

21. *Ibid.*, June 5, 19, July 1, 3, 17, 1858. Russell, Majors, and Waddell purchased wagons at a cost of \$4,000. The wagons weighed 2,400 pounds and were shipped in fourteen pieces.

The mountain, New Mexican and hinterland trades were deeply rooted there by tradition, as well as by geography, and only the vicissitudes of a Civil War could disrupt that and send it to a rival town. This city, as it claimed, was one "destined to be the greatest Western Centre beyond the Mississippi. . . ."

In the first year of the major rush to Pike's Peak Kansas City prospered, but not upon the Colorado trade. Leavenworth had been regarded as an unworthy but largely successful competitor at the business of government freight before 1859;²² but when Leavenworth captured a fair proportion of the miners' trade, that was going a bit too far. Hence, thereafter, there was but one rival to condemn and abuse, and that was the city near the fort. The establishment of branch firms in the mountain valleys would have been a better way to corner a good share of that commerce. This was not done nearly to the extent that Leavenworth did. Instead a "Kansas City Gold Hunter's Express Transportation Company" was organized to make the vital contact with a region which the town feared would ultimately become a producer itself. This was hailed as a certain method of becoming the economic sire of the Rockies. Another express was planned which, if it did materialize, did not do a great business.²³

The extent of the miners' trade is not known, nor is the total overland commerce for the season given.²⁴ The Santa Fé total was incompletely given as 1,970 wagons.²⁵ Wool and hides continued to be the great imports from the end of the trails.²⁶ The four commis-

22. Col. E. C. McCarty, commission merchant of Kansas City, said in a speech, December 25, 1857, that Brown, Russell, & Co. offered to receive government freight at St. Louis, and pay transportation and insurance to Kansas City rather than ship it to Fort Leavenworth, but were refused, for "who ever knew an army officer to walk ten steps out of his way to accommodate anybody?"—Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 33. In 1858, some of the government freight was shipped from Nebraska City and Kansas City.

23. *Daily Western Journal of Commerce*, March 19, May 5, 1859. The first was organized by Irwin, Porter & Co., to run via the Santa Fé road, to carry twenty-five percent cheaper than any other company, and to insure delivery from ten to twenty days in advance of all others. The second was planned by John S. Jones. But the Kansas City *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 30, 1859, spoke of a meeting being held by the business men to talk over a permanent stage line to Jefferson territory and Santa Fé, for unless such was done, the loss of that business was feared.

24. The total trade, including overland freighting was given thus by the *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, January 5, 1860: Groceries and provisions, \$954,090; dry goods, \$368,300; hardware, \$179,150; drugs, \$110,000; furniture, \$32,463; boots and shoes, \$101,330; saddles and harness, \$37,000; clothing, \$156,237; books and stationery, \$7,525; leather, \$12,000; hides and skins, \$67,836; grain, \$38,707; lumber, \$114,500; stock, \$83,128; hogs, \$26,871; millinery, etc., \$4,060; saloon sales, \$67,394; confectioneries, \$10,375; wagons, plows, and ox yokes made in Kansas City, \$30,595; wagons sold there (Eastern made), \$18,000; carriages made there, \$25,500; brick, \$30,000; bakery sales, \$17,086; butchers' sales, \$53,043; auction sales, \$23,000; queensware, \$15,750; beer manufactured there and sold from brewery, \$35,000, and brooms made there, \$1,000.

25. *Missouri Republican*, August 15, 1859. This was between March 1 and August 15, 1859. Since some wagons ran quite late in the fall and winter it is probable that this cannot be taken as complete. A total of 2,300 men, 840 horses, 4,000 mules, 15,000 oxen and 73 carriages were employed in transporting the 1,900 tons of freight to New Mexico.

26. The *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, January 5, 1860, states that 456,771 pounds of wool, 6,787 pounds of hides, and 21,120 pounds of furs and pelts were shipped from there in 1859.

sion and forwarding houses, three harness makers, two steamboat agents, six wholesale groceries, and twenty-two saloons surely had a profitable year in this great splurge before the shadow of secession hovered over Kansas City.²⁷ The navigation of the Kansas river was expected to deal the finishing blows to Leavenworth, while the completion of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad would open up the upper Mississippi valley.²⁸ Even Main street was macadamized to lure the inexperienced as well as to keep the faithful in the vast commercial net. One merchant showed his abounding confidence in the "Gem of the Prairies" by establishing a new store designed to appeal to New Mexico alone. In so doing he exemplified the economic life of his own city—its staff of freighting life being that rutted road-bed leading toward the land of the Mexicans and Indians, and Yankees in uniforms and civilian clothes. Their demand for the food and comforts of civilization made these humble men the builders of Kansas City.

That the Civil War paralyzed the economic life of the patron saint of Santa Fé freighting is a belief which must be slightly modified. The year 1860 was a good one. Levee life began in February and by April one could see trains for the interior, Santa Fé and the mountains loading at the warehouses. Several of the merchants established branch houses at the mines.²⁹ While the town expected to capture one fifth of the total (or 14,940 wagons) it is doubtful if such success was achieved.³⁰ Whole trains of private goods for New Mexico, totaling 2,170 wagons, did outfit at Kansas City commission houses.³¹ But the greatest victory of all was the removal of the army depot from Leavenworth. All goods for the Kansas and New Mexican forts and the Indians were to be transported from Kansas City. With reason did the *Journal* joyfully write:

Yes, we have got the government outfitting business. Immense stone warehouses for this trade have sprung up at the upper end of our levee within the past two weeks and already nearly one thousand wagons have been shipped and now cover over acres of ground in the bottom just above our city. Yesterday some eight or ten wagons arrived from Leavenworth, bringing the goods

27. Sutherland and McEvoy, *Kansas City Directory, and Business Mirror for 1859-1860* (St. Louis, 1860), pp. 69-79.

28. *Daily Western Journal of Commerce*, May 8 and 21, 1859.

29. James Sutherland, *Kansas City Directory, and Business Mirror for 1860-1861* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1861), p. 16.

30. *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, v. XLIV, in its article "Commerce of the Plains," fails to credit Kansas City with any commerce to the mines. This is in error. See miscellaneous wagons loading in *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, January 28 and February 26, 1860. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, mentions the branch stores there.

The "probable" total was based on the assumption that 50,000 people were there, consuming two pounds per day, plus machinery. See the *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, January 19, 1860.

31. *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, v. XLIV, p. 43.

which had been purchased and shipped to that point for the hundreds of men who are in the employ of this government freighting company. The finest business house in this city, consisting of two rooms 40 by 100 feet each, has been opened for the reception of these goods. . . .³²

All that remained to be done, it was believed, was to get the Salt Lake trade!

Alexander Majors, of the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, nearly apologized to this happy city for bringing his bullwhackers down upon them. In a warehouse he delivered to a great crowd a speech long to be remembered. After the reading of the first Psalm and the rendition of a prayer, he talked for two hours about how he tried to keep his drivers from getting intoxicated, being immoral, playing cards, and otherwise living a life leading to ruin. He had been freighting for ten years, he said, and had made the Bible a rule of action. If men would study it, they would succeed in life. He had no education, but God had given him sense to understand right from wrong. He hoped the drivers would think of these things and be upright moral men. It was reported that the drivers were impressed, but the secret of getting government contracts remained, as it is today, an undivulged matter.³³

The two government contractors, Irwin, Jackman & Co. and Russell, Majors, and Waddell loaded 863 wagons for Forts Garland, Larned, Wise and Union. The freighters of Indian annuities, Bent and Campbell, sent out at least 57 wagons. The government freighting, therefore, increased the commercial activity of this town by over 900 wagons.³⁴ But the private freighting remained as it had been in the past and was to be in the future, the greatest segment in the economic life of Kansas City—exclusive of the hinterland traffic.

Eighteen hundred sixty-one was a year of calamity to this lower Missouri river town. Secession came, and with that act the government and private freighting largely shifted to Leavenworth. Indian annuities were shipped from this town again in 1861.³⁵ It was alleged that no trains starting from the fort city were attacked by the Kansas abolitionists. Thereafter they had to pull their wagons through the mire of "Government Lane" from Leavenworth to a point four miles west of Kansas City, or take the Fort Riley road and then turn south to the old trail. Apparently a great number of the New Mexicans shifted to these routes from 1861 to 1863. Al-

32. *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, May 20, 1860.

33. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1860.

34. *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, v. XLIV, p. 43. Russell, Majors, and Waddell loaded 546 of the 863 wagons. The two firms employed 1,030 men, 216 mules, and 10,670 oxen in transporting the 4,859,124 pounds of freight. Also see *Daily Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, May 31, 1860.

35. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Forty wagons were sent out with 240,000 pounds of freight.

though the *Journal* spoke of streets blocked with wagons and of the great revival in 1862, evidence does not cause one to conclude that the days of pre-secession years had returned. When the army depot for the "District of the Border" was established there in 1863, a few residents began to smile again.³⁶ New Mexican traders were lured back to the fold by assurances from the chamber of commerce that troops were to be stationed at Westport, Cottonwood Springs, and Olathe to protect them.³⁷ This military news, along with prices, appeared in public print both in English and Spanish. About 2,000 wagons constituted the total business of the year, many of which probably were loaded for the Kansas interior.³⁸ A moral victory was gained when the Santa Fé mail was transferred from Independence. While the war crippled the city, it certainly was not as prostrate in 1860 and 1863 as some have been inclined to believe.

By 1864 Kansas City had gained back a major part of its private freighting to New Mexico. The chamber of commerce kept the ox-team professionals informed of the freedom of the Santa Fé trail. It was pointed out that stages ran regularly to Fort Scott and Lawrence, and that Union troops kept the bushwhackers away.³⁹ This must have had considerable effect in bringing back those who had forsaken the traditional depot. The total Santa Fé trade of 3,000 wagons, although not all from Kansas City, showed no increase over that of two years before.⁴⁰ Surely Kansas City outfitted more of the 1864 trade than that of a year before.

Slightly greater gains were made in 1865. Dusty, bronzed "greasers" were more numerous, as were the merchants from Las Vegas, Moro, and elsewhere in that area. An owner of a bridge at 142 Mile Creek reported that 4,472 wagons crossed there between May 20 and November 26.⁴¹ Apparently Leavenworth and Kansas City shared evenly in this trade for the season. Both branches of the New Mexican legislature were reported to have passed a resolution recommending Leavenworth as a terminal for the Santa Fé stage, since "nearly all their purchases are made in Leavenworth . . .". But obviously this statement was inspired by

36. Kansas City (Mo.) *Western Journal of Commerce*, October 24, November 7, 14, and 21, 1863.

37. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1863.

38. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1863. Up to July 1, 1,385 wagons had loaded at five houses with 6,482,928 pounds of freight.

39. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1864. A government wagon train was robbed that fall at Cabin Creek.—*Ibid.*, September 24, 1864. A Santa Fé trader, Antonio Manuel Oterio, was robbed in the Raton mountains that summer.—*Ibid.*, July 2, 1864.

40. Maloy, *op. cit.*, gives the total of 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 8,046 mules, 98 carriages, 3,012 men and 15,000 tons of merchandise for 1864. In 1862, the Council Grove *Press*, June 15, 1863, gives this total: 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 6,406 mules, 96 carriages, and 3,720 men.

41. Kansas City (Mo.) *Weekly Western Journal of Commerce*, December 16, 1865.

Leavenworth propaganda. The bushwhacker dangers were over; only Indian difficulties remained for these last years of the overland traffic to the Southwest. Leavenworth could no longer hold that supremacy when abnormal circumstances disappeared.

In 1866 happy days were in evidence again, but bullwhacking as a business was nearing an end. The old trail was open and the railroad from St. Louis was pushing west; competition between the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the Kansas Pacific and the river boats assured low rates. The traders, coming in earlier than usual, were advised not to ship from the end of the railroad. Mexican trains were reported to have "almost entirely" returned to the fold. Daily records give evidence of the genuine revival. Government freights for posts south of Laramie were to be shipped by rail direct to Topeka, and then taken overland to Fort Riley.⁴² Of the estimate for the season by Col. J. F. Meline—five or six thousand wagons—Kansas City probably had a share fairly commensurate with its geographic advantages. But after 1866 the railroad transported the goods to the end of the line from which it was forwarded by the remnants of a great business. Those bands of steel kept for Kansas City the prestige gained in a former day, while competitors upstream settled on the river bank for a long period of drowsy existence.

The Santa Fé trail and the Missouri river made Kansas City. The New Mexican and the mountain trade made it famous for more than a decade. The consequences of Civil War destroyed the monopoly and perhaps contributed to the failure to get more of the Colorado business. It did not deserve the government patronage to the upper forts, nor was it favorably situated to sell to the Mormons. That belonged elsewhere. But the inexorable forces of geography dictated that it should be the supply depot for the upper Arkansas and New Mexico. That portion secured by Leavenworth (government freighting before 1858 and from 1860 to 1865, and a good part of the private freighting for three years or so in the sixties) was not so much a result of natural advantages as of political influence. Even in the sixties it would probably have been cheaper to send troops with trains through Kansas rather than pay extra freight costs from Leavenworth. In spite of these discriminations in producing a distortion of economic forces, Kansas City was the capital of the trade to the Southwest most of the years of its existence.

42. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1866.

Ferries in Kansas

GEORGE A. ROOT

PART XII—MARMATON RIVER

THE Marmaton river rises in the eastern part of Marmaton township, Allen county, and flows south and east for about ten miles into the Marion township, Bourbon county. Thence, by a most circuitous route east and west across Bourbon county, it crosses the Kansas line and enters Missouri in Vernon county, to join the Little Osage river a few miles from Schell City. The stream is approximately 85 miles long, about 10 being in Allen county, 50 in Bourbon county, and 25 in the state of Missouri.

The late Judge Charles E. Cory, of Fort Scott, in his pamphlet *Place Names of Bourbon County, Kansas*, has the following regarding the Marmaton:

The Marmaton had its name from the old French voyageurs or trappers who came here long before the settlers or even the traders came across the plains. Along this stream they first found prairie dogs, which they called Marmots, supposing them to be the little animal common in Europe, to which the prairie dog is related. The name Marmaton which they gave the stream, was a puzzling thing for the English-speaking hunters and the few settlers who soon came. They could not pronounce the nasal French "N." And so, for a long time, the writing and speaking of the name was badly confused. In old documents it is found written and printed Marmiton, Marmoton, Marmaton, Marmitaw, Marmotaw, and perhaps in other ways. There are plenty of people now living who have heard it pronounced as if spelled in the last form. The speakers were trying to accommodate their English tongues to the French pronunciation. However, the name finally settled down to its present spelling.

Scant mention has been accorded this stream in histories of either Kansas or Missouri. *Lippincott's Gazetteer* has the most pretentious account we have examined—about three or four lines—reciting that it is a small river which rises in Allen county, runs across Bourbon county, and enters Missouri in Vernon county, and joins the little Osage about twelve miles north of Nevada.

The earliest mention of the Marmaton we have located is on a map of a road from Fort Coffey to Fort Leavenworth, prepared in 1837 by Charles Dimmock. He spelled the name Marmiton.

Ferries were probably not needed on this river, except during the period of spring freshets. While there may have been one or more ferries operating earlier, the first mention we have noticed, is the following item printed in a newspaper of 1859:

Capt. Daniel Funk intends placing a large ferry boat at the lower ford of the Marmaton for the transportation of wagons and horses, during the high waters which prevail in the spring and fall. Such an institution is very much needed, and we trust the Capt. may be as successful in this line as he has been in his piscatorial operations.—Fort Scott *Democrat*, August, 1859, reprinted in Lawrence *Republican*, August 11, 1859.

By 1860 the Fort Scott Bridge and Ferry Co. had been organized, and at the special session of the legislature that year obtained authority to erect a toll bridge across the Marmaton river and Mill creek, at or near the mouth of Mill creek, in Bourbon county, and to keep a ferry on the Marmaton at that point until the bridge was built. This company included William R. Griffith,¹ William R. Judson,² H. T. Wilson,³ S. A. Williams, B. F. Riggins and their associates. Their capital stock was divided into shares of \$10 each, not to exceed \$8,000 in all. This act was signed by Gov. Samuel Medary on February 25, 1860,⁴ and took effect at once.

Probably the last movement for water transportation on this stream in Kansas was made by the Marmaton River Navigation Company, organized on July 1, 1890, at Fort Scott, for the purpose of making this stream within the state of Kansas navigable by slack water navigation for boats in the carriage of freight and passengers. The business of the corporation was to be transacted on and along the river, with the principal place of business in the city of Fort Scott. The corporation was "to exist for all time to come," and to be governed by a board of five directors, those chosen for the first year including F. L. Spengler, Emil Spengler, J. M. Limbocker, J. A. Schmith and Griffith Peters. The new corporation was capitalized at \$5,000, divided into 200 shares of \$25 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state July 9, 1890.⁵

The Marmaton has numerous tributaries, the main ones from the north being Turkey and Mill creeks, and from the south Yellow Paint creek, made famous by Eugene F. Ware, the "Paint creek bard." At times excessive rains in the watershed drained by the Marmaton have disrupted travel and made ferrying necessary. One such freshet occurred during the spring of 1862, when the military

1. William R. Griffith was the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

2. William R. Judson was colonel of the Sixth Kansas cavalry.

3. Hiero T. Wilson was a prominent early day citizen of Fort Scott. He was appointed postmaster February 26, 1849, and in 1854 was appointed county commissioner. He was a judge of the first election, November 29, 1854, and an early director of the Kansas State Historical Society.

4. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 293, 334, 537. *Senate Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 495, 519. *Laws*, 1860, special session, pp. 16, 17.

5. "Corporations," v. 35, p. 380.

bridge across the Marmaton was swept away. Another flood occurred on July 11, 1869, when many houses in the Marmaton bottom were completely submerged.⁶

No mention has been found of the date the first bridge was built across the Marmaton, but it must have been in the early 1860's, for an item in the *State Journal*, of Lawrence, of May 1, 1862, mentioned that the military bridge across this river had been swept away. This structure was probably close to the old ford where the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson crossed the river, about a mile east of town. This bridge, or one that replaced it, was known as the "Osibun" bridge, because it was on the farm of Dr. A. G. Osibun, one of the earliest settlers in the county.⁷ In 1933 a new structure over the river at this point was dedicated. An Associated Press dispatch of March 22, said:

A concrete bridge costing \$40,000, built across the Marmaton river by the city [Fort Scott], was dedicated here today. Opening of the bridge on National avenue marks the end of detours on U. S. highway 73 E and 54 through here. The dedication program included a parade, an address by Mayor Martin Miller, vaudeville entertainment at Memorial Hall and a salute by Battery E, 161st field artillery. The bridge replaces a steel structure built in 1872, one section of which collapsed in July, 1931, killing a workman repairing a girder. The new bridge is 200 feet long and of rainbow arch type.

The city of Fort Scott, built around the old fort which was established in 1842, was on the old military road running south. For many years this was the only established highway reaching the frontier forts and Indian settlements to the south. In later years a number of roads were laid out to and from Fort Scott. One in 1859 ran to Leavenworth; one in 1865 to Ottawa; another the same year, to Iola; one in 1868 to Baxter Springs, and one in 1870 to Erie. These roads were primary factors in the development of the southeastern portion of the state, which, up to the early 1870's had been the habitat of various Indian tribes.⁸

PART XIII—WAKARUSA CREEK

WAKARUSA creek or river has its source in a number of small branches that head in Wabaunsee and Shawnee counties. The most westerly of these, as well as the longest, begins in Wabaunsee county, in Township 13, Range 12, about four and one half miles from the Shawnee-Osage and Wabaunsee county boundary, flows

6. *State Journal*, Lawrence, May 1, 1862. *Fort Scott Monitor*, July 14, 1869.

7. Cory, *Place Names of Bourbon County, Kansas*, p. 34.

8. *Laws, Kansas*, 1859, p. 585; 1865, p. 145; 1867, pp. 247, 261; 1870, p. 210. Original plats of above roads are in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

across the northwest corner of Osage and enters Shawnee county in the southwest corner of Auburn township, not far from old Grand Haven post office. Through Shawnee county the stream has a west to east course, deviating less than three miles from north to south. It enters Douglas county in S. 26, T. 13, R. 17. From here its course is to the northeast for several miles, thence after a somewhat circuitous route eastward it joins the Kansas river at the eastern limits of present Eudora. The stream is approximately 75 miles in length, about 35 being in Douglas county, 31 in Shawnee county, six or seven in Osage county, and the balance in Wabaunsee county.

Wakarusa creek has been known by that name for considerably more than 100 years. It is a Kaw word. A literal translation of the word cannot be printed without offense, although in the Indian tongue there was no vulgarity and the definition is a perfectly proper one. In modern times the accepted version of this translation as handed down by those versed in the Kaw tongue, is "hip deep."¹ Another and more modern definition is "River of Big Weeds."²

The earliest printed mention of the stream we have located is that by Prof. Thomas Say, of Long's expedition of 1819-1820, who made a trip to the Kansas Indian village, and mentioned that the prairies about the headwaters of the "Warreruzza" abound in game.³ Isaac McCoy and his son John C. McCoy, in their survey of Cantonment Leavenworth and the Delaware reservations, in 1830, mentioned the stream as the Warkusa and also Wacharusa river.⁴ Joel Palmer, in his *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River*, in 1845 and 1846, mentions having crossed the Walkarusha.⁵ Among various spellings of the name we note the following: Wakaroosa,⁶ by J. W. Abert, in 1846; Wah-karrusi,⁷ by Abert in 1847.

The first and probably the only ferry over the Wakarusa was at Bluejacket's,⁸ where the Oregon trail from Westport crossed this

1. Letter of George W. Brown, July 8, 1902, in Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

2. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 531.

3. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. 14, p. 183.

4. "Indian Surveys in Kansas," pp. 35, 56.

5. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. 30, pp. 36, 37.

6. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 7*, p. 11, 30 Cong., 1st sess., Ser. No. 505.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 389-391.

8. Charles Bluejacket was a grandson of the famous Bluejacket, chief of the Shawnees. The original Bluejacket acquired his name on account of a blue linsey woolsey blouse he was wearing when captured by the Shawnees. He was white, a native of Virginia, and was named Marmaduke Van Swerangen, being known as Duke by his family. On being captured, Duke consented to go with his captors and become a member of the tribe, providing they allowed his brother to return home. This the Indians agreed to do and the arrangement was

stream. Just when Bluejacket inaugurated this service has not been definitely learned, but it must have been early in 1855, when the bulk of travel south of the Kansas river followed the Oregon trail.

The flatboat for Bluejacket's ferry was built in 1855 by a Shawnee named Tula or Tooley, who operated a ferry not far from the Delaware crossing, or Grinter's as it was commonly known. The *Emma Harmon*, a small stern-wheeler, and the first steamboat to ascend the Kansas river after the white settlement began, had left Kansas City on the afternoon of May 19, 1855, for Topeka and way landings. About noon the next day the boat went to the bank to get a supply of wood, and shortly after starting again it was hailed by an Indian, who made the crew understand that he wanted a flatboat towed up the river. The steamboat accordingly was brought alongside and the flatboat made fast, before proceeding on its journey. At the mouth of the Wakarusa the tow lines were cast off and the passengers waved a parting salute to the red man, who proceeded to "pole" his ungainly craft up the smaller stream.⁹

Bluejacket's ferry, as shown on an early map of Douglas county, was located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 12, T. 13, R. 21E.¹⁰ This was near the Wakarusa fort and crossing at the north boundary of the defunct town of Sebastian, and about two miles from the historic town of Franklin. From Bluejacket's the old Oregon trail ran through the towns of Franklin and Lawrence, touched the northeast corner of Marshall, thence westward to Big Springs and Shawnee county. At a number of points through Douglas and Shawnee counties, the ruts of this old thoroughfare are still plainly visible, showing where countless thousands of ox and mule teams plodded their way across the prairies on their toilsome journey westward.

Aside from the following item, but scant mention has been found of this ferry:

James Moore in attempting to cross the Wakarusa at Bluejacket's crossing, on Tuesday last, was drowned. He was driving a team attached to a wagon, and had his wife in with him. While crossing in the ferry, the horses got frightened and jumped over. The horses, as well as the driver, were drowned, but the lady was rescued.—*Lawrence Republican*, February 21, 1861.

carried out in good faith by all concerned. Bluejacket soon became popular with the Shawnees, entering heartily into all their activities, and when about twenty-five years of age was made chief of the tribe. He took a Shawnee for a wife, and had several daughters and but one son. This young man was named William, and was a rather wild and reckless young fellow who married and left several children, one of whom was Charles Bluejacket. Charles was born in what is now Michigan, on the Huron river, in 1816, and came to Kansas with the tribe in 1832. He was educated at the Quaker mission before coming to Kansas, became a Christian, and united with the Methodist church. He moved to Indian territory with the tribe and died there October 29, 1897.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 397, 398.

9. *Ibid.*, v. 9, pp. 331, 332.

10. J. Cooper Stuck's *Map of Douglas County, Kansas* (1857).

Bluejacket's was an important point in its day, and as early as 1855 the legislature passed an act establishing a territorial road from Shawnee Methodist Church, South, to Tecumseh, by way of this crossing.¹¹ Two years later the legislature of 1857 established a territorial road from Olathe on the Santa Fé trail, on the most direct and practicable route to the crossing of the Wakarusa at Bluejacket's.¹²

With the settlement of the Wakarusa valley there was a demand for a more expeditious mode of crossing than by the old ferry. As early as 1855 the legislature authorized James Findlay to establish a bridge across the Wakarusa river at the crossing of the territorial road leading from the Missouri line to Lawrence and Tecumseh, requiring him to complete the bridge within three years.¹³ At the same session John G. McClelland and Clarkson M. Wallace were authorized to erect a toll bridge across the Wakarusa river, where the road leading from Fort Leavenworth to St. Bernard crosses the river.¹⁴

So far as known this completes the history of ferrying and early bridging of the Wakarusa.

PART XIV—TURKEY CREEK

TURKEY creek of Johnson and Wyandotte counties rises in the southern part of Shawnee township, Johnson county, about five miles south of the town of Shawnee. It flows in a north and north-easterly direction into Wyandotte county, and before its first diversion passed through the present Rosedale business district, thence across the state line into Missouri, emptying into the Missouri river about two miles from the Kansas line. The stream took its name from the abundance of wild turkeys which ranged along its course in early days. The first mention of the stream we have located is found on a map of the Shawnee lands, surveyed in 1833 by Isaac McCoy and his son John C. McCoy. The creek originally was about fifteen miles long, but various diversions in modern times have shortened this by four or five miles.

In 1919 following many disastrous floods in this creek, its waters were diverted through a 1,450-foot tunnel into the Kansas river in Kansas City. Despite the fact that Turkey creek most of the time

11. *Statutes, Kansas territory, 1855*, p. 954.

12. *Laws, 1857*, p. 169.

13. *Statutes, Kansas territory, 1855*, pp. 770, 771.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 965.

was a small and insignificant stream, it occasionally proved to be most troublesome to the traveler, for it had no rock-bottom fords near its mouth, and teams and vehicles sometimes mired in the mud. Gov. William Walker in his "Journal" under date of March 10, 1849, makes mention of a bridge over Turkey creek that was gone, and of a ferry boat used there for some years following.¹ The next year he wrote that he made a trip to "Kansas [City] and on my way found the ferryboat at Turkey creek sunk. After hard labor (and I bearing the principal part) we succeeded in getting her afloat; then commenced the process of bailing with an old tin kettle with as many holes as it had seen years and their names was 'Legion'." ²

In later years this ferry must have been discontinued, and the only ferry accommodations remaining was a ferryboat operated by Capt. S. Wiltz, called the *Gate City*, that ran from Wyandotte to Turkey creek, and across into Missouri.³ The foregoing references are the only ones we have found regarding ferrying on Turkey creek.

1. "William Walker and the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," in *Proceedings and Collections* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Second Series, v. 3, p. 284.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

3. Advertisement in *Western Argus*, Wyandotte, September 30, 1858.

The Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Conflict

SAMUEL A. JOHNSON

IT IS a familiar story to every casual student of Kansas history that even before the Kansas-Nebraska act had become a law, men from the border counties of Missouri rushed across the border and staked out claims to all the best land. This is usually represented as a conspiracy on the part of the slavocracy to seize Kansas for slavery. The plain fact seems to be that these Missourians cared next to nothing about the question of slavery extension and still less about national politics. They simply wanted the land.¹ Like all frontiersmen, they regarded the land near them as rightfully theirs, whenever it should be opened to settlement. This land hunger was whetted by a failure of the corn crop in the Platte purchase.² Some of these men intended to remove their families to the land as soon as they could conveniently do so; others wished only to establish a preëmption right which they could sell to later comers. They were not particularly disturbed by the arrival through the summer of 1854 of squatters from the Ohio valley, even though these were known to be of Free-State sentiments. But when rumors began to reach the border that a great corporation was being formed by Eastern abolitionists to take possession of Kansas, that this corporation had a capital of \$5,000,000 (supposed in the West to be cash in hand), and that it was hiring twenty thousand armed men to come to Kansas to drive all pro-slavery men from the territory, the Missourians were thrown into a state of panic.³

Many of these farmers of western Missouri were slaveholders in a small way; they all took slavery for granted and hoped to own slaves. Indeed, they had assumed, probably at the prompting of their politicians, that the Kansas-Nebraska act was in the nature of a compromise intended to consign Kansas to slavery, Nebraska

1. E. L. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 348 *et seq.* A. T. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 419, 421.

2. *New York Daily Times*, August 18, 1854.

3. The original charter of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company (never used) authorized a capitalization of \$5,000,000. Eli Thayer and Edward Everett Hale published a pamphlet, called *Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company*, which recommended the settling of 20,000 persons in Kansas. Original charter and copies of this pamphlet are among the papers and effects of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. For an account of the actual operations of the company, see article "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 429-441.

to freedom.⁴ With typical frontier credulity they now accepted the rumors that the Emigrant Aid "Society" (as they always called it) was a corporation of fabulous wealth (the Westerner was highly suspicious of corporations of any kind), and that it was about to use its vast resources to seize the new territory by force and to deprive them of their birthright, the adjacent unoccupied lands.⁵ Naturally enough they regarded such an action as an unwarranted and unconstitutional aggression on the part of Eastern fanatics and were willing to go to any length to resist it.

This state of mind was meat and drink to Sen. David R. Atchison of Missouri. He had been striving since 1850 to displace the veteran senator, Thomas Hart Benton, as Democratic boss of Missouri, and in 1851 his followers had combined with the Whigs to defeat Benton for reelection for a sixth consecutive term. The sectional issues of 1850 had split the Missouri Democrats into violently hostile factions, Bentonite and anti-Bentonite, which were virtually distinct political parties. Benton and his following were old style "Jacksonian" or "Union" Democrats, anxious to avert the rising tide of sectionalism, and utterly out of sympathy with Calhoun's "State Rights" philosophy. The St. Louis merchants, who formed the backbone of the Bentonite faction, were willing to encourage the migration of Easterners to Kansas, since this would, in their opinion, further the development of the Pacific railway westward from St. Louis and facilitate the sale of goods.⁶ Atchison's term as senator was about to expire. In January, 1855, he would stand before the legislature for reelection, opposed by Benton and a Whig candidate. In such a three-cornered fight anything might happen, so it behooved Atchison to attempt to rally the Whigs to his standard. Under the circumstances, his strategy was marked out for him. He would play upon the fears of the slaveholding counties, where there was considerable Whig strength, and persuade them that their interests, their institutions, and even their homes were imperiled by the aggression of Eastern fanatics. He would then lead a movement to resist this aggression, and so become the hero of the slaveholding section. This was expected to bring the pro-slavery portion of the Whigs to his support and secure his election.⁷

4. Many so testified before the congressional investigating committee in 1856. "Kansas Affairs," a report of the special committee appointed to investigate the troubles in Kansas, in *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives*, No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 926, 1114. Hereinafter cited as "Howard Report."

5. Mary J. Klem, "Missouri in the Kansas Struggle," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings for the Year 1917-1918*, v. IX, pp. 393-413 (especially 395).

6. Craik, *loc. cit.*

7. Clipping from *St. Louis Democrat*, July 6, 1855, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. IV, p. 205. *New York Daily Times*, November 23, 1854.

Accordingly there were held during the summer of 1854 a series of meetings in the border counties of Missouri which denounced the Emigrant Aid "Society" in bitter terms and called upon the people of Missouri to rally to the support of their institutions. One such meeting, held at Weston, July 29, 1854, organized the "Platte County Self-Defensive Association," and resolved "That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas territory, hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of Northern Emigrant Aid Societies."⁸

As the Emigrant Aid Company settlers came along in weekly parties during the fall of 1854, the excitement in western Missouri increased. Though the actual number who came was small, the regularity of their coming, their peculiarities of speech and manner, and their loose talk about the Aid Company having the men and the money to make Kansas a free state,⁹ all served to confirm the worst fears of the borderers and to create something like a state of frenzy. Of this situation Atchison and his able lieutenants, the Stringfellow brothers, were ready to take full advantage. More meetings were held, which were recognized by the Bentonite newspapers of St. Louis as using zeal for slavery as a cloak for senatorial politics.¹⁰ Secret societies were formed, known variously as "Blue Lodges," "Social Bands," "Friendly Societies," and "Sons of the South," ostensibly to counteract the activities of the Emigrant Aid "Society."¹¹

In a speech at Liberty, Mo., November 6, 1854, Atchison showed his hand. He complained that the natural course of migration along parallels of latitude was being interfered with, and that abolitionists of the North were spending vast sums of money to turn the North to the South, to abolitionize all the territories, and ultimately to assail Missouri, Arkansas and Texas. Their success in Kansas, he asserted, would mean the ruin of Missouri. "Now," he concluded, "if a set of fanatics and demagogues a thousand miles off can afford to advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the territory and exclude the slaveholder, when they have not the least personal interest, what is your duty? When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, and when your peace,

8. W. M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1897), p. 184. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 90. Contemporary newspaper accounts (one of which gives date as July 20), "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, pp. 104, 112.

9. Testimony in "Howard Report," pp. 1151-1152, 1157, 1183.

10. Clippings from Boston *Daily Advertiser*, June 21, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, p. 20, and New York *Daily Tribune*, July 26, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 67. Item copied from St. Louis *Intelligencer* (date not given) in New York *Daily Times*, November 23, 1854. Other clippings in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 187, 226.

11. Testimony in "Howard Report," pp. 356, 338, 396-397, 902, 903.

your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions." ¹² The only immediate effect of this appeal was that in the election of a delegate to Congress, November 29, the "Blue Lodges" crossed over into Kansas in force and voted, but more important was the indication of what might be expected for the future.

In January, 1855, the Missouri legislature assembled to elect a senator, but after forty-one futile ballots, it adjourned without making a choice.¹³ Had Atchison been elected the history of the next two years in Kansas might have been quite different, but as it was his political future was at stake. It was apparent that he had not yet made himself master of the slavery-extensionist element in Missouri, but that, in the words of one newspaper reporter, the politicians of the legislature had only been using him "to play horse with Benton." ¹⁴ In consequence, he redoubled his efforts on the Kansas border. Whether his aim for the next year and a half, as generally believed in Bentonite circles, was "to try to reconcile the Doniphan Know Nothings" (the ex-Whigs), and so regain his senatorship,¹⁵ or, as asserted by the St. Louis *Evening News*, was to force the admission of Kansas as a slave state in order to secure a senatorship here "in lieu of the one he lost in Missouri," ¹⁶ can not now be told; he may have been thinking of both possibilities.

While the Missouri legislature was in session, Kansas meetings continued to be held throughout western Missouri as far east as Howard county, in which the Emigrant Aid "Societies" and "abolitionist" emigration were denounced, and pledges made to "use every honorable means" to secure Kansas for slavery.¹⁷ The meetings may have been instigated to further Atchison's candidacy, but their effect was to keep the excitement alive. As the time approached for the election of a territorial legislature in Kansas, rumors were spread along the border that Gov. Andrew H. Reeder had given advance information of the date of the election to the Emigrant Aid Company, and had delayed that date until the thawing of the Missouri river should make it possible for the company's "emi-

12. Boston *Atlas*, December 4, 1854, copied from Platte (Mo.) *Argus*, "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 28. *National Era* (Washington, D. C.), December 12, 1854, copied independently from the *Argus*, *ibid.*, p. 32.

13. W. F. Switzler in C. R. Barnes (Ed.), *Switzler's History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1879), pp. 277-278. New York *Daily Times*, January 13, 16; February 6, 1855.

14. New York *Daily Times*, February 6, 1855.

15. Copy of item from St. Louis *Democrat* (date not given) in New York *Daily Times*, September 17, 1855.

16. St. Louis *Evening News*, May 16, 1855, quoted in Craik, *loc. cit.*, p. 341.

17. Newspaper clippings in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 187-188.

grants" to arrive in overwhelming numbers. It was reported that the Aid Company was shipping paupers to Kansas by thousands to vote slavery out of the territory, and that the river was crowded with boats bringing these "armies of hirelings."¹⁸ More meetings were held in which Reeder was denounced for betraying the people to the "abolitionists," and the Emigrant Aid "Society" for violating the spirit of the Kansas-Nebraska act by sending "Hessian Mercenaries" to abolitionize Kansas.¹⁹ Atchison, B. F. Stringfellow, and others made speeches in which they assured their fellow Missourians that they had as much right to go into Kansas on election day and vote as did the "military colonies" sent out by the Emigrant Aid "Society," and that the only test for voters contemplated in the organic law of the territory was American citizenship and presence at the polls.²⁰ All through western Missouri young men were recruited and organized into companies; transportation, food and liquor were provided by popular subscription, and, at least in some instances, a cash consideration was offered to go over to the election.²¹ The result was the notorious "bogus" election of March 30, 1855.

A year later, in the investigation by the Howard congressional committee, nearly every Missourian questioned asserted that he had gone into Kansas on election day to counteract the influence of the Emigrant Aid Societies.²² They were led to believe that, having advance notice of the time of the election, the Aid Company was hiring men to come to Kansas merely to vote and that, having performed this obligation, these "emigrants" were free to return. Many testified in proof of this that they had seen Easterners returning immediately after the election.²³ The fact is that the company never hired anyone to go to Kansas for any purpose whatever except its regular agents and a few skilled mechanics who were under con-

18. So many persons testified to the prevalence of these rumors that it is impossible to cite them all. For a few samples, see "Howard Report," pp. 356, 361, 384, 385, 410, 412, 859, 860, 897, 899, 1145.

19. Newspaper accounts of some of these meetings are preserved in the "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. (Ray county) 187, (Glasgow) 187, (Fayette) 188, (Lexington) 266. "Kansas meetings" are known to have been held in practically all the border counties.

20. Dr. C. A. Cutler, a Free-State candidate for the legislature (he was a native of Tennessee and had moved to Kansas from Missouri), told the Howard committee that, although the Emigrant Aid Company was made a pretext, the real reason for the fraudulent voting was that Atchison had told the Missourians that they had a right to vote. "Howard Report," p. 358. J. N. Holloway quotes a speech of B. F. Stringfellow asserting the right of Missourians to vote. Holloway, *History of Kansas From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley to its Admission Into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind., 1868), pp. 140-141.

21. On April 10, 1855, the New York *Times* printed a letter from a correspondent on the border, written before the election, which stated: "Funds have been raised in Missouri and men hired by thousands to come over into the territory and do all the voting."

22. "Howard Report," pp. 133, 144, 149, 156, 160, 242, 246, 316-317, 329, 356, 361, 385, 395, 865, 1145.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 336, 836, 852, 857, 862, 867-870, 899, 1160, 1172.

tract to set up mills or do other labor, and it sent no one to Kansas merely to vote.²⁴ Neither is there any valid evidence that the company had advance information of the time of the election, whereas, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the company, categorically denied it in a letter to Sen. Charles Sumner a few days after the election.²⁵ It is true, however, that Doctor Webb *tried* to find out the date of the election as early as he could, and that he endeavored to get the first spring parties of settlers to Kansas in time to vote.²⁶ In fact, two of these parties did reach their destination before March 30, 1855. One, the party that settled Manhattan, reached the site three days before the election and all voted. Together with a party of Pennsylvanians who had recently settled Pawnee, probably with a foreknowledge of Governor Reeder's intention to locate the capital there, the Manhattan colonists were able to outvote the small pro-slavery delegation sent out to carry the district and so to elect the only Free-State members of the territorial legislature. The other party, conducted by Dr. Charles Robinson, reached Lawrence the evening before the election. According to Doctor Webb, the party contained 126 men (besides about sixty women and children), of whom the poll book showed thirty-seven to have voted.²⁷ From the point of view of the Free-State men, this voting by recent arrivals was quite different from the Missouri incursion, since these men had come as bona fide settlers. Still, the circumstance gave the Missourians a peg on which to hang their excuses.

Naturally the Free-State people were embittered by this "bogus" election and began to denounce all Missourians as "border ruffians." Prior to the election there had been little coherence among the Free-State element. Most of the actual settlers, especially the great majority from the Ohio river states, were concerned chiefly with their lands, and were interested only passively, if at all, in the question of slavery. Political Free-Stateism was limited largely to the Lawrence association, made up almost entirely of Emigrant Aid Company settlers, and dominated largely by Dr. Charles Robinson, one of the Aid Company agents.²⁸ The conduct of that election, even more than its outcome, had the effect of galvanizing the nascent

24. The evidence of these facts is too complex to be cited in a footnote. In general it may be said that these conclusions are based on an exhaustive study of the company's correspondence, minutes, and other records in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

25. Letterpress copy of letter, Webb to Sumner, April 12, 1855, in Emigrant Aid Company letterpress books (hereinafter cited as Aid Company Letters), "Book A," p. 395.

26. Aid Company Letters, "Book A," pp. 83-84, 98-99.

27. "Howard Report," pp. 887-893.

28. So stated J. N. O. P. Wood, a settler from Illinois, who was a Free-State man until the fall of 1855 when he changed sides.—*Ibid.*, pp. 653-660. There is ample corroborative evidence in miscellaneous newspaper allusions and reminiscences of old settlers.

Free-State sentiment into a fervor, and Robinson set about to whip it into activity. As to his motives, one may only guess. They were probably mixed, but undoubtedly a large ingredient in the mixture was personal ambition.

Whatever the explanation, Robinson at once began to instigate a revolution against the pro-slavery territorial government. Within three days after the election he had organized the men of Lawrence into four military companies and had written a letter to Eli Thayer, chief projector of the Emigrant Aid Company, pleading for two hundred Sharps rifles.²⁹ He soon started to preach repudiation of the new legislature and all its works, and the formation of a Free-State constitution. When the legislature met in July it played directly into his hands by enacting the obnoxious "bogus laws,"—an atrocious slave code and an election law which acknowledged as a voter any man who, being present at the polls, would pay a poll tax of one dollar and swear to uphold the fugitive-slave law. Most repugnant of all to the democratic instincts of the pioneers from the Ohio valley was the action of the legislature in itself designating all county officers. This seemed to deny to the settlers any modicum of self-government. Had the territorial legislature been more moderate and circumspect in its actions, the Free-State politicians might have lacked an effective basis for their activity; the blunders of that body furnished the fuel for the fire that Robinson and his associates sought to kindle.

Of course Robinson and the other "insiders" were not so naïve as to believe that Kansas could be admitted to Union under their projected state constitution. Their aim was to create a coherent political party in the territory and to manufacture an issue that would keep it alive until such time as they could gain control of the territorial government. The formation of a state constitution and a campaign for admission would provide such an issue. As Robinson himself expressed it years later, "Such a movement would serve to occupy the minds of the people, attract the attention of ambitious politicians, become a rallying point for all opposed to the usurpation, and, in case of necessity . . . be used as a *de facto* government, even though not recognized by Congress."³⁰

The obvious place to begin the agitation was in Lawrence, where the Yankees were more susceptible to the call to a crusade than

29. Letter of Robinson to Thayer, April 2, 1855, quoted in W. H. Isely, "The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History," *American Historical Review*, v. XII, pp. 546-566. Quoted also in F. W. Blackmar, *Life of Charles Robinson* (Topeka, 1902), pp. 131-133.

30. Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (Lawrence, 1898), p. 169.

were the squatters on the quarter-sections. But before the movement could be begun even in Lawrence the timid must be given a sense of security; this was probably the real reason for the call for the rifles. As soon as the first weapons arrived there began a series of conventions, seven in all, which culminated in the formation of the Topeka constitution. This long series of conventions was necessary to reconcile divergent interests and to generate the degree of sentiment essential to a party organization.

When, in February, 1856, officers were installed under the Topeka constitution, Kansas settlers were marshalled into two armed camps. There were two rival governments, each commanding the allegiance of a portion of the population, each with an armed militia force. The "Wakarusa War" of December, 1855, had been a straw to show the direction of the wind. Feeling was tense. "Atrocities" were frequent. The only question was when the firing should begin. The Fort Sumter of this Kansas conflict was the sack of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, and for the next three months Kansas was plunged into civil war.³¹

Among pro-slavery people in Kansas and Missouri, the Emigrant Aid Company was blamed for all the trouble. Every pro-slavery meeting on either side of the border, and there were dozens of them, adopted resolutions cursing the supposed activities of the company and similar organizations,³² and in the congressional investigation practically every pro-slavery man questioned stated that in his opinion there would have been no more excitement in Kansas than was usual in the settlement of new territories but for the activity of the aid societies.³³ The company was represented as having inspired, directed and financed the whole Free-State movement. Whether the Emigrant Aid Company deserved the blame (or credit, as one cares to consider it) of being the power behind the Free-State party is perhaps less important than the fact that it got it, and so became a national issue. But for the present purpose it is of interest to inquire to what extent, if at all, the claim was true.

Several facts are obvious. The company from first to last avowed as its aim, along with the goal of a pecuniary profit, the "defeating of the minions of the slave power" by making Kansas a free state. The fifteen hundred or more people who came to Kansas under its auspices during 1854 and 1855 (of whom perhaps a

31. Space limitations of this article do not permit a more detailed summary of the events of the Kansas conflict. The story may be read in any history of Kansas.

32. Newspaper reports of these meetings in "Webb Scrap Books," v. IV.

33. The testimony of twenty-six separate witnesses who made this assertion is printed in the "Howard Report."

thousand remained as permanent settlers) were actuated to a far greater extent than were the pioneers from the Northwest by a crusading zeal against slavery. The Free-State movement began in Lawrence among these Aid Company settlers, and was led by Doctor Robinson, agent of the company, who was assisted more or less by Samuel C. Pomeroy, the company's other Kansas agent. Small wonder that Westerners in general, and pro-slavery men in particular, assumed that the company was back of the whole movement.

An extensive study of the minutes and correspondence of the Aid Company shows that, although the company made no secret of its friendship for the Free-State party in Kansas, the corporation as such took no hand in the activities of that party until the early months of 1856 when the Free-State *de facto* government was a going concern. Nevertheless, the officers and principal directors of the company had, "unofficially" or "in their private capacities," held chips in the game from the start. Amos A. Lawrence particularly, treasurer, and chief contributor to the company, had from the fall of 1854, the time of the election of the first territorial delegate, encouraged Robinson by letters and by gifts of money, to rally the Free-State forces.³⁴ In the spring of 1855, Doctor Webb, secretary of the company, made an effort, as already noted, to get the first parties of settlers to Kansas in time to vote and wrote to Pomeroy admonishing him to see that the Free-State people put up a united front in the election.³⁵ Although it was never made a matter of record, the Executive Committee of the company gave tacit permission to the company agents, Robinson and Pomeroy, to devote time, for which the company was paying them, to Free-State political activities.³⁶ Indeed, Lawrence and John Carter Brown, president of the company, even discussed the feasibility of sending a political agent, to be paid partly out of company funds and partly by individuals, who "should stump the territory of Kansas, taking his plan from our agents there, but not being recognized as under our auspices."³⁷ The plan was not carried out, but the fact that it was discussed is significant.

When Robinson decided to arm his followers he sent his appeal

34. Lawrence to Robinson, October 17, 1854, in Kansas State Historical Society's "Letters of Amos A. Lawrence About Kansas Affairs and to Correspondents in Kansas from June 10, 1854, to August 10, 1861," bound typewritten copies, hand indexed, prepared under direction of Mrs. A. A. Lawrence, from letterpress copies. Hereinafter cited as "Lawrence Letters," p. 35. November 21, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 44.

35. Webb to Pomeroy, March 26, 1855, Aid Company Letters, "Book A," pp. 101-102.

36. At least these men were constantly writing letters to the home office describing their activities, and no exception was taken by the committee.

37. Lawrence to Brown, September 1 and 11, 1855, "Lawrence Letters," pp. 96-98. The quotation is from letter of September 11.

for rifles to Eli Thayer and Edward Everett Hale, both active in the affairs of the Aid Company.³⁸ Thayer took the matter up with the Executive Committee in an "unofficial" meeting (unofficial in that no minutes of the meeting were entered in the record book). The committee decided that the company as such must not dabble in the business, but they agreed to raise the money by subscription and buy the guns. They designated one of their number, Dr. Samuel Cabot, to take charge of the matter.³⁹ This effort to put the settlers in a state of defense was continued until peace was finally restored in Kansas in the fall of 1856. Although the facts did not become known outside Aid Company circles until years afterward, it was universally believed among pro-slavery people on the border and by administration supporters generally that the company was arming the Free-State party, and it was this belief, even more than the colonizing activities, that stirred the borders to such a rage against the Emigrant Aid Company.

Through the summer and fall of 1855 the company was exerting itself to the extent of its means to provide for the physical needs of the Free-State settlers and at the same time increase the value of its own holdings. All the money that could be raised by the sale of stock was used to establish sawmills and grist mills in Kansas and to build a large stone hotel in Lawrence. No objection was raised to the mills, except to complain of their inadequacy, but it was believed rather extensively on the border that the Free-State hotel was being built as a fort.⁴⁰ There is nothing to indicate that the Executive Committee had such an intention, but it is a fact that the building was used as a barracks by the Free-State militia whenever Lawrence was threatened (which was most of the time during the first five months of 1856), and there is evidence from a Free-State source that the construction of the building was modified, probably by order of Robinson or Pomeroy, to make it more suitable for defense.⁴¹

After the Wakarusa War the company began to combine with its pleas for stock subscriptions an appeal for funds to relieve destitute

38. Letter to Thayer quoted in Blackmar, *Robinson*, pp. 131-133. Original letter to Hale preserved among Aid Company papers.

39. The late W. H. Isely worked out this story almost thirty years ago.—Isely, *loc. cit.* The present study has gone over the ground thoroughly, but has brought to light almost nothing that would modify Isely's findings.

40. "Howard Report," p. 907. See, also, J. C. Malin, "Pro-Slavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. X, pp. 285-305 (esp. 303), and Wm. Phillips, *Conquest of Kansas* (Boston, 1856), p. 309. Professor Malin found that the *Herald of Freedom* stated that the hotel was being built as a fort, but it is only fair to note that, although the *Herald* was commonly regarded as an Aid Company organ, its editor, G. W. Brown, was not an authorized spokesman of the company and often embarrassed the Executive Committee by his rash statements.

41. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 13, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. IX, p. 113.

Free-State settlers. As conditions in Kansas grew more critical during the succeeding months emphasis was shifted until all efforts were concentrated on relief. Thousands of dollars were raised and sent to Kansas to supply food and clothing to men who had abandoned their claims to take up arms in the Free-State cause.

Meanwhile, Lawrence continued to exert himself in the interest of a free state. He corresponded with President Pierce, to whom he was related by marriage, and even made a trip to Washington in an effort to secure the President's promise to sustain Governor Reeder in the project to set aside the "bogus" election.⁴² When he became convinced that no relief could be had in this quarter he declared "That a revolution must take place in Kansas is certain, if that can be called a revolution which is only an overthrow of usurpation."⁴³ During the summer of 1855 letters flew thick and fast between Lawrence and Robinson. Robinson kept Lawrence informed of all his actions, and usually asked advice in advance. Lawrence, in turn, wrote letters of advice and encouragement. He approved the launching of the Free-State movement, but urged what he called a Fabian policy of avoiding open conflict until success was certain.⁴⁴ He favored the repudiation of the territorial legislature and its enactments, but warned against the slightest resistance to Federal authority.⁴⁵ At first he doubted the wisdom of actually forming a state constitution, lest it be construed as rebellion against the Federal government, suggesting that the mere threat to take such a step might serve the same purpose,⁴⁶ but when the Topeka constitution was formed he supported the move and, along with other directors of the company, furnished the money for the election in which the constitution was ratified and Reeder elected territorial delegate.⁴⁷

During the spring of 1856, when events in Kansas were rapidly moving toward a state of open warfare, the Emigrant Aid Company dropped the incognito of "unofficial" action which, down to that time had veiled, all too thinly, its support of the Free-State party. When a Free-State delegation was sent East in February to arouse interest in the movement the members made their headquarters at

42. Lawrence to President Pierce, "Lawrence Letters," p. 73. Lawrence to Professor Packard, July 14, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 81-82. Lawrence to Robinson, August 18, *ibid.*, p. 94.

43. Lawrence to Dr. Webb, July 20, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

44. Lawrence to Robinson, July 23, 1855, *ibid.*, p. 86; January 31, 1856, *ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

45. Lawrence to Robinson, August 10, 1855, *ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

46. Lawrence to Robinson, August 16, 1855, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

47. Original letter, Robinson to Lawrence, September 28, 1855, among the Emigrant Aid Company papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

the company's office in Boston. Indeed, the office appears to have acted as a sort of booking agency for them, arranging their speaking dates and mapping their itinerary.⁴⁸ Often a representative of the Aid Company spoke from the same platform. Allusions to the Free-State party began to appear for the first time in the minutes of the Executive Committee, and after the raid on Lawrence the company treasury was drawn upon for relief funds.⁴⁹ During this spring, too, the company became more open in supplying arms to the Free-State party, although the "rifle fund" was still kept entirely separate from the company treasury.⁵⁰ The company had now definitely identified itself with the Free-State party.

But the attack on Lawrence, May 21, 1856, together with the agitation of Republican politicians, aroused the whole North. During June Kansas aid committees sprang up in nearly all the free states and in July a National Kansas Committee was formed. These new organizations now took up much of the burden, so far borne by the Emigrant Aid Company, of arousing moral and political support for the Free-State cause, recruiting settlers, furnishing arms, and relieving the needy. The Aid Company had a share, and an important share, in this larger effort, but it was now only a part of a movement that extended throughout the North. "Bleeding Kansas" had become a national issue.

What then is the place of the Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas conflict? In the first place, it furnished the excuse, and in some measure the provocation, for the Missouri invasion. In the second place, while the company can hardly be said to have inspired and directed the Free-State movement, it did, through Amos A. Lawrence, who was the real, though not the nominal head of the company, keep in close touch with the movement in its formative stages, and aid with encouragement, advice and money. In the third place, it was the officers of the company, if not the company itself, that armed the Free-State party. And finally, it was the Emigrant Aid Company that, during the first trying months, carried on almost alone the task of furnishing moral and physical support

48. Doctor Webb wrote several letters arranging speaking dates for members of the delegation (Aid Company Letters, "Book A"), and each week their activities were reported to the Executive Committee of the Emigrant Aid Company, "Minute Books," v. II, pp. 48, 49, 67, 68, 91.

49. Original letter, A. J. Stone, assistant treasurer, to Pomeroy, among Emigrant Aid Company papers. Down to this time all relief money had been kept in a separate fund administered by Doctor Webb.

50. Down to April, 1856, Doctor Webb had replied to all letters asking about arms, that the Emigrant Aid Company had nothing to do with them. After that time, however, he began to refer inquirers to Doctor Cabot, and even took the initiative in offering to furnish arms to organized parties of emigrants.—Aid Company Letters.

to the Free-State movement. Although much that was said and believed about the Emigrant Aid Company in the days of its activity was either mere froth emitted by its overzealous champions, or the outright invention of opponents who wished to use the company as a bugaboo, and much that has been written about it since is the merest piffle, the fact is obvious that it was a real factor in the struggle, and no account of the Kansas conflict is adequate which fails to accord it a place.

An Old Play on John Brown

THE execution of John Brown, following the shock of the Harper's Ferry raid and the suspense of the trial, was in its effect on public emotion like throwing gasoline on a kindled fire. Orators, preachers and journalists in both the North and South helped fan the flames and the dramatists of the day made haste to capitalize the mounting excitement on the stage. Within a month three plays on the theme of slavery were produced in New York, and one of these, *Ossawatimie Brown*, here reprinted, had its premiere only fourteen days after the hanging. The New York correspondent of a Kansas newspaper of the time, commenting on these productions and the current agitation, wrote:

MORE LIGHT!

Nothing could show more forcibly the depth of the present agitation on the slavery question, even in this sin-ridden city, than the fact that at the present time no less than three of the largest theatres announce dramas which bear directly on the "irrepressible conflict," and which, in the words of the posters, "will be repeated to-night and every evening." At the "Winter Garden" (Agnes Robertson's Theatre) we have "The Octoroon, or Life in Louisiana," by Bourcicault, the greatest of living comedians; at Laura Keane's Theatre, we have "Distant Relations, or a Southerner in New York"; and at the Old Bowery we have a piece of the high tragedy order, under the caption of "Osawatimie Brown." The subject is thus brought before hundreds of thousands who otherwise would never give it a thought. And besides these, lectures, discourses, speeches and poems are delivered every night everywhere, by everybody, pro and con, on "John Brown," on "Osawatimie Brown," on "Old Brown," on "Captain Brown," and on the "Hero of Harper's Ferry." . . . Truly this old farmer has made such a stir as not all the "statesmen" and "little giants," and professional agitators have been able to produce, and which they are much less able to quiet.—J. S.¹

The author of *Ossawatimie Brown* was a young actress of New York, known in the theatre by her maiden name, Kate Edwards, daughter of John Edwards, an English physician, who came to America in 1846 when she was thirteen. Before she was twenty she had appeared in minor parts at the old Bowery theatre and had begun writing for the stage. In this work she made the acquaintance of J. Clarke Swayze, a printer employed on the *Saturday Evening Courier*, a weekly devoted to the stage and its people, whom

1. Lawrence *Republican*, January 5, 1860. John Brown was executed December 2, 1859. Dion Boucicault, the Irish-American playwright, was an outstanding figure in the theatrical world; Agnes Robertson was his first wife. Laura Keane was at the height of her popularity as an actress. It was her company, five years later, that was playing at Ford's theater, Washington, the night of Lincoln's assassination.

she married in June, 1856. The young couple wrote several plays in collaboration and later organized the Kate Edwards theatrical company, touring Eastern and Southern states under Mr. Swayze's management. Two years later, following the birth of a daughter, they disbanded the troupe and returned to New York, where Mr. Swayze purchased the *Courier* plant. In 1859 he entered the publishing business at Griffin, Ga., but did not return for his family until after the birth of a son on January 19, 1860, one month after the production of the mother's play, *Ossawattomie Brown*. At Griffin another daughter was born in September, 1861, and here, in the early months of the war, after her husband had been imprisoned as a traitor and had escaped to the Union army, Mrs. Swayze died, August 13, 1862, at the age of twenty-eight.²

Ossawattomie Brown was written when its author was only twenty-five. Little can be learned about the stage production or its reception by the public. There was no advertisement of the play for the evening of December 16, its first night, in any of the five leading New York papers. An advertisement of the Bowery Theatre in the New York *Herald* of December 17 mentioned "the new Ossawattomie Brown drama of The Insurrection," and on Sunday, December 18, advertising the performance of the 19th, the same paper carried the notice, "to conclude with the new three act drama of The Insurrection; Or, Kansas and Harper's Ferry." A news item in the same paper on the 19th said:

At the Bowery Theatre the attraction for this evening is "An original drama, written by a lady of Brooklyn," and called "Insurrection, or Kansas and Harper's Ferry." Rather a delicate subject. Two other pieces are given—a drama and a ballet.

The New York *Daily Tribune* of the same date said:

Old Bowery.—Ledger stories are dished up here with surprising rapidity; the "Red Ranger" is the last, to be played for the first time to-night, with a ballet and the John Brown piece.

Professor Odell, writing of the Bowery Theatre season of 1859-1860 in his annals of the New York stage, said:

Nothing could long satisfy the Bowery appetite. And here on the 17th, was another questionable thing—The Insurrection, or Kansas and Harper's

2. Kate Lucy Edwards was born in London, England, November 24, 1834. J. Clarke Swayze was born in Hope, N. J., March 24, 1833. His first venture as a publisher in Griffin, Ga., was *Swayze's Southern Railway Guide*. This was followed by the weekly, *The Bugle Horn of Liberty*. The first issue was the last: a band of Morgan's raiders destroyed the plant and Swayze was taken under arrest to Macon, and later to Richmond, where he escaped. He became a captain of scouts in Sherman's army and served in the secret service. When he returned to Griffin after the war he found that his motherless children had been cared for by a loyal Southern family. He reentered the publishing business in Griffin and Macon, continuing until 1873, when he came to Kansas. He published the *Topeka Blade* until his death there on March 27, 1877.—Typewritten statement, March, 1936, by Oscar K. Swayze of Topeka, son of J. Clarke Swayze and Kate Edwards Swayze.

Ferry, by a lady of Brooklyn, with Boniface as John Brown. . . . Evans and Holland as Brown's sons. . . . Mrs. Cantor as Mrs. Brown.³ . . .

The copy of *Ossawatimie Brown* used as the text for this reprint was recently presented to the Kansas State Historical Society by Oscar K. Swayze of Topeka, the son who was born only a month after the play's first production. Manuscript copies of four other plays by his mother also were donated, but this is the only one the Library of Congress lists as having been copyrighted by her.⁴

3. George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, v. VII, p. 230.

4. These four manuscript plays are entitled: "Nigger Sweethearts," "The Play Mania," "The White Wolf or the Sons of Brittany," "The Forger's Daughter."

THE STANDARD DRAMA.

The Acting Edition.

No. CCXXVI.

OSSAWATTOMIE BROWN;

OR,

THE INSURRECTION AT HARPERS' FERRY.

A Drama, in Three Acts.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

A Description of the Costume—Cast of the Characters—Entrances and Exits—
Relative Positions of the Performers on the Stage, and
the whole of the Stage Business

BY MRS. J. C. SWAYZE.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1859, by J. C. SWAYZE, in the
Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

New York:

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FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE

CAST OF CHARACTERS

As first performed at the Bowery Theater, December 16, 1859

<i>John Brown</i>	Mr. G. C. Boniface.	
<i>Mr. Cook</i>	Mr. Foster.	
<i>Frederick</i>	Brown's Sons, {	Mr. Warwick.
<i>Oliver</i>		Mr. Carden.
<i>Watson</i>		Mr. Evans.
<i>Lewis</i>		Mr. Holland.
<i>Black Jim, a Border Ruffian</i>		Mr. Rynar.
<i>Little Billy</i>		Mr. W. M. Reeve.
<i>Old Dearborn</i>		Mr. Hotto.
<i>Ralph Dearborn, His Son</i>		Mr. J. M. Ward.
<i>Landlord</i>		Mr. Davenport.
<i>Reporter</i>		Mr. Lee.
<i>Citizen</i>		Mr. Moore.
<i>Jailor</i>		Mr. Burke.

Soldiers, Citizens, Ruffians, &c.

<i>Mrs. Brown</i>	Mrs. Cantor.
<i>Julia</i>	Miss Annie Senter.
<i>Alice</i>	Mrs. Boniface.
<i>Jeptha</i>	Miss H. Lang.
<i>Suke</i>	Miss Osborne.
<i>Mrs. Sligo</i>	Miss Lee.

OSSAWATTOMIE BROWN

ACT I.

SCENE I.—*An apartment in the North Elba farm. MRS. BROWN seated in an arm chair. Room arranged for the reception of guests.*

Mrs. Brown. It is a sad fate which keeps me here, and debars me of that privilege, so dear to a mother's heart, of witnessing the happiness of my dear son, my boy Frederick, who this day leads to the altar, one who is already dear to me as a daughter.

Enter JEPHTHA.

Well, Jeptha, you seem to have a heavy load there.

Jeptha. [Putting down a tremendous wedding cake, and displaying a number of extremely large favors.] Heavy load! well I reckon the size of that er' weddin' cake's not to be come at every day. And as these 'ere dandy jumpers, it's not the weight so much as the orders I've got not to muss 'em.

Mrs. B. But what are you going to do with them all, Jeptha?

Jeptha. Why, ye see the gals was all a doin' somethin' to help to tidivate, and as none of them thought of my cake, I jest asked for these, and as it'll take about two dozen of 'em to go round, I'd better be a sticken' of 'em on.

[Sticks them on with pins as she speaks.]

Mrs. B. The neighbors are very kind.

Jeptha. Kind! well I reckon a litter from the same sow couldn't be more like brothers and sisters than the young folks, and as to the boss, there is not one in the village but calls him Mr. Brown, for his larnin'. And well they might, for he talks like a 'lectioneer and raises the best cows in the hull United States. But where's that Little Billy—well, if he aint the most provokinist piece of animal flesh in these parts, my name aint Jeptha Ann Higginbottom. [*Calling.*] Little Billy—Little Billy. I bet he's a peggin' into those quintze preserves like a half starved alligator, to say nothin' of the apple tarts. [*Again calling.*] Little Billy—Little Billy.

Enter LITTLE BILLY. He is eating as he enters, hides a tart in his jacket, and wipes his mouth.

Jeptha. I told you so. Jest look at that 'ere unshameful villain. If he can't take more down that meek-lookin' mouth of his than an underground railroad, or a hogshhead with the bottom out.

Little Billy. Ah now, my darlint, what's the use of palarverin'; sure I aint been after spoilin' none of the work of ye's fair fingers, [*Aside*] unless yer count ther pies.

Jeptha. And don't ye know ye're a spilin' of it now, a standin' here tellin' lies, when you know you've shirked your work, like a lazy, good-for-nothin' that you are.

Little B. Och! now, Mrs. Higginbottom—

Jeptha. Don't Mrs. Higginbottom me, yer pesky critter, I tell you ye didn't milk the black cow—

Little B. Sure and you're wrong inthirely. [*Aside*] I milked him yesterday.

Jeptha. And Kitty, with the skew horns?

Little B. Yes, shure. [*Aside.*] Devil a dhrup since the day before.

Jeptha. Well come and help me fix the things on this table, and see if yer can keep yer fingers off the eatin' sass. [*They go up, quarreling.*]

Enter BROWN.

Brown. Well, wife, we shall soon be called upon to give up our three boys for a time. I hope one at least will go more hopefully on his journey for the fond prayers of a wife.

Mrs. B. But who knows the hardships they may endure?

Brown. I hope none, wife, but should they need aid, thank God their father's arm is strong, and his blood warm, and he'd spill it to the last drop, should danger threaten them.

Jeptha. [*Coming down.*] Never mind, old man. Don't get excited. The Injuns aint got 'em yet, and till they do, you'd better be a straightenin' down, for the weddin' party's a comin' down the road, and 'll be here before you can count nothin'.

Enter the bridal party—FREDERICK leading JULIA—OLIVER, ALICE, WATSON and LEWIS with ladies of the party.

Frederick. Your blessing my dear parents, for myself and my dear Julia, who will send her husband off with a smile, while she has your affection to cheer her in his absence.

Julia. Say rather I rejoice in being able to cheer *your* hours of loneliness; and, as I never was permitted by my Heavenly Father, to know the happiness

of a parent's love, all that duty I should have shown to them is garnered in my heart for you—my father—mother.

Taking the hand of BROWN, and sinking at the feet of Mrs. BROWN.

Mrs. B. Bless you, my child!

Jeptha. Well, here's Master Lewis a gettin' as hity-tity as a grasshopper on a hot griddle. His fiddle's a spilin', to say nothin' of the weddin' cake, and the cider, and—Well, it's a queer weddin', the dear knows.

[Screams at seeing LITTLE BILLY choking—He makes the most violent gesticulations as JEPHTHA looses his neck, slaps him on the back, and at last throws a quantity of water in his face.]

The dear knows, I thought he was gone, for he's been eatin' the weddin' cake, and one of them 'ere pins has stuck in his throat.

[Guests arrive at intervals—Music heard—Places taken for the dance—As the dance is ended, all rush forward, at a scream from JEPHTHA, who is supporting Mrs. BROWN in her chair.]

Mrs. B. *[Slowly recovering.]* Do not grieve, my children—it is the will of Heaven; I had not thought to leave you now. But since it must be so, heed well, my children, your mother's last request—

Fred. Speak! oh, speak.

Mrs. B. You are yet young, all of you, and need a guiding hand. Promise me to obey your father at all times, at any sacrifice. You will show him that devotion that shrinks not at the cost of life.

All. We promise.

Mrs. B. *[To JULIA.]* And you, my daughter, will live to take my place towards my young, my gentle Alice—to bless my Frederick with a true wife's love, and soften his declining years with watchful care. *[Pointing to the bowed form of BROWN.]* Promise me this.

Julia. I do, I do.

Mrs. B. My children—Alice—Husband.

[Dies.]

TABLEAU.

SCENE II.—Garden without the Farm.

Enter JEPHTHA, with milk pails.

Jeptha. Well, there; if I was to hunt from Thanksgivin' a year, to the next Fourth of July, I reckon I'd be as near on to findin' that consarned Irisher. Not that I want to cast eyes on him, but since Mr. Frederick's gone, and Oliver and Watson, there's a heap to do, and it all falls on me. Well, if there aint that half-breed between a elephant an' a crocodile, a swollerin' down my doughnuts, hot out o' the pan.

[Enter LITTLE BILLY. On seeing JEPHTHA, tries to hide doughnuts, they burn his fingers and he puts them in the breast of his coat.]

Little B. *[Aside.]* Shstay there, ye divils! How purty she looks. If I could just get her to listen to a little touch of me illoquence now, jest so she'd give me a touch of her purty lips—widout raisin' the divil wid a poor boy. *[To her.]* Mrs. Higginbottom.

Jeptha. A grissly cow, with her ears cropped, and as blind as a young kitten'd have more sense to larn, than some folks that thinks they're smart.

Little B. Mrs. Higginbottom.

[Detaining her.]

Jeptha. [Going.] Let me go, yer pesky fool!

Little B. Miss Jephthy—

Jeptha. [Turning back.] Wall, what is it?

Little B. [Aside.] Ah, ah, ye stubborn little divil, yer. [Aloud, drawing her back.] Miss Jiphthy—ah, now, me darlint, come here—yer don't know what I'm going to say to yer.

Jeptha. I do, you're always a makin' love to me.

[Simpering.]

Little B. I ain't. [She turns away.] But I'm a goin' to now. [She turns to him.] I'm a goin' to tell yer how much I love ye. Through *you* I've lost me appetite; through *you* I've lost tin pounds of flesh; through *you* I've lost me—me—me—money.

Jeptha. Your money!

Little B. Yes. [Aside.] As much as I had of it. [On his knees.] If ye only knew the love that's burnin' in me brist,—[Sniveling.] that's burnin' in me brist—[Jumping up.] By me faith—och murdher—murdher—[Opening his coat and dropping the doughnuts out.]—I might well say that, for there was somethin' burnin' in me brist, and no mistake. [JEPHTHA is going.] Hould on.

Jeptha. What do you want?

Little B. Don't ye know?

Jeptha. No.

[Still going.]

Little B. Yer little divil ye, I must get a kiss. [She coquettes, he follows her until near the door, he attempts to kiss her, when she slaps his face and runs off.] That was a stinger. But I'll be even with the little varmint. Now I'm a boy of a dilicate appetite, but I'll go and I'll stale all of her mince pies that's in the closit, and if I don't ate every one of 'em, damn me, Mrs. Higginbottom.

[Exit.]

SCENE III.—Interior of a rude tavern or ranchero.

BLACK JIM and ruffians gambling. Landlord looking on. SUKE busy at side.

Black J. Euchred! By God! Suke, fetch some more of that whiskey here, or—

Suke. Here's lazy bones will get you the whiskey. And now, my gentlemen, you've got to clear off from this table, while I put some supper down for the travelers.

Black J. Travelers, what travelers?

Suke. Three young men that's traveling out here with stock—farmers from York State, I reckon. They're gone to put up the critters.

Black J. Traveling with stock, be they? Now look'ee here Suke, I'm going' out to take a look at their stock, and mind, no unpleasant siniuations about a feller's character while we're gone; you know me, Suke.

[Exeunt loafers.]

Suke. I do know ye for the biggest blackguard and bully in the territory, and if you wasn't the shot you are, you'd have been under the ground this many a long day.

Enter FREDERICK, OLIVER, and LEWIS.

Welcome, strangers. Sit and take something.

Lewis. Thank you, my good woman. But tell me who are those men who—

Suke. Hush, they are here.

Enter BLACK JIM and the others.

One of them is my husband, young men.

Black J. Good evening strangers. [*To LEWIS.*] Try a drink?

Lewis. No, I am not in the habit of drinking.

Black J. Well, no offense. Here Suke, give us something to keep the blue devils out. Take a hand of cards, youngster?

[*To LEWIS, as OLIVER and WATSON sit at table.*]

Suke. [*Making signs to LEWIS.*] There's time enough after the young fellows have had their supper.

Lewis. If I chose to gamble with you I should say so.

Black J. You wont take a hand, then?

[*Taking out his knife and trifling with it.*]

Lewis. No!

Black J. Dog garn ye! then take that.

Striking him, the blow is returned. BLACK JIM's companions try to pull him away and mollify him. He breaks from them and strikes at LEWIS with his knife. FREDERICK snatches the knife from his grasp and fells him to the earth.

PICTURE.

SCENE IV.

Enter FREDERICK, travel-worn and weary.

Fred. I am weary and would fain seek rest, but while there is yet a hope of finding shelter for my brother, I cannot see him perish. But where! Oh heaven! No sight or sound denotes the tread of man for miles. I'll on! on! Kind Providence direct me to find aid to save a dying brother!

[*Exit.*]

Enter LEWIS, supported by OLIVER.

Lewis. Here let me rest, my brother. I feel I cannot go further. I am but wearing out your strength and my own—

Oliver. Try yet, my brother. Bear up but a short time, and Frederick may find aid. Oh how I curse the hand that dealt this coward blow! Why had I not slain him ere his arm was raised? But let me reach the haunts of men again—I swear—

Lewis. Take no such oath, my brother. I feel that had I not received that wound, the end had been the same. My strength has given way before the hardships of our journey, slowly at first, but surely, as day by day cast perils in our path. I fear I have but ill repaid my brothers for the love which took the burden of my duties on themselves, already overtaken.

Oliver. Speak not so, my brother. Oh heaven! he is sinking, his hands are icy cold, his lips are powerless. Oh, brother! brother!

Enter FREDERICK.

Fred. I have no help, and he is dying! Oh, God! are we then so powerless? so helpless, and alone?—

Lewis. Dear brothers, do not weep for me. I cannot tell you how hard, how very hard it is to leave you, and that dear home which I can never see again. My father, and our dear, dear Alice. My brothers too, who would have

shared our peril. Tell them I go in peace to join our sainted mother! I see her now, her form encircled in its angel brightness is beckoning me to heaven.
[Dies.]

SCENE V. *Interior of BROWN's house in Pottowottomie Creek.*

BROWN seated, reading. JULIA occupied at table. JEPHTHA busy round the room.

Julia. Pray do not give way to this sadness, dear father. Are we not all again united and living in comparative prosperity?

Brown. I cannot dismiss from my thoughts the fate of my son. Brave boy, he had undertaken a mission that was too much for his strength.

Julia. And it has pleased his Heavenly Father to take him to a happier home.

Brown. But 'twas my fault—my fault. What were my few remaining years to his young life?

Enter ALICE.

Alice. Much, dear father, to those who love you. Can we devise no means to cheer you?

Brown. It was a blessed day that restored the poor wanderers to us.

Julia. Daily and hourly I remember it with gratitude and pray that we may never know another separation.

Enter FREDERICK, OLIVER, and WATSON.

Fred. A prayer which I second with all my heart, sweet wife. With what joy I see you all again, gathered around a peaceful, happy hearth, and I can come home after a day's hard toil to claim this sweet reward.

[Kisses Julia.]

Julia. Our father is sad to-night—go speak to him.

Fred. Not giving way to sadness, old man, and such prospects before us?

Brown. I know, my boy, I know. But I don't like the place. It's not a peaceful one. I see men's rights molested by a set of lawless ruffians. Sooner than suffer the innovations that some do, I'd rather death, war, anything but tyranny.

Jeptha. [Coming down.] There now, old man, don't go tew gettin' excited, 'cause it brings on colic with them that's of a bilious turn. I remember my old grandmother used tew say so, for she was subjeic' to it.

Fred. What, Jeptha? biliousness, or getting excited?

Jeptha. Some folks is subjeic' tew too much smartness, and then it's apt to be dangerous. But here's Miss Alice, sittin' as deserted as a dead rat in a two-acre turnip field. Can't you take some notice of the gal?

Julia. Hush, Jeptha. Alice is suffering some anxiety of mind, and does not wish to join in conversation.

Jeptha. No; it's my belief she'd rather be a jining onto somethin' else. But I jest thought. [Hunting in her pocket.] Mrs. Jackson sent her boy down tew the settlement, and as I knew Miss Alice was a pining like a new weaned heifer, I told him tew keep his eyes skinned when the mail come in.

[Producing letter.]

Alice. [Snatching it.] Oh, Jeptha, Jeptha!

Jeptha. Wall, if you was in a hurry, why on airth didn't you say so?

Alice. From dear, dear Ralph.

[Exit.]

Jeptha. [*Looking off.*] And she's a cryin' over it as if it was his last dying speech and confession.

Oliver. Frederick, who was that man you gave work to, yesterday?

Fred. A fellow traveling through the country, almost starved, so he said. And indeed he seems grateful enough for the shelter he has found.

Oliver. A suspicious looking fellow; his face haunts me like a dream.

Julia. Husband be careful.

Enter a farm laborer.

Man. Mr. Frederick, one of the men's been kicked by the black heifer. He's hurt pretty bad, and wants to see you.

Julia. You will not go.

Fred. And why not, little coward? [*Turning back and embracing her.*] Why so alarmed, dearest? If I am not back in five minutes, send the boys after me.

[*Exit.*]

Julia. Father, I *am* alarmed. If that man should be here under false pretenses?—if Black Jim—

Oliver. [*Starting up.*] Black Jim! that face! why did I not remember? Father! brothers! Come! come!

A shot is heard—JULIA screams and sinks upon her knees—They bring in FREDERICK, who is wounded, and place him on the ground beside her—She shrieks and sinks upon his breast—ALICE, who has entered, stands motionless.

PICTURE.

Brown. [*After a pause, and standing over FREDERICK's body.*] If ye are sons of mine, remember your mother's dying words, and swear to avenge this deed. My son! my son! your father's head shall know no rest—this hand shall know no touch but an implement of death, to wield against your murderers until it is avenged. I'll spare no recreant heart that dares befriend them. I'll leave no roof unburned that ever gave them shelter. I'll leave no foot-path in the wilderness untracked, till I have laid them in the dust. Swear this!

All. We swear! we swear!

END OF ACT I.

ACT II.

SCENE I.—A Wood.

Enter BROWN, as if pursued.

Brown. To what extremity am I driven? Hunted down, pursued, accused of the blackest crimes by those whose homes I hold as sacred as my own. In the pursuit of vengeance, we drove those lawless ruffians to further deeds of violence and bloodshed. Whilst still evading our pursuit, they drew the inhabitants from their beds, brutally murdered, and then left them to be counted as our victims. Thus are we in our turn pursued. My sons may even now be overtaken—murdered—by the infuriate mob.

Enter OLIVER, WATSON, and others.

Ha! You are here. Fought through them like brave fellows, as you are. But hark! they are not far distant. What chance is there for escape?

Oliver. But little. The people are infuriated—they swear 'twas we who committed last night's outrage.

Watson. There is nothing left but to surrender up our lives, and strive to die like men.

Brown. And is that spoken like a man? No, lads, one more effort, and we are home. The doors are stout—we have arms and ammunition—once in our stronghold we can defy them for a while. Come, lads, come! *[Exeunt.]*

SCENE II.—*Same as Scene V, Act I.*

JULIA, ALICE and JEPHTHA discovered.

Alice. Look up, dear Julia—must we forever weep? Oh! why does not my father come?

Julia. Frederick! oh, my husband!

Alice. Alas! what shall I do?

Jeptha. Why, just trust to the old man and the boys, and be cheerful, like I am. *[Sobbing violently.]*

Julia. What is that!

[Starting up wildly.]

Jeptha. 'Taint nothin'.

Julia. Did you not hear? Alice, cling to me! away with all selfish grief—and heaven grant me strength to meet new trials.

Shouts are heard—BROWN rushes in, followed by OLIVER and WATSON.

Brown. Bar the doors and windows, make fast every place, and give them fight. If we're to be hunted down like dogs, we'll sell our lives as dearly as we can.

[As he is speaking and doors being secured, a man appears at window, levels musket at BROWN, is seen by JEPHTHA who snatches his musket and levels it at his head; he retreats.]

Jeptha. No you don't while my name is Jeptha Ann Higginbottom.

[Secures window.]

Brown. Don't fire boys, we will leave that till the last. They all may have wives or sisters, and I want not to shed a drop of innocent blood if I can help it.

Julia. *[Looking out.]* But who are these who threaten you so violently? These are no hired ruffians! Oh, tell me in heaven's name what you have done to arouse such hatred in them? What heavy crime committed?

Brown. Crime, girl! Look down upon those men, and in every face behold a slaveholder! The crime I have committed against those men is not the bloody deed with which they charge me, but worse, far worse, for I have told them to their teeth, that I hold not with their creed which teaches them to barter human souls.

Julia. *[To OLIVER.]* Is this true?

Oliver. It is.

Brown. And they think to shut the old man's mouth that he may breathe no word to rob them of their sanctity. *[Shots without.]* They think to murder the old bear in his den, but they'll find it is not so easy. *[Shots again.]*

Ha, ha, the old fox is not reached yet. [*Shots.*] You've got him cornered, but let him once get loose again, and he has teeth that will bite, aye, and leave their mark among ye.

Oliver. They seem afraid to force an entrance.

Julia. Perhaps they may yet disperse.

Alice. Heaven grant they may!

Brown. Amen, for your sake child, but I wager they are hatching some new treachery.

Jeptha. [*Looking out.*] That's so, old man. They move around with torches a bellerin' like scared injuns. Why, I do believe—

[*An explosion heard.*]

Brown. Great God! They have fired the house. [*All stand horror stricken.*] Shout to them "hold." If this poor body will satisfy their malice, I'll throw myself a hostage in their midst. Let them tear me limb from limb, but burn not these innocent children in their home. [*Rushing to door.*] Hold! I am ready! I surrender.

Oliver and Watson. No, no, we will share your fate.

Alice. No, no, why should our lives be bought at such a price. Let us die here together.

Julia. [*Placing herself in doorway.*] You shall not stir! Father, brothers, no! Rather let us fall upon our knees in prayer, and occupy our few remaining moments in supplicating mercy from above!

Jeptha. Unless we can find a safer place below. [*Opening trap.*] Down into the milk-cellar, the other steps lead up into the barn; the night is dark, and while the villains think we are roasting up alive, we can make for the woods, and off before they get their eyes skinned.

[*Sends them down singly. The flames mount higher and higher. JEPHTHA begins to descend as the flames burst in.*]

PICTURE.

SCENE III. Apartment in DEARBORN'S house.

Enter DEARBORN and RALPH.

Dearborn. Ralph, you appear somewhat *distract* this morning.

Ralph. Yes, sir; I acknowledge my mind is not quite at rest.

Dearb. I regret it. I had looked forward to a little conversation this morning.

Ralph. My dear sir, I surely cannot be the very unsociable being you would represent me. I am always ready to listen to your agreeable and instructive conversation.

Dearb. I am glad you are so fully impressed with what is your duty towards a parent. Let me remember,—Oh! I was about to remark that I had received a letter from your uncle, in which he has promised me a visit. This will be the more interesting to you, as he will be accompanied by his wife and daughter, your cousin Lucy. But you are not paying such strict attention—

Ralph. Pray excuse me, sir; I own I am a little absent minded this morning.

Dearb. Your cousin Lucy is a very charming girl. [*Ralph seems lost in thought.*] I was remarking that your cousin, Lucy—[*Very loudly*] Ahem!

Ralph. [*Starting.*] Pray go on, sir, I am all attention.

Dearb. [*Pointedly.*] Yes, I see you are. [*Rising.*] Well, sir, as you seem to treat the matter with so much indifference, I shall not trouble myself further than to inform you that you are expected to treat your aunt and cousin with some respect—and in short that I have—more—settled views in prospect for you.

Ralph. Sir, may I ask, without impropriety, that you will be more explicit in your remarks.

Dearb. Well, then, sir, since you drive me to it, I have always intended that you and your cousin should form an alliance, that is much desired by her father and myself. And since there is no possible obstacle—

Ralph. I am glad at last to see the tendency of your remarks, and that there may be no misunderstanding, will *you* now oblige *me* by resuming your seat and giving me your attention for a few moments.

Dearb. Well, sir, be brief.

Ralph. You said just now, that there could be no possible obstacle to the fulfillment of your plans. My dear father, there is an obstacle, which I will state in as few words as possible. Some two years back I made the acquaintance of a young girl under somewhat peculiar circumstances. It so happened that, under Providence, I was the means of rescuing her from great peril. I became in time a welcome visitor at her father's house. I found her to be as virtuous and amiable, as I already knew she was beautiful. But her parents, who are poor, though honest people, being forced to emigrate, I have endured a separation of some months—only, however, with the promise of claiming her—my beautiful Alice—at the expiration of a year.

Dearb. Very fine! Quite a romance. But do you know the consequences in case of my displeasure?

Ralph. I know that it is in your power to make me penniless, but only condescend to see my beautiful Alice, and I will answer for the rest.

Enter a Servant, with Letters.

Dearb. Will you? Well, just hand me those letters. [*Does so.*] And now go about your business; I'll think this over. [*Exit RALPH.*] [*Opening letter.*] I declare the fellow has quite bewildered me with his sudden disclosures. What, my little Lucy to be thrown away on a stranger, and he run off with this little chit of a nobody knows who. Ah! what is here? A letter in a strange hand, and on the very subject. [*Reads.*] "Beware of your son forming a connection which would be discreditable to the last degree. He is about to marry the daughter of a man notorious for his bad deeds. An outlaw and a murderer." Good heavens! can I believe my eyes? This must be put a stop to at once, if true, but I'll not believe it. Here, Ralph! Ralph!

[*Exit.*]

SCENE IV. *Interior of a miserable shed.*

JULIA supporting ALICE. JEPHTHA seated near.

Julia. How terrible is this suspense! It is long since our brother, risking all for our protection, went in search of help, and the other members of our little band are guarding, lest, being found, the fury of the mob should drive us even from this poor shelter. But alas! the time is flying rapidly and no assistance yet. We may be waylaid, killed perhaps, and then, oh heaven! what can save us then?

Alice. [Awakening.] Where am I? Have I been sleeping? Yes, I was once more happy, for I thought I was again at home. Where are they? Where's my father?

Julia. Compose yourself, dear Alice. I trust he will soon be here.

Alice. And you, my dear sister. How much greater must be your sufferings, and yet for my sake you bear all in silence. But hark! what noise is that! [Starting up.] I hear them. Father! brothers! you are come—ah—

[Falls senseless as BLACK JIM appears at window.]

Julia. Lost! lost!

Black J. Halloo! what in thunder's here? Instead of pitching on the old wolf in his den, he's given chase and left us to stumble in among the cubs. Halloo! what, dead? [Seeing ALICE.] No, only scared. Let's see.

[Is about to lift her. Julia hurls him off.]

Julia. Villain, away! Whatever your hellish purpose, while I have life, you touch not with impious hand, that stricken girl.

Black J. Away, woman! or take the same fate as your husband.

Julia. My husband! ah, I know you now, and yet I do not fear you. I ask not mercy for myself. I would bless the hand that gave me peace and heaven. But if you would escape the curse of him whose blood now stains your hands, spare her, the innocent sister of your victim, and let her go unharmed.

[JEPHTHA steals to window and makes signals for assistance.]

Black J. Enough of this. Away there from the girl.

Julia. Merciful heaven! is there no way to move you? Is it not enough to know your hands are already dyed in her brother's blood? Should you commit this double deed of infamy, the curse of heaven would follow in your footsteps; her voice with his would shout it in your ears by day and night, thou traitorous coward, thou double murderer!

Black J. What ho! there!

Julia. I do not fear you now. When your murderous steel shall pierce the only heart that shields her, heaven will send some power to aid the helpless and the friendless!

[He rushes toward her, when JEPHTHA seizes a gun and fires out of window.]

Black J. Ah, you'd bring the old wolf down on me would you?

[Seizes JEPHTHA, holds a knife over her, when BROWN and WATSON rush in.]

BROWN, snatching the knife from his grasp, plunges it in his heart; he falls.

Brown. Die! Murderer of my son!

PICTURE.

SCENE V. An apartment in Cook's house.

Enter COOK with an open letter.

Cook. Our plans are well nigh ripe, and as the old man Brown has long been looked upon as the most fit leader of the undertaking, his escape and arrival here is most opportune. Ha, here comes his pretty daughter-in-law.

Enter JULIA.

Julia. Mr. Cook, how can we express sufficient thanks—

Cook. None are needed, I assure you. I am happy in being able to afford my friends assistance. But you wished to see me?

Julia. Yes. You say my father is about engaging in a scheme which has

for its object, that which makes me tremble for his safety. I would ask you, can this mad project not be surrendered? Can he not be restored to his peaceful home, or who persuades him to this?

Cook. None, he joins our cause heart and hand, as one who holds with freedom.

Julia. But why choose him? His mind has been so tried with suffering, I fear 'tis overbalanced. I need not tell you there are some men that sink under great trials hopelessly and at once, and others whose minds will bend beneath the storm, to rise, crooked, deformed perhaps, but not extinguished. Is it not so with him? under his great trials, his mind has warped and cramped until he can see nothing but through the glass of his revenge, and lives but to redress his wrongs.

Cook. It may be so.

Julia. It is, and being so, is it just or generous to choose him for this purpose? Is it not fostering a madness that has grown out of his misfortunes?

Cook. You are severe. But you will find that his friends are at least prepared to share the danger with him—but he is here. Your interview must be short, for your time is limited by your father's fears for your safety.

[*Exit as BROWN enters.*]

Julia. Could I but move him from his purpose, but I fear this madness is not to be repressed. Father! you are fully determined on this mission?

Brown. I am, girl, fully.

Julia. And you have thought on all the serious consequences—on the danger to my brothers?

Brown. Who says they are unwilling?

Julia. They are willing. Their courage will always equal their duty and affection. But is it right, my father, to put it to the test?

Brown. Thank God! my boys are not cowards! But try not to dissuade me—it raises an alarm in my breast I cannot conquer—speak of it no more.

Julia. I will not, and since you are bent on this, I can but pray for you.

[*ALICE rushes on, and sinks into her father's arms—he regards her with great tenderness and emotion.*]

Brown. Alice, my good child!

Alice. Oh! tell me it is not true. You are not going forever from your Alice? You will not send us from you? Think how heavily the hours must pass that threaten you with danger.

[*Sinks at his feet.*]

Brown. My child I feel your sorrow, but there are reasons which you cannot understand.

Alice. If but for my brother's sake. Think of the dear one we have lost—think of the husband for whom *she* sorrows, and add not another—Oh, my father!

Brown. My child—my child!

Alice. Oh, say you will stay your purpose. Come back to our dear old home—come back, and our lives shall know no object but to make you happy—we'll work and toil—you shall not know a care—Oh, father, answer me, or my heart will break.

Brown. My child I could not if I would. I am bound by an oath I dare not break. Take her from me, girl. [*To JULIA.*] Remember her mother's trust. God bless you both!

[*Turns away.—ALICE clings to JULIA.*]

ACT III.

SCENE I. *Interior of the Kennedy Farm, near Harper's Ferry.*

BROWN seated at table with letters.

Brown. [Reading letter.] "It is well known, that in every instance where an enlightened body of men have espoused the cause of the oppressed, and have endeavored to set them free, the result has invariably proved a failure, from sole cause that the would-be liberators, depend on the coöperation of those whose battles they are fighting, *but which inevitably fails them at the moment of action.* This is a painful conviction, but one that is forced upon every thinking mind by all past experience. It is a stubborn fact, recorded in the history of ages. To emancipate at one blow any down-trodden race, you must provide force enough to liberate them *at least without coöperation from,* if not absolutely *against* their will. In withholding education from the slaves, the men of the South have raised a barrier that is mightier than any force of arms that can be brought to bear against it, and it is called *ignorance* and fear. If, in spite of these arguments, you are still determined to rush on to the attack, I will give you all the pecuniary aid in my power, but remember, *I have no faith in the success of the undertaking.* A *Philosopher.*" [Speaking.] There's a wet blanket, and from a professed abolitionist! [Derisively.] An old fox. A philosopher truly—but one of that school that fattens on the follies of men, and chuckles over his wisdom and his *prudence.* Well, friend, ha, ahem! [checking himself.] your money may do more for us than your sympathy, but I would not give much for either. What have we here? [opening another letter.] signed G. S.—ha, this is joining opposites if you will. Mark now from that stoic, this nervous, sympathetic nature that feels the wrongs of others as they were his own. [Reads.] "Is it natural when the body's bent, to regain its upright posture? Is it natural, were one hand corded to our side, the other should be used to free it? Is it not a law divine, that when the bird escapes from bondage it soars to retain its freedom? Are we not therefore bound by strong ties of humanity, to burst the ties that bind the slaves to bondage, that *they* may soar to regain their level with the free men of the earth." [Speaking.] Those may be the sentiments of a visionary enthusiast, but there's more humanity in them, and I like him for it. Well, boy?

[As OLIVER enters.]

Enter OLIVER.

Oliver. Another load of rifles has arrived. I want directions about going down after them. There are also several of our people waiting to see the Captain.

Brown. I cannot see them until I have finished looking over these letters.

Oliver. Are they from friends in the North?

Brown. Yes; from our friends "*Philosopher,*" and "*G. S.*" One predicting failure, and the other success as inevitable results. One thing is certain, the result, be it what it may, cannot much affect them at the very safe distance they are likely to remain.

Oliver. There seems to be no question as to the result.

Brown. No, nor is there. It depends not on these men who preach to us. They would not place themselves *here*, as I have done, sounded every depth, watched and waited till the time should come, and guarded every avenue to

surprise. I have set emissaries to find out how the pulse beats in every part. I have organized a plan whereby our forces are so stationed, that in one day's time I have them at command. I have collected arms, unknowing to the people, that, in the hands of outraged men, who are fighting for their freedom, would insure their safety against many thousand. This is no lawless outbreak—we are not here to murder and to rob. God knows I have no thirst for blood. Those weapons are for self-defense—to guard the passage of our rescued band to shores of greater safety—and I have no fear in leaving it to all humanity to justify the act.

Enter WATSON.

Watson. Father, Cook has just arrived, and wants to see you.

Brown. Let him come in.

Enter COOK, disguised as a Peddler.

Well, friend, what news?

Cook. Much, that is satisfactory. I have been in many Northern towns since I was here, and in every place is the same sympathy evinced, the same assistance offered. When I come this way I am cautious, as you see, disguising myself in this way in order to ascertain the feeling that is manifested.

Brown. And you find the cause goes well?

Cook. The cause works gloriously. We have more sympathy than you would well believe. Every man who dares to speak his real thoughts, is ready for the struggle. All seem prepared, and once let the blow be struck, there is not one but goes with us, heart and hand.

Brown. And the sooner now that blow is struck, the better. [*Rising.*] This is no sudden movement. Men have worked for this with patient toil for years. It is a question that involves the whole social structure of the world—and what is this poor brain, and heart, and strength to give to such a cause? I have seen it could be done, and seen the means, and now the time is come—'tis ripe—'tis almost here—one effort and the day is ours.

Cook. God speed it, and make it a bloodless one.

Brown. And bloodless it shall be. For what else was time and caution needed? We are not here for purposes of blood and riot. He among us who would strike a blow, except in self-defense, falls at once from a martyr and a hero to grovel among the lowest felons of the earth. But I must leave you, for I have weighty business yet on hand.

[*Exit.*]

Oliver. [*To COOK.*] Go you with my brother and refresh yourself. I must away to bring up the rifles.

Cook. Heaven speed the cause.

Oliver. Amen!

[*Exeunt severally.*]

SCENE II. *Same as Scene I, Act I.*

Enter JEPHA.

Jeptha. Well, now, it's pesky queer that there can't be no peace in this 'ere family anyhow. I did think when we got safe back with hull skins, which the dear knows was a miracle under the circumstances, that there'd be somethin' pleasant in the shape of a weddin'. Instead of that, everything's gone as crooked as a blind bull arter a butterfly. When I think of it—well,

there, it's no use. [*Crying.*] There was Miss Alice a tryin to forget all the queer shines the old man's been a cuttin' up, and beginnin' to look so pretty and sunshiny again, and the young gentleman was a skippin' around her like a bee round a honeysuckle, when bang comes in old Pap Dearborn and forbids the banns. Oh, dear! when I think of it—well, there, it's no use. [*Cries.*] He says that her father ain't actin' respectable, and that *his* son shan't marry *his* daughter. That is, Pap Dearborn sez *his* son shan't marry our Pap's daughter. Oh, dear, when I think of it—well there, it's no use. [*Cries.*]

Enter RALPH.

Ralph. Jephtha!

Jephtha. Lord! how ye skeered me.

Ralph. Why, did you think it was a certain young Irish gentleman that I saw going round the corner just now?

Jephtha. No, Little Billy's not a gentleman, and I reckon he never will be, but I thought it was young Mrs. Brown, and I wouldn't let her see me cryin' for anythin', for her own sorrows are always a comin' up in big round tears to her eyes, but always driven back again for fear they'd pain her darling, as she calls her.

Ralph. How is she, how is Alice?

Jephtha. Well, if ye want me to say she's pretty well I can't, 'cause it aint so, but she's able to get up to-day for the first time since you see her before.

Ralph. Thank heaven for that. But will she see me?

Jephtha. Well I don't really think she will. You see she's as dutiful as a new preacher, and things is turnin' out worse and worse. The old man's turned out to be a ringleader, and that's somethin' worse than robbin' on the high seas.

Ralph. Why will that rash man bring all this trouble on us?

Jephtha. I don't know. But I *do* know that whatever he does he thinks it's right, and I won't hear nobody speak agin' him. Old pap brought me up, and though I ain't turned out much, it aint no fault of his, for he's a regular church member and talks every bit as smart as the deacon.

Ralph. If Alice would but see me for a moment—

Jephtha. Well don't look so kill-me-quick-ish and I'll go and see. Oh dear, when I think of it—well it's no use— [*Cries and exit.*]

Ralph. I cannot but blame my father who exacts this cruel sacrifice. But if Alice would consent to brave his displeasure for a while—

Enter ALICE.

Alice. Ralph!

Ralph. Alice, dear Alice, how it grieves me to see you suffer thus. Can no argument, no fears for my peace induce you to alter your decision?

Alice. No, dear Ralph. I know all you would urge, but indeed I cannot—dare not accede. You owe a duty to your father which you must obey at any sacrifice, and were I to tempt you from that duty, it would forever stand between us and our happiness. It was to tell you this, and show you how wrong it is for us to meet with such a barrier between us, that brought me to you now.

Ralph. Alice, listen to me.

Alice. I dare not. I could not forego the joy of looking on your dear face once again, but you must leave me now. Strive with all your manly courage

to forget the love you bear me, and try as I shall pray you may do, to forget me. Leave me—farewell—

Ralph. Alice, I will not reproach you for your harsh decision, but may you never know the anguish it has caused me. Farewell forever.

[*Rushes out as JULIA enters.*]

Alice. Ralph—Ralph! oh, it will break my heart.

[*Falls on JULIA's shoulder, who leads her off.*]

SCENE III. *Same room in DEARBORN's house.*

Enter DEARBORN.

Dearb. There really is no accounting for the tastes of the young men of the present day. Here's my son with the coolest indifference renounces in one breath all claim to the hand of my pretty little niece, and her three thousand a year. True, he pleads a prior attachment, but then what do these sentimental attachments amount to with the young men of the present day.

Enter SERVANT.

Servant. Sir, a lady wishes to see you on important business.

Dearb. Show the lady in. [*Exit Servant.*] Really I begin to feel nervous this cannot be—

Enter JULIA and JEPHATH.

Why bless me, this must be the sentimental attachment. Madame are you? am I to suppose—

Julia. I come, sir, on behalf of my sister.

Dearb. [*Aside.*] Oh! the sister to the sentimental attachment.

Julia. Do not imagine I am here at her request—she is far too young and innocent for that—and I am so much older; indeed, stand almost in the light of a mother to her.

Dearb. A mother! dear me, impossible.

Julia. Oh, sir, if you could see her—she, whom your son had chosen for his wife, when all was happy round them—when she gave him her young, pure heart, without a doubt to mar the brightness of the future.

Dearb. Madam, this intercession—

Julia. Oh, sir, do not blame me. Could I, or any one who loved her, see her young head bowed down with sorrow, and make no effort to alleviate it?

Dearb. What would you have me do?

Julia. What do? She was once happy, free—your son came and won her to himself—her heart was his—her happiness, her life—in losing him, she loses all. Restore her her happiness, and with it life and hope.

Dearb. The daughter of a wild fanatic, who has made his name notorious—

Julia. And she, the innocent victim of your pride, is made to suffer for the wrongs of others.

Dearb. I am sorry, very sorry—but I can never consent to a union of my son, to a daughter of that mad—that misguided man.

Julia. Then all is lost, indeed.

[*Exit, followed by JEPHATH.*]

Dearb. Really, this young woman's story, in spite of my naturally strong nerves [*taking out his handkerchief,*] has quite—

Re-enter JEPHA, suddenly.

Jeptha. You thought I was gone, didn't you?

Dearb. [*Starting violently.*] Bless me! young woman.

Jeptha. Reckon you're nervous, aint you? I jest stepped back to give you a piece of my mind, right straight up and down. And to begin, I think you're a great heap more nice than wise. You ain't too good lookin' 'nuther—nor too well dragged up, though you *do* stick it out you be—and Miss Alice, with her sweet face, and pretty ways, aint no more fit to be in the same house with you, than a white dove in a thunderstorm. You won't let your son marry her, 'cause of the boss—but you don't know everything—I aint lived in the family all my life, for nothin'—and if you don't have to give in yet, old fellow, there's no squeakin' in pigs.

Dearb. Really, young woman, this extraordinary conduct—

[*Exit.*]

Jeptha. Well, I guess the old un's heard enough—he hops out like an old bull frog on his hind legs. Well, as I can't be doin' nothin' here, I guess I'd better be a goin' too.

[*Exit.*]

SCENE IV.—*Exterior of Armory at Harper's Ferry.*

Several of BROWN's men stationed as Sentinels—Enter COOK and OLIVER—They sign to Sentinels, and are approaching the entrance, when BROWN appears from within.

Brown. Well, lads, what cheer?

Cook. All right, Captain; all is going on steadily and quietly.

Brown. Yes, the die is cast—and thus far, success attends us. By taking possession of the armory we can supply our forces with such arms as could not be procured elsewhere. Are the reinforcements still coming in?

Cook. I must say, but slowly.

Brown. Do you keep strict watch for the employees of this building?

Oliver. Yes; but I reckon you have them all inside there, close prisoners.

Brown. Is all quiet at the hotel?

Oliver. Yes; but it seems more the quiet of fear than security. The lights are all out.

Brown. Fools! they need not fear if they let us alone. But it was that skirmish on the bridge that scared them. If they send word down by that train, we may yet get hot work.

Cook. We are gathering men from the plantations every minute.

Brown. True; but it all takes time—and until they see something like a force here, they will not rally. Are all who received instructions off to the plantations?

Cook. All that had the word. For my party it lacks an hour.

Brown. Never mind that hour. If you are ready, start. Get every able negro; securing the master to bring here as prisoner. It is important we have men of influence to be held as hostage, in case of an attack.

Cook. You have some big men already, Captain, and if luck aids me I will bring you more.

[*Exit.*]

Brown. Why did I let that train go down? they'll take the news, and if our reinforcements are thus tardy—[*To OLIVER.*] Have you found out who killed that man upon the bridge?

Oliver. No sir, but it was one of our party.

Brown. It was a mad, a ruinous act! It never had my sanction. It would give them an excuse, should our cause fail, to disregard the rules of open warfare, and shoot us down like dogs.

Oliver. Do you think it was well to let that train pass?

Brown. I fear it was an evil stroke of policy—but if it prove so, I've but to thank the sentiment that prompted me, for I swear 'twas one of mercy.

Enter WATSON.

Watson. There is a report of the approach of forces brought on to attack us here.

Brown. How did you learn the rumor?

Watson. Some of our men say they are tight upon us.

Brown. Ah! the telegraph wires have not escaped destruction?

Watson. No!

Brown. And the reinforcements?

Watson. Still come slowly in. Some are lurking in the woods, as if to secure escape.

Brown. Afraid to join us! The coward herd! 'Tis all the effects of letting that train pass down. [*To* OLIVER.] Go you, my lad, and see what you can learn. [*Exit* OLIVER.] Fool that I was, to let such a miserable weakness sway me in the matter!

Enter one of Brown's men.

Man. Well, Captain, the cause looks queer. Troops are already coming up from Charlestown, and I should not wonder but we'll have hot work.

Enter OLIVER.

Oliver. The sentinels at the bridge are already overpowered. There is a great stir at the hotel. I can scarce keep the men at their posts, they fear the armory will be stormed.

Brown. No fear of that while the prisoners are within. They will not fire at risk of killing them. Tell every man to keep his post until the last. Come you, lads, into the building by this door, come all of you. [*Sentinels and men file in.*] If they are coming, we will not be unprepared. They must treat with us to save the prisoners—and if the worst shows us grim death, we will teach them we can face it, and not be killed like dogs.

[Exeunt into armory.]

A noise is heard as of the approach of a body of people. BROWN reappears at entrance, looks around and turns to give orders within.

Brown. Ah! they are upon us; take care of the prisoners. Place them in a position where they may not be injured. Open those doors at back to let in our people, these are no longer safe. Now then, to work, to barricade these doors.

[Retires.]

The noise of barricading is heard within. Shouts increase without. Tramp of Military, who presently appear, preceded by a noisy crowd. Shouts kept up with cries of down with them.

Capt. M. Make an entrance.

[Soldiers attempt to batter in the doors, which do not yield.]

Surrender!

[The door is opened and an aged citizen appears bearing a flag of truce. Do you surrender?]

Voice. [From within.] No, but name conditions.

Capt. M. What are they?

Voice. That we are allowed to take the prisoners with us as a body guard to a stipulated place, and then suffered to go free.

[Cries of no, no, murmuring among the people.]

Capt. M. We cannot grant your terms. Nothing but an unconditional surrender.

[Cries of down with them! Tumult increases. Doors again barricaded. A ladder is procured and used by the soldiers as a battering ram. After repeated efforts the door is burst open. Soldiers rush in. Skirmish. Cries of, Look to the prisoners! OLIVER and WATSON are seen to fall, and BROWN is brought out a prisoner. Shouts.]

SCENE V. *Street.*

Enter STEVENS, marks of blood on his face and clothes, staggering. Looking back as if pursued. Shouts. Enter a body of men, with cries of, Down with him! Shoot him! Sinks exhausted, and in an attitude of despair, begs for mercy. Shouts and hisses. He is thrown from one to the other. Pistols fired. He is wounded. Falls. Partly rising, he drags himself off, followed by mob, shouting.

SCENE VI. *Prison.*

BROWN lying on a cot, holding newspaper.

Brown. Tried—condemned—aye, and executed, if these fellows had their way. But not that yet. How easy it is for them to string a few light words together to sum up the aims and creation of a scheme like this, of which they know so little. Lost! It is not lost. True, our effort failed, and our lives must pay the forfeit, but the cause—the glorious cause—lives yet in the hearts of men who will follow in our foot steps.

Enter JAILOR.

Jailor. Old Man Brown, there are some more gentlemen wish to speak with you; shall I bring them in?

Brown. Yes, let them come in. [Exit JAILOR.] Another lot to see the old wolf in his cage.

Enter REPORTER, CITIZEN and JAILOR.

Reporter. Good day, Mr. Brown; do I disturb you?

Brown. No, sir, I am glad to see you. A New York reporter, I believe? [He bows.] I am always glad to see you gentlemen, for there are so many false reports and misstatements regarding our undertaking, or rather its failure, that I can but look to you to set it right. I know that your superior education and cosmopolitan habits, render you freer from prejudice than most men, and I always look for truth from your hands.

Reporter. I am glad to have your good opinion. But do they make you comfortable here?

Citizen. Comfortable; what does he deserve?

Brown. You are a slaveholder, I suppose? [To citizen.]

Reporter. To what do you accredit your failure, Mr. Brown?

Brown. Entirely to a mistake. To my mistake in letting that train go down.

Citizen. And to Southern chivalry.

Brown. I was unwilling to cause unnecessary suffering, and this is the result.

Citizen. You would not cause unnecessary suffering, but you'd steal niggers.

Reporter. Sir, whoever you may be, allow me to say, I think your remark unwarranted. For there is no occasion when unmerited insult can come from the lips of a gentleman.

Citizen. Oh! I suppose you are a pair of abolitionists together, and as I only came to take a look at the prisoners, I'll leave you. Good day to you both. *[Exit.]*

Brown. I need not tell you that I have a great many such visitors. But I do not take their absurd speeches as any insult, for they do not represent the class they pretend to belong to.

Reporter. I am not sure that I fully understand your object in this movement.

Brown. Whatever is represented to the contrary, believe me, our sole object was to free the slaves, from motives of philanthropy. We look upon ourselves as workers in a great and good cause, to which we have sacrificed our lives. I would have wished it otherwise, but being so, we lay them down freely, and trust that the future will beam on more successful efforts.

Reporter. However I may condemn that cause, or the means taken to uphold it, I can but admire the man, who, *thinking it right*, sacrifices all to it as you have done. Mr. Brown, I would like to converse further with you, but I see it is against the rules, and I would not be the means of curtailing your few privileges. Good bye, I may see you again.

Brown. Good bye, sir, I feel happier for having seen you. *[Exit Reporter and Jailor.]* And so I am to have a visit from a lady. Mrs. Sligo, I know her well by name. It is generous and kind of the good soul to come to me. But I fancy it is not so much the sympathizing woman feeling for one in my desolate position, as the strong minded lady claiming sympathy with the cause. Good soul! she had better leave the cause alone, and claim no sympathy but what her heart teaches. However, I must not be ungrateful for her kindness.

Enter MRS. SLIGO and JAILOR.

Mrs. Sligo. Oh, my poor, dear, persecuted man. I felt all your sufferings, and I thought I could not better aid the noble cause, for which you bleed, than by exerting every influence to get to see you.

[Takes out tablet.]

Brown. Madame, I am truly grateful for your kindness.

[Exit Jailor.]

Mrs. Sligo. *[Writing his words down.]* And you are prepared for the worst? And willing to die a martyr, and all that sort of thing?

Brown. I am willing to follow where the other brave hearts have gone before. I regret the course of events more for others than for myself.

Mrs. Sligo. *[Aside.]* I always said so. What a man, to be sure! He's as calm and collected as if he was not going to be hung, and—and all that sort of thing.

Enter JAILOR.

Jailor. Madam I am sorry, but there is another lady. Prepare yourself, sir, to see—

[*JULIA rushes on and sinks on her knees at the bedside.*

Julia. Father!

Brown. My child, my child.

[*Exit Mrs. Sligo*

Julia. Oh how I have prayed to see you once again.

Brown. Poor child, I thought they would not let you come to me.

Julia. Nor would they until now.

Brown. How ill and pale you look, and yet you found courage to come and comfort the old man in his prison.

Julia. Are you not *his* father? Could I desert you in your hour of peril, and hope to meet his smile?

Brown. Dear child.

Julia. I have seen *them*, too. They whom he loved so well. I have stolen to their graves and wet them with my tears. [*Giving him a leaf.*] I planted this in secret o'er them, and when 'twas done I plucked this tiny spray and brought it to you, that you might see the flower that grows above their grave.

Brown. [*Weeping over it.*] My sons! my sons!

SCENE VII. —A Corridor in the farm.

Enter JEPHTHA.

Jeptha. I wish Miss Julia would come back. I was hardhearted as a crab to send her—but I could not see the gal a pinin' away any more 'an she could—and when I told her I knew what would fetch all square with Pap Dearborn, off she goes to the old man for proofs, for it 'pears what I say aint no use unless it's writ down by somebody else. Here comes Little Billy, lookin' for all the world like a young banty with his feathers flyin'.

Enter LITTLE BILLY.

Little B. Are ye here, me darlint?

Jeptha. Your darlin'. I'd like tew know.

Little B. And aint ye me darlint that's to be Mrs. Billy in two blessed weeks? But what's the matter?

Jeptha. Nothin'.

Little B. Ye aint offended?

Jeptha. No!

Little B. Ye little divil, ye know ye be! And that [*kisses her*] was what's the matter.

Jeptha. You'd orter be more Christianly, and so much trouble in the house.

Little B. [*Wiping his eyes.*] Who's in disthress?

Jeptha. Never you mind, but jest go right to Pap Dearborn and fetch him here. If he asks you what for, tell him there's some things you don't know, and that's one of 'em. The dear knows! this family would all go to tew pot if it warn't for me. [*Exit.*

Little B. That gal's as full of since as a herrin's full of bones. Now I'm to fotch Mr. Dearbones. Well old Dearbone, or chape bone, or whatever yer name is, if ye don't come I'll carry ye. [*Exit.*

SCENE VIII. *Same as Scene I, Act I.**Enter JEPHTHA and RALPH.**Jeptha.* Taint no use I tell ye.*Ralph.* But I am going away for years, perhaps forever.*Jeptha.* Well! taint no use. [*Aside.*] Maybe yer aint goin' as quick as you think.*Enter ALICE, who starts on seeing RALPH.**Alice.* Ralph, you here?*Ralph.* Forgive me, Alice. I will no longer pain you by my presence.*[Going.]**Jeptha.* [*Detaining him.*] Lorkee here—just keep the quarrel up a little longer. I can't explain, but something might turn up.*Enter JULIA. ALICE screams and rushes to her.**Alice.* Dear Julia, you are ill.*Julia.* [*Taking paper from her bosom and forcing it into RALPH's hand.*] Never mind—read—read.*Enter LITTLE BILLY and DEARBORN.**Ralph.* [*Glancing over paper.*] "Alice is not my daughter. Adopted from her birth—proofs to be found—father." Alice—can this be true?*Jeptha.* True? of course it's true. I knew it all the time. Three cheers for General Washington!*Julia.* [*Seeing DEARBORN.*] Thank Heaven! I am not too late. You consent? [*DEARBORN joins their hands.*]*Alice.* Sister, dear sister.*Julia.* Do not grieve for me. I am happy—oh, how happy—for I soon shall be with *him*. Farewell, my sister. Frederick, my husband. I come—I come.*[Dies. ALICE and RALPH join hands in prayer. DEARBORN turns away. JEPHTHA and BILLY weep. Slow music.]*

THE END.

Exploring the Solomon River Valley in 1869

Edited by MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

AMONG the many railway lines projected during the enthusiasm of the 1860's was the Junction City, Solomon Valley and Denver Railroad. Early in September, 1869, a company composed largely of Junction City men was organized, and at the first meeting in October the board of directors elected Robert McBratney¹ president and empowered him "to make such exploration on the proposed route of railway as in his judgment would be necessary and proper."²

In compliance with this order McBratney set out on an exploring trip up the Solomon valley to the western boundary of the state. He was accompanied by U. S. Sen. Edmund G. Ross; B. F. Mudge, professor at the Agricultural College and former state geologist; and Richard Mobley, state agent for the sale of railroad lands. These, with the driver of the ambulance, one cook, and one servant made a party of seven. The outfit consisted of a government ambulance and four mules provided by Gen. J. M. Schofield, one company wagon, one wall tent, and one saddle horse. In addition, Gov. J. M. Harvey ordered 100 state troops to accompany them from the Forks of the Solomon as a protection from the plains Indians. On October 14 they assembled at Solomon City and proceeded up the valley to the Forks, where Senator Ross and Mr. Mobley left the party and returned home. From their start at Solomon City they traveled up the Solomon and its North Fork for almost 140 miles, when a short-

1. Robert McBratney was born January 1, 1818, at Columbus, Ohio. He served a printer's apprenticeship, began the study of law, and in 1842 became part owner of the Xenia *Torchlight*, conducting it as an antislavery Whig paper. In 1848 he moved to Detroit and established the *Peninsular Freeman*, but a fire destroyed his paper in 1852 and he returned to Xenia and the *Torchlight*.

Excitement regarding Kansas led him west, and in 1857 he and S. C. Pomeroy purchased the Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, changing it to a Free-State paper. Here he also practiced law for a time. In 1861 he was appointed register of the land office at Junction City, resigning this office four years later to become presidential elector. He then began the practice of law and thereafter made Junction City his home.

Mr. McBratney was deeply interested in the development of Kansas and was closely identified with the organization of railroads, including the Kansas Pacific; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé; Missouri, Kansas & Texas; the Central Branch of the Union Pacific; and the Junction City & Fort Kearney. His later years were devoted to the development of minerals in southeastern Kansas.

Mr. McBratney was married at Springfield, Ohio, in 1848, to Miss Mary Palmer. They had three daughters. After the death of Mrs. McBratney in 1859 he married Miss Mary E. Harbison of Xenia, Ohio. He died in 1881.

2. The Junction City *Union*, October 16, 1869.

age of provisions, forage and ammunition for the troops compelled them to turn back.

Mr. McBratney and Professor Mudge both wrote letters to eastern Kansas newspapers³ giving most favorable accounts of the resources of the region. These letters were widely read, and while they failed to attract capitalists and railroad builders, as was their object, they did perhaps cause many home seekers to settle there in the following years, and these in turn induced the Union Pacific to extend a branch line through the valley.

Mr. McBratney also kept a diary on the trip in which he gave a detailed account of the movements of the party together with a description of the geological formations, the water resources and the wild life of the country. This journal, which was recorded in a "Receipts" book 5"x7½" bound in red leather, was written in the confusion and bustle of camp and by the fire light. It is here printed verbatim. The original, now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the gift of Charles H. Trott of Junction City.

II. ENTRIES FROM THE DIARY: OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1869

Junction City.—Completed loading team for start. Govt. ambulance reported at 12 A. M. Commissariat hired of Smith & Callen, Robt. Milligan, driver. Hall Cook driver of ambulance.

At 4¼ took train for Salina. Met here B. F. Mudge, Professor of Agricultural College, and for[mer] state geologist, E. G. Ross, U. S. Senator, and R. D. Mobley, who propose to accompany us on the trip.

Solomon City, Oct. 14.—Parties met at Salina last night report here for a start up Solomon. Teams not yet arrived. Visit salt works 2 miles west of S. C. Well 600 ft. Wind mill, thirty vats of 1,000 ft. Salt pure white, but large globules or cubes, ground by steam, 4 to 5,000 bushels on hand. Capital \$25,000, owned by Co. at New Bedford, Mass. One section land.—Manager Charles H. Reed. Met Elder Downer, who lives on Saline river. Thinks R. R. from J. C. to Denver should follow the Solomon river. Teams arrive at 12 A. Start at 2 P. M. Start. Ambulance leading. After one hours drive, find our commissariat wagon falling behind, the light load having four and heavy load but two mules; re-arrange.

Three miles from Sol. cross Buckey[e], a small stream. Ten miles Hard crossing [creek]—fifteen miles reach Sand Creek, & go into

3. Several of McBratney's letters were published in the *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, October 23, 27, November 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1869.

camp. Weather warm evening cool. Soil light alluvial with sand. Bottom $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 miles wide. Timber along river and creeks light.

Oct. 17.—Get rather a late start Sunday and matters not well arranged for expedition. Last night amb. mule very sick. All right this morning. The sleep in the tent last night comfortable. Party in good spirits. Sand Creek on which we are camped (at deserted homestead of Richard Night [Knight])—is a small stream of excellent soft water. In June it was so high as to submerge houses or dug-outs of settlers. Water rose in four minutes to depth of 20 ft.

The Sol. has improved most decidedly—both in width, soil, timber &c. since leaving mouth. Camp visited last night by Geo. & And. Ingersoll. This morning by Mr. John Night [Knight] a veteran pioneer, who presented us with two sacks potatoes for the trip.

12 o'clock reach Lindsey. [Candidate] Co. se[a]t Ottawa. situated, on high bot. pretty sight. Meet W. W. Lambert, Dr. Stewart, Mr. McKee, Simpson, R. Night, Mr. Waddell & others. Also Lt. Tucker of Co. C, 2d Bat. State troops, who is to accompany us.

2 o'clock, reach Minneapolis, four miles further. Met Mr. Smith who thinks he will overtake us on Tuesday and go with us. Bluff near the river. A flour and saw mill run by water of Solomon. Crossed Lindsey Creek at Lindsey and Pipe Creek at Minneapolis—Both well timbered. Pipe creek runs nearly parallel with the river for a long distance. Uplands undulating, sandy but fertile and very beautiful.

3 o'clock, met Mr. Johnson, messenger from Governor's office who had been out to get our escort ready and Mr. Wright of Junction City. Mr. J. had promised to accompany us, but gave it up.

At sundown went into camp on the river, south west of road, on Kelly claim & in abandoned cabin. Weather not so warm as yesterday. Evening bright moonlight.

Oct 18.—This morning cloudy and threatening rain. Cool. Yesterday met several soldiers who are to go in our escort. This morning several more have reported. They all want to be with us.

Breakfast late. Got off at $8\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock. Three miles from camp Yockey Creek and Delphos P. O. Mailed letters here. P. M. doubtful about Senator Ross' franks sufficient to pass letters through the mail. Examine here a mound, which was a curiosity, on account of remains of crockery ware found in it. Ware burned, but few specimens could be had at all perfect. Saw here the first beaver and rackoon. Beaver dams frequent along the river and creeks.

At noon reached camp of Capt. Dalrymple on Fisher Creek.⁴ As we are one day ahead of time, concluded to go into camp, one of our mules being very lame, & the day being very raw and windy. At our camp are two very salt springs coming out on opposite sides of river. After dinner Prof. M. visited water fall four mile from camp said to be underlaid with blue lime. Found it light sand rock. Water power very fine and easy to improve.

Day very disagreeable. Find officers and men ready for expedition. Are unable however to find any one who has been over 30 miles beyond the forks of Solomon. Opinions differ as to which branch of Sol. best and most direct for Denver. Unable too to get any definite idea of courses or distances. Met at camp Capt. Snyder & Capt. Potts, both of whom have resided in neighborhood of our camp for past three years—both are of the Union volunteers. Capt. Dalrymple promises us an escort of 12 men to the forks of Solomon.

Oct. 19.—Last night cold. This morning just before day, set into snowing hard. Wind still blowing. Early start proposed deferred. At 8 o'clock got under way. Lame mule better. Eight miles from Dalrymple reached Asher creek, residence of Capt. Reese. Promise them extension of mail route and P. O. T[w]o miles from Asher Cr. visit camp of G troop Seventh Cav. U. S. A., Lt. Law commanding. Senator arranges for a horse and escort to go with him to Republican & across to the Saline

Four miles further reach Plumb Cr. and camp of Capt. W. A. Wincell [Winsell] of State troops.⁵ Our escort to this point ten men under Corporal Lyon who continue with us to Forks of Solomon.

Found Capt Wincell expecting us. He has orders to go with us as far as W. line of state with forty men & two wagons. He is afraid he will be unable to carry enough forage. We determine to engage another wagon. We also determine to reduce our load. Beyond the forks our Co. will be reduced to Prof. M. & self. The road today bad, the snow balling on hoofs. Reached this point at 1½. Found Capt. Wincell on hand and ready for the expedition with thirty men. Encamped for the night.

Oct. 20.—Last night very cold. This morning cool but pleasant. Bo't 16 bushels corn at 75 cts. Employed Richards, a hunter going to the forks to haul half of it that far. Got off at 8 o'clock. Our cavalcade of 40 men and eight wagons (including three hunters) make quite a formidable appearance. Reached Mulberry, 4 miles in one hour. Banks steep. Had to attach lariat and put on 20 men to

4. Near the present town of Glasco in Cloud county.

5. Camp was approximately three miles southeast of present Beloit in Mitchell county.

haul up wagons. 2 miles further on reached Brown's Cr. & had to repeat operation. Both Crs. finely wooded & watered. Nooned on Brown after crossing. Water excellent. 8 miles further Limestone Cr. After crossing pass over up-land for two miles and strike into the Wacanda bottom which we keep to Forks. On high land tested depth of soil. Dug 20 inches on highest point without reaching subsoil or getting below roots of grass. Bottoms from Plumb Cr. to Forks widest yet seen. Average width about six miles. Soil black loam. Generally covered with prairie grass. West bank of bluff, shell or fossiliferous lime—fossils very plentiful and very distinct.

Neglected to say Capt. Wincell failed to accompany us on account of sudden sickness of his wife. Supplied her with medicines and jellies. Detachment of troops in charge of Lt. Beecock [Joseph Beecock].

Reached Waconda or Solomon Forks at 4 P. M. Found here Capt. Stanfield from Republican and Lt. Whitney from Saline each with detachment of 30 men to accompany us. Called council of war. Find men provided with rations for 15 days, but short in forage and ammunition. Whole force 89 men, rank and file and about 15 other persons, including our party teamsters and scouts. Concluded to reduce the force fifteen and divide their ammunition and provisions among others. Officers think we will be apt to find Indians, & do not think it safe to go into the country with less men. Fix time for starting at 1 P. M. tomorrow.

Oct. 21.—At eight started with our regular party to visit the land in the forks of the Sol. Found the conformation very much as it is at Junction City except that the second bench is higher, & the hills back not so high. Saw lands next to both rivers. Soil good. All concluded it a nice place for a town. Off to the N. comes in Oak Cr. and to the S. W. another fine and wooded Cr. the name of which we have not heard.

Taken in connection with the creeks crossed yesterday, & the tributaries above in connection with the heads of tributaries of the Saline and Repub. this is as fine a centre as any in the state and were there a military post here, as there should be, it would go far to defending the whole of this part of the State, & in a short time would grow up around it a settlement that would defend itself.

Crossed the S. B. of S. and struck out for the Waconda or great spirit spring of the Indians, which is about four miles below the forks. Three miles below camp crossed the main Sol. and have thus

crossed all the branches. Find about the same amt. of water in all, that is a stream about 50 ft. wide and from two to three feet deep, at this its dryest. Water clear and pure, & excellent for drinking.

About a mile from our last crossing found the spring. The river approaching in S. E. direction makes a sudden bend to the east & after a sweep of about three and a half miles returns to its course. The sp. is situate in the bend. The land on which we approach is high prairie. The top of the spring is on a level with the surface of the prairie. East of the spring the ground falls off thirty to forty feet. The basin of the spring is a natural mound, composed of lime and sandy shale in place, or in thin and irregular stratification the form being an irregular ellipse about three hundred feet from east to west by four hundred and fifty from N. to S. The thickness of the rock being from twenty five to thirty feet. The sp. rises in the center of this stone basin, is circular in form and thirty feet in diameter. Its depth is uncertain, as it seems to be filled up with dirt and rubbish. At the time of our visit, the bowl was even full and running over on the east side. Depth as far as we could judge 10 ft. The water is strong salt with slight taste of lime. Basin surrounded by a ditch 50 to 75 feet wide, 20 to 25 ft. deep to bottom of mound.

Returned to camp at 11. As men were strangers to each other and to officers, and needed organizing and drilling together, concluded to defer starting till morning. After dinner Senator Ross put men thro' cavalry drill for an hour & then made short speech explaining objects of exploration, the necessity of subordination, the dangers & privations to be expected and the advantages of R. R. Writer also made short speech. Orders by Capt. Stanfield for all to be ready to move out by 7 o'clock in morning as forces would move breakfast or no breakfast.

At sundown a strong cold wind sprang up from the north, but at this time 9 P. M. it has moderated.

This morning Mobley and Lt. Tucker examined two creeks of S. F. One⁶ coming in from S. two miles from W. with a fine stone quarry half mile. Half mile below Cr. good water power. Water in creek stopped by Beaver dams. Cr. well timbered with hard timber, and growing better up. Width of bottom $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, water good. The other Cr. 3 miles from W. below. Examined Cr. for six to seven mile. Running water. Bottom $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide—hard & soft wood. Bet. Cr. good rolling pr[airie] with lime stone and pools of

6. Probably Carr or Carl creek.

water. This after[noon] Prof. M. and Mobley examined Oak Cr. for seven to 9 miles. Find it nearly as large as a Br. of Solomon, with bottom $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Well wooded with hard wood. Gooseberry, plumbs and grapes. Three branches, all wooded, with good bottoms. Upland rich loam. Ascent gradual. Rock 8 m up.—lime. Water of Cr. running, but not strong. Also ponds supplied with stock water.

Oct. 22. 5 A. M.—All hands up this morning at 4 prepare to forward movement, but O. Phoebus, a strong norther blowing filled with snow, that fairly stings the face.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock.—Have sent word to Capt. to suspend execution of order to move at 7. Breakfast under difficulties at 6. Invited Capt. to make tent headquarters, and advised him to organize his battalion by detailing men for adjutant, wagon master, and scouts. Agreed to. Lt. Tucker Co. C, appt. adj. Private Deland wagon master, and privates Newton & Garrison Company A, L. Taggart and Street Co. D, and Hanniwalt and Swallow designated as Scouts. Genl. order No. 1 designating headquarters, appointing adj. &c. defining order of march, guard mount &c issued, also sp. order No. 1, & Sp. Field Order No. 1 appt scouts. Hour of guard mount fixed at 5 P. M.

At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9, the storm having moderated, Senator Ross and Com. Mobley mount for a return to the settlements under Sergeant Lyon and a detail of five men from Capt. Dalrymple's troops. We part with them with regret. As soon as they were gone, the order was given to take up line of march in $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour or at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock.

The snow had ceased falling and the men obeyed the order with alacrity. Crossed N. B. of S. at the proposed town site, at a good crossing and moved up the stream. We followed the valley for two miles, & then took the uplands by a gentle ascent of perhaps twenty feet. The prairie is gently rolling, and smooth for wagon. At three and a half miles crossed a ravine which had cut thro' the stratum of shell rock which we have noticed since passing the sand stone belt. The technical designation given this rock is inoceramus, that animal being the principal one found in the formation.

Soon after reaching the prairie the snow storm re-commenced, with almost blinding fury. Suggested to Capt. that on account of the men, who are badly provided with clothing, that we get into camp as soon as possible. At twelve o'clock got into camp, in timber of Solomon, wood, water and grass convenient.

Oct. 23. C[am]p Stanfield.—Last night very cold ice in bucket one inch. Good deal of noise and disorder in camp last night. Too

much shooting yesterday, as none of the men started with over 30 rounds. Capt. with us last night. In bed at 7½ and not up till called for breakfast. At my request he issued this morning Gen. Ord. No. 2, admonishing men that we are upon dangerous ground and exhorting to vigilance. Prohibiting shooting on march or in camp except by order or in case of attack—requiring horses to be brought into camp lines at 8, and perfect quiet by 9—at taps. Our camp last night as near as I can make out by Colton's map, was in S. 30, T. 6, R. 11 W.⁷ Before leaving home I ordered from the land office a plat of the surveys along the N. B. of S. but on opening it on reaching the river found the plat for S. B.

Got off this morning at 7 A. M. Followed up the bottom in a westerly course, with an inclination to the North. After traveling some ten miles found our wagons some four miles in the rear and column moving without rear guard. Protested to the Capt. against such an arrangement. Waited for train to come up, & put guard in rear. Order of march stragling, column stretched out from two to five miles. Delayed at a small Cr. in getting our wagons over. Advance marched on getting two miles ahead, when turned into a bend of the river to camp leaving the ambulance to pass on. Had to turn back. Two men sick; took them in ambulance. For first ten miles—made by 11—very cold. At 12 moderated, snow melting and balling.

Our trail since starting, up a rich smooth high bottom; from two and a half to three miles wide. Six miles from Waconda there is a succession of small hills, fifty to sixty feet above the prairie, and very much broken or cut up, present themselves to the left. The severe weather prevented us leaving the column to examine the plains back of these hills; but as the buffalo keep in them, only crossing the bottom to get to the river, we conclude there is a soil there that will produce what will sustain animal life. For the past four days we have found the bottoms marked and considerably cut up by buffalo paths from the highland to the prairies. Sometimes these paths are within ten to twelve feet of each other. They resemble wagon ruts, except that they are wider, usually being from ten inches to a foot and two to three inches below the surface. They give quite a jolt on crossing. To-day we have seen several thousand buffalo, grazing near or upon the highlands on both sides of the river. As our men are forbidden to shoot, they are not disturbed. They are generally males, the patriarchs of the herds which we know

7. About two miles west of the present town of Downs in Osborne county.

are grazing in the uplands. They are kinds of outposts who give the herd notice of the approach of danger. Imposing as think our cavalcade, it does not appear to disturb these wild cattle. Occasionally a squad of them will, after staring at us for a short time, gallop leisurely off to a short distance, then stop, take another look and resume their feeding.

At two o'clock, went into camp, as near as I can make out on Sec 3, T 5, R. 14 W.⁸ Distance to-day about 18 miles. Below us some four miles, come in Crs of considerable size. We are only about four miles below the mouth of Middle fork of S. The prevailing surface rock is still lime, but of a different character, and several kinds. Among them are found nodules, resembling maple sugar, caked in the dirt, specimens of the magnetian found at Junction City, but more buff, and their strattas of a darker hue, from which hydraulic cement lime is made. On this side occurs but three small Crs. to Waconda. More have presented themselves from the other side, to avoid crossing which, we chose this side the river.

Bow Cr. C[am]p Oct. 24.—Last night cool but pleasant. Capt. retired at 7½ and slept soundly till called for breakfast. Had done same night before. He is proving himself an able sleeper. He allows the camp to take care of itself. Guard out all night and awake. Went round to see. Gave the Capt. rather severe reprimand for leaving ambulance and train three to four miles. Required him to halt the column, at different crossings, & to use the men in getting wagons over.

Rolled out at 8 A. M. This being Sunday tho't it best to give the men an extra hour. Crossed the Solomon about one mile from Camp, at a very good crossing. Struck out on a magnificent bottom, at least six miles. A creek came into the river a mile below where we crossed and another just above. A mile or two after crossing, including the river we had four wooded streams in view. We passed for some distance between two of these Cr. crossing the upper, after which we passed for near ten miles over as fine a bottom as we have seen since starting. Its average width was full six miles, with a gradual swell to the up[lands]. Both the prairie and the uplands are rich black soil, at one place where we used the spade, on bottom found the soil rich vegetable mould to the depth of 20 inches, with a subsoil of light clay, very dry and hard. Our course to-day as for the past three days has been over the prairie grass, with occasional bunch grass, in the lower bottoms. The sod seems to be

⁸. Approximately three miles from the present town of Gaylord.

very firm and hard, the hoofs of 60 men in front of us making no impression perceptible to ordinary eyes, and our ambulance making frequently no track. Our distance to-day has been only about 15 miles. During the day we have seen more timber than any day since starting. Some five miles from camp our route brought us to the bank of the Solomon, where we noticed a low valley, on the other side, half a mile wide and reaching to our present camp, very well wooded, with cottonwood, pin oak, elm and ash. On one of the creeks we found very nice sweet grapes. Before going into our present camp we passed from the higher into the lower bottom, in crossing which we noticed patches of sand plums. From the north side we had sight of a stream which we took to be Middle Fork⁹ of Solomon. If it was so we have no desire to explore it. Our reason for supposing it S. F. was that it made a larger opening in the highlands than any other that we noticed, & the opening appeared to be filled with trees, the tops of which were far below the bluffs on both banks. From the North side for a greater portion of the distance, today, the highlands appear to come almost up to the south bank of the river, and were more rugged than any we have before noticed. We noticed also that these bluffs were frequently broken by ravines some of which were timbered for short distances, and on some of them we thought we saw cedar—we were the more disposed to think so from the fact that on one or two of the short creeks or ravines of this side, some of which had attained a growth of twenty to twenty-five feet.

We have passed out of the salt basin. The water of the Solmon and its tributary is clear, pure and hard, and known as limestone.

On the creeks we were obliged to dig, and to use the lariats in letting down [and] pulling up the wagons. The creeks have cut down their beds to 25 to 30 feet through the loamy soil, their bottoms were narrow and their sides steep. But for the cuts down their sides made by the buffalo & the wearing of rains, it would have been impossible to have crossed them, even with the aid of the strong and willing hands of the troops.

Our camp to-night is just above Bow Creek, in T. 5, R. 17 W.¹⁰ This is the only creek, the name of which we could learn. It is not large, but has a fair valley.

The day has been pleasant. Our camp is on the S. West side of the river. The grass is scarce, the buffalo having kept it grazed down short. This is hard on the animals of the troops, as the ex-

9. Modern maps do not mention Middle fork.

10. In the vicinity of Kirwin, Phillips county.

pedition is woefully short of corn. Our train now consists of 77 men and seven wagons, two of which are 4-horse. One team horse was taken sick last night, & this morning got into the river and was unable to get out, and so was shot to put him out of his misery. One team and three men left this morning to return to Fort Sibley.¹¹

Our scouts this evening report fresh Indian signs north of the river. The hunters remark it as a strange coincidence that all the buffalo seen are heading north. We have seen but few to-day—not over 100. Several have been shot, some distance from the trail, but none of the meat has been brought to camp. Several turkeys, as usual have been killed. To-day one of our men killed a bird of a strange specie to us all, of bright black and green plumage, tufted head & long tail feathers. Its voice was represented as like that of the magpie. Another of the men picked up a large pelican on the prairie, supposed to have been shot by Indians within the last 24 hours. It is a beautiful specimen, and large, measuring full eight feet from tip to tip of wings. Its bill to back of head measuring about 15 inches, and its pouch of the capacity of two to three quarts. One wing and bill appropriated by the Professor, the other wing by myself and the breast feather by Hall, our cook.

Since the foregoing was written, the buffalo have fairly swarmed about our camp. More than a dozen have been killed & the camp is well supplied with meat. Our mess have a pair of hams of a yearling heifer.

Since camping have visited the uplands, and have found the magnetian limestone fifteen [feet] thick, one layer being over four feet. This stone is white with a slight tinge of buff. It is ahead of the Junction stone. Also a stratum of white impure limestone, or a species of hard chalk. This stratum is irregular, but of about 20 ft. thickness.

From the uplands the view is splendid; several finely timbered Cr. coming toward the river as far as the eye can reach; the ground is nearly level, and a fair soil—as fair as any lands east of the Republican.

To-day we have seen more timber than any day since starting; and in sight from the uplands and within a radius of ten miles there is more good timber than can be seen from any other point on the river.

A few miles below our present camp we passed through a last year Indian camp, covering more than a half section of land. It is

11. Located on Lake Sibley in Cloud county. Fort Sibley was a military camp established about 1867 for defense against Indians.

equal to the accommodation of at least 2,000 Indians. We picked up several relicks, but none of much interest.

Three of our men out on a scout towards the Middle Branch, (about eight miles south) ran upon a herd of ten horses, running loose upon the prairie.

Camp Retreat¹² Oct. 26.—Left camp this morning at 8, recrossed river on to the high bottom, when limestone cliffs in hills came into view. Pr[airie] Broad 4 to 6 mi. wide and course straight & no obstruction for 10 miles. Uplands, both sides, very level & land rich. Buffalo numerous men in chase and 7 gray wolves try it & fail from shouting of men. Strike an old trail soon after leaving camp & follow all day. Trail overgrown. Pull up Creek bottom changes to south side. We pass over a point of high land one mile & again strike bot. Go into camp in woods on river seventeen miles. Our camp 5 miles west of Hays. Horses starving grass poor men out of rations Determine to turn back in morning. It is literally out of the question to go on. The grass is all eaten off by the buffalo, & some of the horses have had no corn for three days. We find that we made a fatal mistake to our enterprise in relying on the state troops for escort. However well they may do to watch neighborhoods, they are unfit for a march or a prolonged military effort. The men regard their employment a farce, & they show little respect for officers or others. Besides the officers are very like the men, untrained for their duties and accepting them simply as a bridge over some financial or other difficulty. The duties that the militia are expected to perform is one that ought to be performed by the army of the U. S. and it is to be hoped that our public men will see to it that the duty is strictly performed.

Camp Whitney¹³ Oct. 27.—Got out of camp on retreat at 8¼. Reached Saurian Cr. seven miles, in two hours. Whilst train getting over Cr. we visit Saurian Point half a mile north of the road. The Prof. was after shells & was very successful. One new shell found by him, belonging to the oyster family, shows that it has been fully 12x15 inches. It was found in chalk formation. The outside of this large shell is covered by smaller shells, apparently barnacles. Another of the same shell seen by him imbedded in a stone which he was unable to remove or get away, he estimated to be 2½x2½ feet. But the discovery of the greatest interest to the professor was that of the vertebra of some animal the species of which he could

12. About four miles east of present town of Logan, Phillips county.

13. About three miles southwest of Kirwin.

not determine, but believed it to belong to the Saurian family—the nearest living representative is the alligator. This was found in the lower part of the chalky formation, at least fifty feet below the top of the cliff of chalk rock. In this formation, he also secured a very large number of fossils which must prove of great interest to science. But I shall leave him to tell his own story in relation to the rocks, shells, &c of this interesting country. The time consumed in examining these relics of a past world consumed a couple of hours, during which time our train was moving on. But as we had with us a small guard, we felt no uneasiness, though we tho't it prudent to keep a lookout for Indians.

The professor desires that the creek be called Salurian Creek, and the point from which he collected his shells &c. be called Salurian Point.

A rapid ride of an hour took us across 10 mile Prairie. At the lower end of this Prairie the bluffs close down upon the river, requiring that the road should cross the stream. At the lower end of the prairie, we found Capt. Stanfield and his company halted taking a noon meal. They had concluded to leave us here, & to strike over to the Republican, and follow it to their post at White Rock. We bid them good bye & proceeded on, crossing the river three times passing our Bow Cr. Camp & the mouth of Bow Creek, and camping on the river 20 miles from our starting point this morning. In the timber of Solomon and Bow Cr. we find the wild turkey almost as numerous as the buffalo on the Prairie. Before we had been in camp an hour as many as 20 turkeys had been brought in—six by Lieut. Marshall of Co. A, who also br't in one black tailed deer, and wounded another.

The command of our escort devolves upon 1st Lieut. C. B. Whitney of Co. A, who takes the place of Capt. Stanfield in our mess.

Camp Lawrence, South Branch Solomon, Thursday Oct 28, 1869.—Camp quiet last night. Concluded, as the weather was pleasant, to drive over to South Fork of S. and go back to Forks by that Br[anch]. So, here we are. Prof. & self made the trip on horse back moving down N. B. on S. side three miles and then crossing the line of march of column, & striking the S. B. some five miles above our present camp.¹⁴ Our object was to see the character of the soil and topography of the land between the two streams. It is quite as level as we expected and the soil rich. Stone plenty and convenient. No wood or running water after getting one mile from

14. Near the present town of Alton.

the river, on the route we travelled. The distance between the two streams at this point is about 18 miles.¹⁵ But as our course was southeast and along the divides the distance travelled by the column was full twenty-two miles. The distance ridden by Prof. M. & self over 30 miles. The hills were nearly covered with buffalo. We have seen more of them today than altogether. Saw also deer, elk and antelope. Also gray wolves thousands of prairie dogs, coyotes, and sage hens. We find the grass much more abundant, which explains the comparative scarcity on the bottoms. In a canon of the N. B. we found the cliff of magnetian limestone full 35 ft. This was as far as we could see for the debris at the foot. The Prof. calls it the Ft. Hays stone. It is the best building stone in the state.

We struck the river at 12 M. Found it very much larger stream than the N. B. & running three times as much water. The bottom however is not so wide, not being over two to 2½ miles wide. Timber not so plenty so far. The distance from our present camp about forty miles, as we estimate it, but as we are not certain where we are it may be further.

To-day the men have enjoyed their propensity for slaughter, and have left no less than 10,000 lbs of beef on the prairie. Lieut. Marshall brought in a piece of a 3 year old cow, the fattest we have seen. In any market it would pass for stall fed beef. Our camp is on the S. B. bank. The buffalo are swarming about it.

Camp Marshall,¹⁶ Oct. 28.—As we made it our camp of last night was 36 miles from the Forks. Our present camp is in T. 7, R. 13, or 15 miles from the Forks.

In a ride of 15 miles on the South side of the S. F. have had a good opportunity to see the creeks, wood and water & the bottom and upland soil of this branch of Solomon. Magnificent country—the very finest in the state taking the two branches together. Bottom 6 to 7 miles wide & rising to rolling uplands so gradual as to make it difficult to say where the bottom ends and uplands begin. Soil deep rich loam. Dug to depth of 30 inches without getting through. A majority of our party think this is the best valley of the two. Prof. M. & self do not agree in this. The width of bottom of N. F. greater, more timber and good rock convenient. On this B. timber of better growth, more water in river.

In crossing from N. to S. B. failed to find Middle Branch as laid down in Colton's map. We think it comes in 50 miles from Forks.

Peculiarity of this stream, its straightness. From R. 6 W. to R.

15. Nearer twelve miles.

16. Near present Osborne.

23, in T. 7 or 100 miles not varying at any time more than 6 miles from due east course. No other stream in the state so straight.

This has been another fine day, and & another of slaughter among Buffalo and turkeys. A Mr. Phillips of Lt. Becock's Co., shot four on line of march, & a halt of an hour to secure the meat.

Since coming into camp Mr. P. has shot two others the horns of one which he presented Prof. & self to be carried home. He took out 30 lbs. of tallow which he was unable to bring in, & has left it for morning, leaving one of his socks with it to keep off wolves, said to be a sure remedy.

Camp Becock, Oct. 29, 1869.—Camp astir early this morning. Mr. Phillips went out for his tallow and found it all safe. He also brought in hams of another buffalo.

Rolled out at 7½ o'clock. As we were within an easy half day's march [of the] Forks, the block house & safety, the men were loose in their movements, & some who have not ventured to leave the column for a week, are off for a hunt, & it is difficult to keep up any regular order in the movement of the column.

Soon after leaving camp, left the line of march, with Bob to have a little hunt on the highlands between the rivers. On getting out of bottom found our camp of last night was not over four miles from N. B. The lands between very beautiful undulating prairie, & as rich as the bottom. Found plenty of buffalo, & a rough ride and several shots, only damaged a couple however both of which [ran] off.

Followed the divide down to the Forks. Train had gotten ahead of us, it having travelled only about 14 miles, whilst we have ridden at least 20, most of it a perfect steep chase.

On overhauling train found that Co. of Lt. Whitney had turned off for the Saline, which they expect to reach to-morrow. Command of escort now devolves on Lieut. Becock. At 12 M. left the Forks on down and return trip. Some of men turned off to visit spirit springs, & after doing continued down river sending a herd of several hundred buffalo directly across our line of march. An exciting chase and shooting, but no meat. At 1½ went into camp on Limestone, a very fine creek and well wooded. Grass in last camp & this plentiful.

Limestone Cr. Cp.,¹⁷ Oct. 31.—Up at 5. As the State troops are stationed on Republican, Solomon & Saline and Smoky, find our escort dwindled down to a few men, and as we had reached what we

17. About one mile east of the present town of Glen Elder.

regarded as safe country, dismissed the remainder, determined to make our way to R. R. alone, leaving one commissary wagon to follow at their leisure. Reached Fisher's Creek and encamped on farm of Capt. Snyder who has been settled here over a year. Here found corn for our animals, which had been without it for several days, and were much reduced in consequence. In the evening camp visited by Cpts. Snyder and Potts, both of whom complained that the Sol. Val. had been neglected, and emigrants turned to other valleys not so valuable, greatly to their damage. Were confident that unless settlers could be induced to come in and take up the lands, the few now in the valley would be driven out by Indians. Tried to encourage them by assurances, that since our expedition had gone out we had written letters to papers east that would make known the merits of the valley, and whether a R. R. was built or not the notoriety that we would give to the valley would insure its rapid settlement. They are both favorable to a R. R. and think that with one, the Sol. in a few years would contain a population of 100,000. The great draw-backs to the valley are the incursions of the bloody and merciless Cheyennes, Arapahoes, the Brule and Ogallal Sioux. The first of these are located South of the Arkansas & the latter north of the Platte, on reservations. But the Government is unable to confine them to their Reservations, to protect settlers from their marauding expeditions, or indemnify the whites against their losses as promised by the intercourse act of 1832. During the past 10 years there have been witnessed in this valley and the val. of the Rep. Saline & Smoky, many tragic and bloody scenes, the loss of many lives, and the destruction of much property. But all appeals of pioneers to the General Government for protection or redress from the Ind. revenues have thus far been unheeded.

Nov. 1.—Left Camp this A. M. and passing through Minneapolis and Lindsey reached our camping ground on Sand Creek before Sundown. This is Sunday and is a calm and beautiful autumn day. The people of Lindsey and Minneapolis seem to be entirely absorbed in the question of the county seat (Ottawa Co.) and local politics. They are indifferent about R. R. contenting themselves with a very earnest conviction that the Solomon is a natural route for a R. R. and that some day the cars will come along without any effort of theirs to bring them.

Our old friend Knight again tendered us the hospitality of his roof and farm, & we were glad to avail ourself of his fresh vegetables and eggs.

Since leaving camp this morning we have passed a number of settlements or colonies of Squatters, outside the villages named, nearly all of which are surrounded by stockades, or logs set on end in the ground, as protection against attacks of Indians. The Knights, although they have resided here for more than ten years, do not deem it safe to dispense with these means of defense, and the experience of the past twelve months justifies their caution.

For the past ten years, or since 1859, the settlements up the Sol. have not advanced, practically, five miles. The dread of the Indian has blocked the progress of civilization.

One snort of the iron horse in this valley would do more to people the wilderness we have traversed, than an army with banners.

Going out, as the land from mouth of Solomon to Fisher Creek was pretty well known we did not examine the valley as we have to-day. That portion of it lying within the limits named, is equal to any other portion of it. In some places, the valley is full fifteen miles wide, of rich alluvial soil, intermixed with sand, and some day will not be excelled in the production of crops adapted to the State.

Sand Creek,¹⁸ Nov. 2.—To-morrow is the day fixed for the State election, and the civilians of our camp are anxious to reach home to vote. So we take an early start for the K. P. road at Sol. City. The road follows the valley, and is quite Sandy, but the fields appear to have produced good crops. From Minneapolis to Solo. City the valley is tolerably well settled, but most of the uplands are unoccupied.

We reached Sol. City at noon & loading our tent traps, boxes of specimens, curiosities &c on the cars, start our ambulance and wagon for home empty, take the cars ourselves and by evening are with our families, the professor at Manhattan, the writer at Junction City.

18. Near the present town of Bennington, Ottawa county.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 20, 1936.

E. E. Kelley, president of the Society, was unable to attend the meeting because of illness, and E. A. Austin, vice-president, was called out of the state because of the death of a brother. In their absence Thomas A. McNeal presided at the morning meeting of directors and T. M. Lillard presided at the afternoon meetings.

Mr. McNeal called the meeting to order at 10 a. m. The first business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1936

The past year has in many respects been the busiest in the history of the Society. The political campaign with Gov. Alfred M. Landon as Republican candidate for President has turned the attention of the nation to Kansas. Research men and writers of both parties have made constant use of our records, particularly the newspaper files. Every source of information relating to the governor's past life has been gone over with a fine-tooth comb, beginning with the Independence newspapers, continuing through University of Kansas publications and including the voluminous reports of his later political career. Among the by-products of this investigation have been a number of books, scores of magazine articles and countless newspaper stories. It has been impossible of course for the Society to attempt to secure copies of newspaper articles, but books and magazine stories are being filed. Subscriptions to all weekly magazines and special orders for issues of other magazines enable the Society to keep abreast of this flood of publicity.

The state has been put under the microscope along with its governor. Not since the days of "bleeding Kansas" have we been subjected to so close an inspection; not even Populism and Peffer nor Prohibition and St. John focused such a minute examination. The Historical Society has been the laboratory for much of this research, and a great deal of what has been written, spoken and broadcast about the state in recent months originated in our records.

In addition to these duties, the staff has had to supervise the work of twenty-five W. P. A. and N. Y. A. helpers, as well as to assist researchers from the Federal Writers' project, the State Historical Records Survey and other similar projects. The study of local history was featured by many schools in small towns and rural communities, who wrote for detailed historical data about their towns and communities. The members of the staff have been kept busy on these tasks and much that should have been done in cataloging and organizing books and other collections was postponed.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The death of Dr. F. H. Hodder last December, only two months after he was elected president, deprived the Society of the leadership of one of the state's few truly great historical scholars. Dr. James C. Malin's fine appreciation of Dr. Hodder's career, which appeared in the *Quarterly*, speaks for all who knew him, but the secretary wishes to express here his personal indebtedness to Dr. Hodder for the many occasions when his counsel and sympathetic understanding were invaluable.

Dr. Hodder appointed Robert C. Rankin and Chester Woodward on the executive committee and reappointed Thomas Amory Lee, the members holding over being Judge John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard. The committee met regularly except during the summer months, advice of the members was sought in all matters of consequence, and in accordance with the constitution and by-laws they have approved all expenditures.

APPROPRIATIONS

Appropriation requests which will go before the next legislature were filed with the budget director the first of October. Upon the advice of the executive committee it was asked that all salaries be restored to the amounts received before the salary cuts of 1933. Two new clerks are requested, as well as a number of catalogue cases and a new newspaper filing rack.

FEDERAL PROJECTS

Application for a new project to supplant last year's K. E. R. C. work program was submitted to the Works Progress Administration, August 24, 1935. It was not finally approved for several months, the first workers arriving on January 21, 1936. Within a thirty-day period the full quota of fourteen had reported. These were assigned and classified as research workers, typists, assistant museum curator, book and map mender, and library helpers. As under the K. E. R. C. project requests for trained librarians and a taxidermist could not be filled. Pursuant to the instruction of a W. P. A. official the Society applied for a project to run ten months. The federal government was to spend \$8,900 in salaries and it was estimated that the Society would contribute \$210 for working materials. From January 21 to October 5, the government's contribution totalled \$5,850.90. The Society's expenditure for the same period was approximately \$200. Employees under this project work sixteen days per calendar month.

Late in 1935 the Society was asked by officials of the National Youth Administration to place as many of its clients as possible in a work project. Since the status of our W. P. A. application was unknown at that time it was tentatively agreed that eighteen of these young persons could be employed. With the actual commencement of the W. P. A. project, our N. Y. A. application was scaled to nine, and work was begun January 29, 1936, with each worker receiving six days' work monthly. The federal government has contributed to date approximately \$1,300 in salaries for the operation of this project.

Washburn college, through the courtesy of Pres. Philip C. King, permitted the Society to use two Washburn students from their project part time during the past winter.

Workers under these projects have been employed in all departments. Typists have copied indexes of the seventeen volumes of *The Kansas Historical*

Collections. This was begun under a former work project and is a preliminary step necessary to the preparation of a general index to the series. Other workers have wrapped and tied about five thousand duplicate volumes of the *Collections* and *Quarterly*, preserving them from damage. Another worker has checked all the Society's office equipment, mending and gluing pieces where necessary. Other work accomplished through government aid is described in this report in more detail under the department headings.

Except for the unexpected tabling of our request either here or in Washington for the five months between the dates of the W. P. A. project application and actual commencement of the work, we have had good coöperation on the part of both the state and first district administrative officials. When a state-wide personnel cut was made in May, with the Society's project scheduled to lose four of its fourteen workers, officials of the Federal Writers' project and the Historical Records Survey, organizations which have leaned heavily on our collections for information, agreed to pay the salaries from their own funds in order that the Society might continue to employ them.

A word of appreciation is due workers on the three projects operated by the Society during the past year for their coöperative spirit, their alertness, and the above-standard work which has resulted.

Probably no one is able to predict at this time what the future holds for projects of this type. Experience has taught us that we can absorb without waste motion about two of these temporary workers to one of our regular staff members. Lack of table room, shortage of typewriters and supplies, and pressure from routine duties prevent us from taking more. Much good work has been done, and if available, we hope to continue to utilize as much of this labor as we can efficiently absorb.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Research on many phases of the state's history has been made during the year, including the following subjects: early days in Chetopa; Rawlins county history; Samuel C. Pomeroy; Emporia *Gazette* editorials; stage coaches in the West; Kansas imprints; theatre programs; Chouteau family; reclamation by irrigation; history of photography; coal mine disasters; history of irrigation; Edmund G. Ross; gold rush of 1858-1861; early Kansas literature; Connecticut Kansas colony; history of the Progressive Republican movement in Kansas; Kansas Pacific railroad; geography of Topeka and vicinity; survey of retail prices to farmers, 1909-1914; disposal of the public domain; history of poetry in Kansas; local color in the works of Margaret Hill McCarter; political geography of Kansas; William Allen White; consolidated schools; and the office of the attorney general.

LIBRARY

A government project employing writers working on the "American Guide" has required much assistance from all departments, and particularly from the library, supplying a vast amount of information on state, county and town history. There have been since last November an average of probably six persons daily in the library working on this project and the minute subjects on which information has been furnished are too numerous to mention.

Under the W. P. A. project the catalogue cards, both in the Library of Congress depository catalogue and in the library catalogue have been redistributed,

and all trays have been relabeled. The filing of the Library of Congress depository cards has been kept up under this project, and the library catalogue is being revised. The books in the Hall Lincoln collection have been rearranged and labeled. Six hundred and seventy-eight books, pamphlets and volumes of clippings have been catalogued for portraits, and approximately 13,000 cards have been typed to be added to the picture catalogue. An index to 178 volumes of biographical clippings has been compiled and typed, and much typing, largely of articles for the loan file, has been done. One of the most useful projects has been the mounting of valuable material which would soon have been completely lost through disintegration. Four hundred and eighty-four maps have been mounted on muslin, including a complete set of Kansas maps issued by the United States Geological Survey, and 141 broadsides, eleven genealogical charts, ninety-seven miscellaneous circulars and 657 pictures. Many portfolios, pamphlet boxes, folders, large mailing envelopes and binders have been made by project workers.

Under the N. Y. A. project, whose workers come only six days each month, work was assigned requiring a short time for completion, such as book labeling, pasting clippings, checking periodicals, filing cards and indexing.

PICTURE COLLECTION

The work of cataloguing the picture collection, explained in the secretary's report at the annual meeting in 1933, was resumed the first of this year with the employment of a full-time cataloguer out of membership fee funds.

This task has progressed until now the major portion of those pictures directly concerning Kansas have been properly filed. The work of earlier years had progressed to the point that a large proportion, numerically, of the pictures were already catalogued, but very important numbers of pictures had not been touched. Next to cataloguing portraits chief stress has been placed upon the building of an accurate and complete file of Kansas scenes. Important additions to this file of recent date have been those covering the Spanish-American and World Wars. A total of approximately 1,500 pictures have been filed this year, including both Kansas scenes and portraits. There remain several hundred important Kansas scenes, that many or more portraits, and a number of special collections. There are, in addition, a considerable number of out-of-state scenes and portraits.

In the matter of the preservation of pictures important work has also been accomplished. Six hundred and seven pictures have been mounted upon sign cloth by one of the project workers, which will add greatly to their life. The problem of the preservation of pictures from fading also needs attention, particularly in the case of the World War pictures.

The Society owns 241 large framed pictures which have recently been cleaned and sorted. Most of these will be taken out of the frames, as is done by other societies, and filed in drawers. Unfortunately the Society does not possess enough large filing cases to do this, without placing the pictures temporarily in large paper folders. There are also approximately 118 other pictures, including war scenes, Kansas scenes, legislative pictures (duplicates), and miscellaneous pictures and framed certificates that need similar treatment.

Another part of the current project has been the indexing of important group pictures in the museum. A number of project workers listed the leg-

islaters portrayed, and cards were made for each. This index now numbers 3,875 cards. In connection with the picture collection a catalogue is being prepared by a W. P. A. worker of 627 cuts used by the Society in its publications during the past fifty years. The cuts are being sorted, cleaned and refiled.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Gifts to the manuscript division during the year include letters; documents; an autograph collection from Dr. Edward Bungardner of Lawrence; notes, with accompanying lantern slides, on Lincoln, belonging to the late Frank Heywood Hodder, given by Mrs. Hodder; and typewritten copies of documents and local records. Acknowledgment is also made to the following for gifts: Mrs. D. R. Carr; J. M. Challiss; Chase County Historical Society; Mrs. Mary T. Ford; Claude K. Davis; Lewis E. Frazeur; W. W. Graves; Mrs. Mary Huron Hale; Stuart Henry; Alex D. Johnson; Kansas State Library; Frank Korab; Schuyler Lawrence; Walter Montgomery; Paul Parrish; Mrs. A. B. Seelye; Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association; Donald W. Stewart; Floyd B. Streeter; Oscar K. Swayze; Wichita City Library; William Allen White; George W. Wilhelm and James I. Wyer. Manuscripts accessioned total 4,402, including the 3,946 manuscripts of the Elam Bartholomew collection which was received just before the report for last year. Nine manuscript books were accessioned.

N. Y. A. workers, supervised by this division, are making an index of the correspondence volumes of the Society. Much historical material is to be found in these letters which heretofore has been inaccessible.

STATE ARCHIVES

The archives department now has a total of 933,364 single manuscripts, 27,223 bound volumes, and 583 maps. This does not include the more than 500,000 pieces of manuscripts from the old post-office building. The accessions received since July 1, 1935, include 82 maps and 69 manuscripts descriptive of them, given by the Woman's Kansas Day Club; and 8,500 manuscripts from the State Board of Agriculture.

The department work has been heavy, mainly in coöperation with the W. P. A. project. From the original census returns of 1855, approximately 2,800 cards have been filed, showing names of persons in Kansas at that date. From corporation volumes about 55,000 cards have been filed, which show all chartered concerns up to 1886, ranging from Anti-Horse Thief and other associations to windmills, and from banks, churches, and manufacturies to town companies.

Work is progressing on the listing of thousands of townsites and post offices abandoned or changed.

The collection of original territorial road maps is being greatly improved by expert mounting and mending. These old maps are of great interest and service to civil engineers and the highway department. Another history of Kansas might be written from the volumes of charters, the collection of old maps, and the list of "ghost" towns.

The department has furnished information to many patrons. The Santa Fé Railway Co. asked for the origin of all town names on one branch of that road. A representative of the U. S. Department of Agriculture was given information

on the organization and development of Haskell county, in connection with a "Sociological Study of the Effects of Drought Upon Haskell County, Kansas."

HISTORIC SITES

Last year a large map, eight by four feet, was mounted on an easel for the purpose of designating on it by means of numbered pins all the historic sites in Kansas. This project, which entails many hours of research, was begun, but because of the pressure of other work it had to be discontinued. This map when completed will show the locations of several hundred sites, and an attached loose-leaf book will indicate the present condition of each site, whether marked or not, and will describe the events connected with it. The Society has furnished information about historic sites to many individuals and organizations throughout the state during the past year and a number have been marked.

NEWSPAPER SECTION

Several individuals and institutions have availed themselves of the W. P. A. and N. Y. A. operating through nearby colleges to sponsor special projects utilizing the Society's extensive newspaper collection. Three persons have averaged seven days a month during the past college year copying poetry from Kansas territorial newspapers on subjects directly relating to Kansas. From two to four persons were employed during a two months' period compiling statistical data on mine disasters in the state. Other workers represented the "American Guide," the highway safety division, and the department of agriculture. The work of political researchers has been mentioned.

According to information received from Washington the Kansas section of the *Union List of Newspapers* went to press September 25, 1936. This list, when published, will show in a geographical arrangement of places of publication, files of all newspapers issued since 1821 preserved in the libraries of the United States and Canada. Since the fall of 1933 the newspaper division, with the assistance of workers from the several federal projects, has devoted as much time as possible to the revision of our Kansas lists. While there doubtless will be errors, due in part to the inexperience of some of the workers who assisted in the reclassification, the new list is the best the department could compile under the circumstances. Miss Winifred Gregory, editor of the *Union List*, has written as follows regarding our Kansas holdings: "Your package containing your holdings of out-of-Kansas papers is received safely. What an imposing list it is. We had heard that there was an excellent collection in your library, but had quite underestimated its value. . . . Congratulations on the fine collection of papers in your keeping. . . . I began work yesterday on the Kansas lists and am so enthusiastic about them. What a splendid collection you have. Kansas is going to be one of our banner states."

Considerable progress has been made toward the checking of several large stacks of duplicate newspapers which have accumulated through the years. Nearly every number is compared with the file copy before the extra issue is marked "duplicate" and filed as such. These duplicate files are retained in a separate section and when not turned over outright to Kansas college libraries they are used for trading purposes with out-of-state libraries.

On January 1 the collection of Kansas newspapers totalled 43,554 bound volumes, and that of out-of-state papers approximately 10,000. One bound vol-

ume of the *Commercial Gazette*, Wyandotte, from August 18, 1860, to October 5, 1861, was perhaps the most notable newspaper accession of the year. Other accessions were: *Real Estate Register*, Emporia, July, 1869, received from A. O. Barton, of Madison, Wis.; six issues of the *Stars and Stripes*, American expeditionary force newspaper, from J. J. Blevins of Manhattan; *The Kansas Democrat*, of Topeka, 1875 to 1881, from Miss Ella N. Peacock, Kansas City, and *The United States Daily* of Washington, 1926 to 1933, from the Kansas state library. These of course are in addition to all current papers regularly received.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year ending July was 30,777. The largest number of visitors ever recorded in one day came on Governor Landon's notification day when, although the museum closed at four o'clock, a total of 1,244 had been counted.

Among the interesting accessions during the year was the full dress uniform of Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, used during the Spanish-American War, donated by Miss Madge Bullene, of Lawrence, together with the nurse's uniform which she wore during the World War. Mrs. Ida Suberkup, of Leavenworth, gave a bugle which had been carried through the Philippine insurrection by her husband, William Suberkup, who was a member of Company C, Twentieth Kansas Volunteer regiment. Miss Bessie Kellerman, of Denver, presented a Colt Frontier Six-Shooter, nickel-plated with bone handle, and the belt, holster, cartridges, original primers, powder measuring cups and bullet molds, which had been used with the revolver. These had belonged to James Kellerman, a well-known cattleman in Gove county, between 1873 and 1889. A Henry rifle, originally gold plated, which had been presented to Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt by the officers of his staff in the Civil War, was donated by James G. Blunt, of Houston, Tex., a grandson.

Since January, with the assistance of one W. P. A. worker, the Brower archaeological collection, consisting of fourteen cases, including 6,233 specimens, and the Zimmerman archaeological collection of 3,020 pieces, have been cleaned and relabeled. All leather pieces in the museum have been treated with neat's foot oil. All other collections, with the exception of the Goss bird collection, have been cleaned and rearranged and the catalogue files are now being revised.

ACCESSIONS JULY 1, 1935, TO JUNE 30, 1936

Library:

Books (volumes)	906
Pamphlets	3,454
Magazines (bound volumes).....	none

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	8,569
Manuscript volumes	none
Manuscript maps	82

Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	4,402
Volumes	9

Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	177
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	850
Pictures	345
Museum objects	15

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, JUNE 30, 1936

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	366,276
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	933,364
(This count does not include the 500,000 pieces in the post office collection which have not been catalogued.)	
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	27,223
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	10,702
Pictures	15,673
Museum objects	32,815

SHAWNEE MISSION

Despite the handicap of limited funds much improvement has been made on the grounds and the two south buildings at the mission. Continuous work is necessary to keep these three old buildings, now nearly one hundred years old, in repair. As reported last year, the unsightly old garage was torn down, and the new garage and work shop, designed to match the east building, has now been completed.

There are five organizations directly coöperating with the Society at the mission: The Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, the Daughters of American Colonists and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. The rooms assigned to these societies are being made more attractive each year and the active interest of their members is rapidly making the mission one of the best-known historic sites in the Middle West.

In the mission budget which will go before the legislature in January a request is made for \$25,000 for the restoration of the north building. This building is now in such condition that visitors cannot be admitted. It is the only one of the buildings, however, that still contains the original floors, mantels and interior woodwork, and if money for this purpose can be secured it will be possible to restore it almost exactly as it was when erected.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol of Kansas on the Fort Riley reservation was visited by more persons than in any year since it was restored. Of the 18,025 visitors, 4,083 came from other states, and a number from foreign countries. The exterior woodwork and all the outbuildings and fences were repainted last spring.

PIKE PAWNEE MONUMENT

The legislature of 1935 appropriated \$1,600 for repairing this monument, which was blown over or struck by lightning during a storm. A new shaft was placed on the old base last spring under specifications prepared by the state architect, and it now presents a better appearance than it has for many years. The iron fence around the property and the flag pole were also repaired. The total cost of this work was \$861.54, the balance being returned to the general fund.

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 the accomplishments noted herein.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the report of the secretary, Mr. McNeal stated that it stood approved if there were no objections. In commenting on the report Mr. McNeal said he appreciated as never before the extent of the collections of the Society and their historical and human-interest value.

Mr. McNeal then called for the reading of the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Mary Embree, which follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

From October 15, 1935, to October 20, 1936

Balance, October 15, 1935.....	\$2,470.30
Treasury bonds	3,500.00
Life memberships fees.....	550.00
Annual membership dues.....	165.00
Interest on bonds.....	219.40
Refund of money advanced for postage.....	372.16
Postage sent in for <i>Quarterly</i>50

Total receipts\$7,277.36

Expenditures:

Rent of chairs for 1935 annual meeting.....	\$4.00
Premium on bonds of secretary and treasurer.....	10.00
Sellards Cleaning Co.....	2.80
Extra clerk hire.....	740.50
Subscriptions	111.25
Rent of safe deposit box.....	3.30
Christmas checks to janitors.....	13.50
Reporting annual meeting.....	15.00
Stencils for addressing machine.....	3.11
Money advanced for supplies.....	3.24
Flowers	4.25
Telegram	1.42
Jordan Electric Co., installing lights, balance.....	15.00
Postage	381.16
Traveling expenses	119.60
Expenses for First Capitol.....	24.32
Notices of annual meeting.....	16.00

Total expenditures\$1,468.45

Balance, October 20, 1936.....5,808.91

\$7,277.36

Balance consists of—

Treasury bonds	\$3,500.00
Cash	2,308.91
	<u>\$5,808.91</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$950.00</u>
Balance, interest, October 15, 1935.....	69.24
Interest from October 15, 1935, to October 20, 1936.....	42.68
Total amount received.....	<u>\$111.92</u>

Expenditures:

<i>New Hampshire Historical Society Papers</i> , Vol. 35.....	\$4.50
Balance on hand October 20, 1936.....	<u>\$107.42</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds	<u>\$500.00</u>
Balance, interest, October 15, 1935.....	19.47
Interest from October 15, 1935, to October 20, 1936.....	<u>21.21</u>
Total amount received.....	\$40.68
No expenditure.	

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

Principal, treasury bonds (interest included in membership fund)...	<u>\$1,000.00</u>
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Respectfully submitted,

MARY EMBREE, *Treasurer*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the treasurer's report Mr. McNeal stated that it stood approved if there were no objections.

Mr. McNeal called for the report of the executive committee. It was read by Mr. Chester Woodward, who had been appointed by the executive committee to examine the treasurer's report.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 20, 1936.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Having been appointed to check the accounts of the treasurer, I wish to state that I have gone over them and that they are hereby approved.

CHESTER WOODWARD, *Member of the Executive Committee*.

Mr. McNeal stated that the report of the executive committee stood approved if there were no objections.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was called for and it was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason, chairman:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 20, 1936.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

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

For a one-year term: Edwin A. Austin, Topeka, president; William Allen White, Emporia, first vice-president; J. M. Challiss, Atchison, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Mary Embree, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON, *Chairman*,

MRS. A. M. HARVEY,

T. A. MCNEAL,

THOS. F. DORAN,

JAMES C. MALIN.

The report of the nominating committee was accepted and referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

There being no further business to come before the board of directors, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 o'clock p. m. The members were called to order by T. M. Lillard. In taking the chair Mr. Lillard stated that the Society had suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Frank H. Hodder only two months after his election last year. He called on the secretary to introduce Dr. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, who presented a photograph of Doctor Hodder to the Society. Mr. Mechem said that he had expressed himself regarding Doctor Hodder in his annual report, and that Doctor Malin, who had long been an intimate friend, had expressed himself in a fine review of Doctor Hodder's career which had already appeared in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. He introduced Doctor Malin, who presented a splendid enlarged photograph in the name of Mrs. Hodder and the department of history at the University of Kansas.

The annual address of the president was then called for. In the absence of Mr. Kelley his address was read by Mr. Charles M. Correll of the Kansas State College at Manhattan, as follows:

SOME SOUTHWEST KANSAS PIONEERS

Southwest Kansas is that high plains region extending westward from the hundredth meridian to the Colorado line and southward from a parallel at $38\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to what is now the Oklahoma line. It has an area of 12,000 square miles. Its altitude ranges from 2,500 feet to 3,600 feet. The eastward-flowing Arkansas river divides it into approximately equal areas.

At the time this area was being settled, the second generation was carrying on in eastern Kansas. Even the children of the second generation were attending our schools, colleges and universities. Around Lawrence, Council Grove, Osage Mission, Osawatomie and a score of other places, traditions already had gathered. Histories of Kansas already had been written while this great Southwest was yet either Mexican territory or else was attached to Marion county for judicial purposes. The settlement of this region did not begin until the Santa Fé railroad had been built from Atchison to the Colorado line. It was a dozen years after 1872 until the first county was organized in this area. Then, during the five years from 1884 to 1888, inclusive, the entire 12,000 square miles was organized into fifteen counties. Fifteen county seat towns were established, innumerable towns were started, some seasonably to flourish, others to shrivel and die, their locations returning to the shortgrass sod from whence they had come.

From among the pioneers who helped transmute this region from grazing ground for herds of wild horses and great multitudes of buffalo to alfalfa fields

and wheat fields of green and gold, and spick-and-span little towns with modern homes, I single out three types for record: The first cattleman, the first merchant, and the first homesteader.

Into southwest Kansas first came the cattleman. His industry flourished for eight years. By 1880 the coming of homesteaders menaced the free range; and the great blizzard of 1886 dealt the cattle industry a mortal blow. The ever increasing tide of immigration with its homesteaders finished it. The free range was gone.

The old-timers who owned great herds in those days mostly are gone. One of them yet lives on at Ingalls, Gray county—D. W. Barton, now 85, tall, erect, keen-eyed, alert, reticent of speech, with a mouthful of natural teeth and an abiding fondness for a cigaret. He is a wheat farmer now.

"Dock" Barton, as he is known by old-time friends, established the first cattle camp in Kansas west of Dodge. He was born in Texas. His father came from South Carolina to Texas in 1840 while the Lone Star state was yet an independent young republic. He engaged in cattle-raising. "Dock" and his brother Henry grew up in the cattle business. They became familiar with the old Chisholm trail and the driving of herds northward to market. It was a long, long trail. "Dock" and Henry decided there would be more profit in raising cattle were they closer to a market. Up on the Arkansas, in southwest Kansas, was tall grass in the bottoms, rich short grass on the uplands, plenty of water. It would be weeks closer to a shipping point—and the Santa Fé railroad was building in that direction.

In February, 1872, they left the home ranch in Texas, eighty miles north of San Antonio and twenty miles west of Austin, with a herd of 3,000 long-horns. Nearing the Indian territory region they learned the Indians were on the warpath. So the herd was turned westward along the Pecos trail toward New Mexico. When the Pecos river was reached, the herd was driven northward to Pueblo, Colo., and then down the valley of the Arkansas and into Kansas. Five months after leaving the home ranch in Texas the Barton camp was established by the "Lone Tree," an immense cottonwood near the site of present Garden City and known as a landmark in the old Santa Fé trail days; a landmark some old-timers of Garden City remember, though few of them agree upon its location. It was cut down in 1879—but that's another story. As winter drew near the Barton brothers moved their camp on down the river and established headquarters near the site of present Pierceville. There their cattle could—and did—range east as far as the site of present Cimarron and south to the Canadian river.

By way of digression, one June day in 1924, Ol Brown, then sheriff of Finney county, brought to us in the Garden City *Herald* office a copy of an old newspaper which had just been taken from a souvenir box that day removed from the crumbling corner-stone of the old courthouse. It was a copy of the Garden City *Irrigator*, O. O. Layne, editor, dated September 5, 1885. In it was the publication of 107 different cattle brands. Among them was that of D. W. Barton, described as "OS bar on the left side, crop off the right ear." At that time Mr. Barton had a herd of approximately 12,000 cattle bearing his brand—more than 11,000 grades and 800 registered cattle. Early in January, 1886, came what is still spoken of as "The Great Blizzard." Cattle drifted before the storm and scattered. They bunched in draws, canyons and against wire fences

to the southward and were frozen to death. After the roundup following the storm, Mr. Barton counted 11,000 grade cattle and 800 registered animals among his losses. The remnant, rounded up from as far south as Texas, were thin, starved and worthless. And "Dock" Barton was out of the cattle business.

Three years ago I had a number of visits with Mr. Barton at his home and at mine. As best I could I endeavored to draw from him some sidelights on the life and adventurous happenings incident to cattlemen of those days. "Adventures?" No, nothing ever happened. He was away when the Indians burned Pierceville in 1874. In the winter of 1875-1876 a bunch of Cheyennes were in camp in the White Mound valley in old Garfield county (now Garfield township of Finney county, and the largest township in the state, falling just short of the 432 square miles required by law as the minimum area for a county), but they didn't bother the whites. Probably ten or twelve thousand of them. The next fall a band of Sioux camped in the same locality, spotting herds of ponies which they planned to stampede from other tribes; which they later did and had a running fight through Kansas northward and into Nebraska. That fall Barton was on the Pawnee looking after a herd of 160 good saddle horses, but the Sioux were friendly and didn't bother him.

"Bother his cattle?" No, Indians never bothered his cattle; unless you'd call this bothering: Once while he was driving a herd to Great Bend, southwest of that town a band of Pawnees killed eighteen of his steers. "But the Pawnees were hungry," he explained, "and only killed what they wanted to eat. It didn't amount to anything. They were hungry."

"Boot Hill?" Yes, the first twenty-four buried there—maybe the first thirty—died with their boots on. Mostly gamblers, toughs and desperadoes. Only one cowboy among the number. Cowboys were not as bad as they were painted. "Slaughter Kid" worked for him for three years and was a good cowhand, though he had a bad reputation. Same for Ben Hodges, desperado and horsethief by reputation. Ben worked for him several years. Good cowhand.

"Bat Masterson?" Yes, he knew Bat. Bat was a young man of eighteen when Dodge was started in 1872. Later he was elected sheriff of Ford county. He wasn't the killer he had the reputation of being. It's foolish, that story of his having killed thirty-two men. He certainly killed one man—possibly three. He may have had thirty-two gun battles, and if others were shot they were only wounded, not killed.

One bright autumn day R. E. Stotts of Garden City and his two sons and myself were with Mr. Barton on a sandhill twelve miles southwest of Ingalls, hard by where the Cimarron branch of the Santa Fé trail once was a freighters' highway. Toward the center of a weedy section of farmland he pointed: "There," he said, "in 1873 I was scouting one day for cattle. About half way between this spot and that ranch house yonder I ran upon the bleached remains of a wagon train. There must have been fifty or sixty wagons, some burned, some good as when they went into camp there. I asked others what about it. None knew anything about it, or of a massacre there, and I never found anybody who did know. In 1875, I think, George Emerson, who was hauling buffalo bones to Pierceville, came over here and salvaged enough chains, oxbows and yokes and wagons to start a bull train of thirty-five wagons between Dodge and Fort Elliott, Texas, 200 miles south of Dodge." On the

return trip, approaching Ingalls, he pointed out the location of the old Cimarron crossing, and the upper Cimarron crossing, and the point on the hillside far to the southwest where the divergent trails joined; and likewise traces of the old Santa Fé trail, deep-rutted and grass-grown, winding down the slope of the uplands toward the river.

Among my talks with "Dock" Barton there was but one flash of humor. It came unexpectedly. I had asked him about Bob Wright of Dodge City. He answered my questions and then went on, reminiscently:

"One season I built a corral on the south side of the river just across from where Charleston now is. There was quite a big grove of cottonwoods along the river and on an island there. So we cut a lot of the trees and built a corral ten rails high and big enough to handle 5,000 head of cattle. The corral had cross-fences and was all fixed for cutting-out and branding. Then the outfit went out to round up our cattle. They had grazed far south and it was some weeks before we got back to the corral. When we got back, there was no sign of the corral. It had vanished."

I waited for the explanation. Finally, I asked.

"Well," he grinned, "Bob Wright had a contract with the government to furnish wood to the forts. His men ran upon my corral, found nobody there and proceeded to load it up, haul it away and turn it in on the contract, figuring if they did not somebody else would. Besides, it saved cutting and splitting." And all of the foregoing I give you as I had it by word of mouth from D. W. Barton, the pioneer cattleman of southwest Kansas.

On December 28, 1872, the Santa Fé railroad reached the Colorado line. That day a train was run from Atchison to the end of the road. A telegraph station had been put at a point about seventy miles west of Dodge and named Lakin. Here, in April, 1873, came an Irishman, John O'Loughlin, to make his home. So far as I can learn he was the first white settler west of Pierceville, thirty-five miles to the east, in all of southwest Kansas and north of the Oklahoma line. In April, 1873, he opened a store and trading post in a dugout at Lakin. In the late 1860's he had appeared in western Kansas with Gen. Phil Sheridan's command in the earlier days of Fort Hays and Fort Dodge. On the trail between those forts was a steep-banked crossing on the Pawnee. O'Loughlin decided it would be a good place for a toll bridge; so he built one of logs cut from along the Pawnee. Also he built a trading post. He took toll for the use of his bridge—one dollar for each government team crossing, fifty cents for all others. Over this bridge passed famous warriors—General Dodge, General Sheridan, General Custer, General Hancock. And President Hayes. And those two fighters of some reputation, Jesse James and "Wild Bill" Hickok. It was something for O'Loughlin to remember in his latter days. Incidentally, O'Loughlin was the first white settler in Hodgeman county.

When the Santa Fé had reached Dodge, John O'Loughlin sold his toll bridge and trading post to George Duncan, and the place in time became known as Duncan's crossing. The old log bridge did duty until 1923, when it was replaced by one of modern type.

John O'Loughlin soon had a prosperous business in his dugout store at Lakin. His early business was with trappers, freighters, soldiers, buffalo hunters, cow-punchers. He carried a line of dry goods, groceries, Sharp's

rifles, ammunition (regular and "fixed"), six-shooters, chaps, spurs, saddles, cowboy boots, gorgeous silk shirts, scarfs and handkerchiefs, Stetson hats, Dutch ovens, ox-yokes and bows, cross-cut saws, ox-shoes. His daughter, Jennie Rose O'Loughlin, in her "Lakin in 1873," says: "The last thirty pairs of ox shoes were sold in 1901 by Ernest McDowell to a man who was driving cattle through the country. At the same time the last of the 'fixed' ammunition for buffalo guns was sold to a customer who made a special trip to Lakin for it, having heard he would find some of it in stock in this store."

John O'Loughlin bought furs from the trappers, hides from the buffalo hunters, in the first years. Later he bought buffalo bones. He salt-cured buffalo hams. He loaded up chuck wagons headed for the roundups with food. He did some farming, some ranching. He acquired lands in Texas, Oklahoma, and of course in southwest Kansas. The famous Pig Pen Ranch of Grant county was his property. His trading post in the dugout became the nucleus of a hamlet which became a village and then a town. In the dugout days his store did a primitive banking business. Customers would ask him to keep their money on call. He kept their money as he did his own—between bolts of calico, in tin pans and coffee pots, even in the fish keg. He was of that old-fashioned type—a merchant who trusted his customers who, in turn, trusted him. He passed on in 1915 at Lakin, having seen it grow from a telegraph station and a dugout store to an average-sized western county-seat town.

For the pioneer homesteader, I offer a leaf from the life of one of the illustrious unknown—the life of a woman who came to southwest Kansas as a young wife to help her husband make a home while it was yet a cattle country. Sallie Crow came with her husband, William H. Crow, a Civil war veteran of the Ninety-first Ohio Volunteer infantry, to old Sequoyah county (later Finney county) early in 1879. I had tried, directly and indirectly, to have a talk with her about her pioneer days, but age and ill health prevented. Two or three years ago she passed to her reward at the age of eighty-six. Strange to say, she left behind a short and concise written account of her early years in old Sequoyah county. I had the privilege of reading it after her death. The account says she and her husband left Ohio early in 1879, reaching Rice county, Kansas, by train. There Mr. Crow bought a yoke of oxen, an emigrant wagon, a stove and a cow. Then they made a three-weeks trek into Sequoyah county, arriving April 12, 1879.

"We took a claim five miles east of town (Garden City) and dug a well 100 feet deep," she writes. "Later we left this place and took up school land one mile east of town. The first year we broke sod and put in spring wheat, and as it came up the jack rabbits ate it up. The eighth of August Oran Crow was born. He was the third baby born in Sequoyah county. Mr. Crow went five miles east with an ox team after an old doctor and his wife.

"We raised nothing this year and everything we had to buy was very high. Meat was fifty cents a pound. At this time Mr. Crow plowed sod and built a sod house. He went to the river and got brush for the roof and threw dirt on it so it would not leak. This house was built to hold the winter fuel, which was cow chips. We lived in a plank one-room house with a small dug-out built at one side.

"The rattlesnakes were so thick we could see them coiled up in the yard. . . . The coyotes, deer, antelope and wild horses could be seen in the distance. . . . That fall Sim Buckles went to the river, got a log and tied it under the wagon, let one end drag on the ground to make a trail by which to find the way home. He and Mr. Crow would drive miles over the open prairie hunting buffalo bones and cattle bones to sell at the depot to get money to live on. When they got their load they would put the log on the wagon and follow their trail home. . . . Our oxen and cow we would stake out on grass. Prairie fires were numerous. We had to keep a wide strip plowed around the place to stop the fires.

"The last of August, 1880," continues Mrs. Crow's narrative, "Mr. Crow got a job ten miles north of town to build a large sod barn and sheep corral for \$50. At the same time the children and I, one child nine, the other eleven and the baby one year old, took fifty bucks to take care of, for \$50. I herded them all day long, the children on an old horse when the weather was warm enough. When it was cold I went alone on foot. The grass on those lower lands grew tall and I would hear the rattlesnakes rattle near me; and when I would jump one way I never knew if I was jumping off or on another one.

"At the end of his work Mr. Crow came home with \$50. About the same time my months of herding ended, the man came and got his bucks and paid me \$50. Mr. Crow took the \$100 to Mr. Menke's grocery store and paid our bill. Mr. Menke said he would carry us through the winter if we could pay what we owed him." Incidentally, Mrs. Crow relates that on his way home with his fifty bucks, the sheepman was caught in a blizzard and forty-nine of the sheep were frozen to death. It was in this storm that the long-horn cattle drifted south from the Smoky Hill country.

"This valley was filled with them," says Mrs. Crow, "eating our grass, and breaking down our fences around the stacks and eating the hay. Of nights we often heard guns fired in the air to scare them away. . . . About this time Mr. Crow got work with the Santa Fé railroad, walking the track. The rails were of iron instead of steel and often broke when frost got into them. Mr. Crow would take his lantern and walk six miles of this track going east. At that time a man would start from Pierceville, walking west. When they met, at a dugout, they would stay there until the train passed. Then each would take his track back, reaching home about daylight. The children and I were alone at night."

In 1881, during a time of sickness in the family, the Rev. L. H. Platt (ancestor of the Platt family of Kirwin) with his wife called on the Crow family, "bringing," says Mrs. Crow, "love and encouragement and gifts of friendship. Reverend Platt was the first minister (to live) here and established a church; and for four years services were conducted in a room over the Red Lion livery stable. There was no denominational discrimination and people of every belief attended, although Reverend Platt was a Congregationalist."

And there is a little of the story of Sallie Crow's first two years as the wife of a homesteader in the southwest of Kansas. There, all you Kansans of these days of 1936 who still manage to take Sunday afternoon motor-car rides over paved highways, and attend the movies, and are among those present at the bridge party and who buy ripe tomatoes and head lettuce in mid-winter and yet complain of the high cost of living—there is the unadorned story of one woman—and there were hundreds of her kind—who fifty years

from now will rate as a desirable ancestor for a future proudly clannish society that will likely be known as The Daughters of the Kansas Pioneer Mothers.

E. E. KELLEY.

October 19, 1936.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Kelley's address, Mr. Lillard said it recalled to his mind an incident that occurred when he was a young man in college in Illinois. He and some friends had decided to come to Kansas to be cowboys. They went to Pierceville, mentioned in Mr. Kelley's paper, and worked for a rancher at Charleston, also mentioned in the paper. He told how they discovered that the life of a beginner on a ranch was confined largely to work about the barns and in the cow lots, and how they finally persuaded the rancher to permit them to ride on the range.

A special collection of many of the Society's old and rare maps, charts, atlases, town-promotion lithographs and broadsides, was on display during the day on tables in the main lobby. About thirty of the most interesting early-day maps were mounted and exhibited during the meeting and commented on by the secretary. This collection began with the earliest map possessed by the Society bearing the name Canses, and continued with succeeding maps in chronological order illustrating the growing knowledge of the geography of the plains country. A number of more recent maps were shown to indicate the development of the state and its political divisions. Several town-promotion lithographs were included in this display to explain the conditions that had brought many of the early settlers to the territory.

At the conclusion of this exhibit the report of the committee on nominations for directors was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason, chairman, as follows:

OCTOBER 20, 1936.

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, 1939:

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.
Dean, John S., Topeka.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.

Harvey, Mrs. Isabelle C., Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.
Kinkel, John M., Topeka.
Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
McFarland, Horace E., Junction City.
Malone, James, Topeka.

Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Morrison, T. F., Chanute.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.	Soller, August, Washington.
O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON, *Chairman*,
 MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
 T. A. McNEAL,
 THOS. F. DORAN,
 JAMES C. MALIN.

On motion of Justice John S. Dawson, seconded by Dr. Edward Bumgardner, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1939.

The reports of representatives of other societies were called for.

Mrs. Mark E. Zimmerman, of Doniphan county, spoke briefly about the old mission at Highland. She called attention to the fact that the building is rapidly deteriorating and asked the Society and its members to help in the work of saving it for posterity. She was followed by Mrs. Penn Ward of Highland, who also commented on the mission and its influence in the early history of northeastern Kansas.

The secretary stated that Mr. W. F. Thompson of Topeka, who could not attend the meeting, had telephoned a request that the attention of the Society be called to the two historic covered bridges over Stranger creek in Leavenworth county which should be preserved.

Mr. C. W. Hawkins of Clements made a report for the Chase County Historical Society.

The report of the Douglas County Historical Society was read by Mrs. Lena V. Owen of Lawrence.

Mr. C. M. Correll of Manhattan made a report for the Riley County Historical Society.

The report of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society was presented on behalf of that society by Mr. Mechem.

A report of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society was made by Father Angelus Lingenfelter of St. Benedict's College, Atchison.

Mr. Lillard ordered that the above reports be filed with the records of the meeting.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by Mr. Lillard. He asked for a re-reading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: E. A. Austin, president; William Allen White, first vice-president; J. M. Challiss, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, secretary; Mrs. Mary Embree, treasurer.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF
OCTOBER, 1936

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1937

Austin, E. A., Topeka.
Berryman, J. W., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, John W., Hugoton.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
Haskin, S. B., Olathe.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Kelley, E. E., Garden City.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.

McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka.
Mercer, J. H., Topeka.
Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Scott, Charles F., Iola.
Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
Uhl, L. C. Jr., Smith Center.
Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.
Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1938

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.
Challiss, J. M., Aitchison.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.
Johnston, Mrs. W. A., Topeka.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mason, Mrs. Henry F., Topeka.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Morehouse, George P., Topeka.
Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Somers, John G., Newton.
Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
White, William Allen, Emporia.
Wilson, John H., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1939

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

Bypaths of Kansas History

MANY patrons of the Kansas State Historical Society are in touch with the Society only through the medium of the *Quarterly*. Unfortunately this does not permit access to the 50,000 bound volumes of newspapers, or the 300,000-odd books, pamphlets, and magazine volumes, or the million manuscript pieces, or the numerous broadsides and dodgers—all of which make up the story of Kansas. These collections represent several generations in the state's history. In them are found the records of the times—the accounts of happenings that were important in the lives of individuals and communities. It seems appropriate that as many of these little-mentioned bypaths be explored as space and time will permit; hence this department.

EMIGRANTS FROM MISSOURI

From *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., June 1, 1854.

PASSAGE OF THE NEBRASKA BILL.—By reference to the . . . proceedings of Congress it will be seen that the bills organizing territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska, has, after a long and stormy debate, passed the House of Representatives. The house bill differs from the one previously passed the Senate in only one particular, that is the striking out of the Clayton amendment, which excluded foreigners from voting at the first election.

We congratulate the citizens of Missouri on the favorable termination of this great debate. We will now have two new territories to colonize, with *Southern citizens*. Let us set to work immediately, and make preparations for having every family in Missouri represented in the new territory. We *must* make Kansas a slave state, else we have no security for our property.—The only way for us to accomplish that is to go there and "settle." If you cannot leave, a substitute must be found, who will be on hand, when the vote on the constitution is taken.

Ibid., June 29, 1854.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SQUATTER ASSOCIATION.—Whereas, we, the citizens of Kansas territory, and many others, citizens of the adjoining state of Missouri, contemplating a squatter's home on the fair plains of said territory, are assembled at Salt creek valley, for the purpose of taking such steps as will secure safety and fairness in the location and preservation of claims;

Therefore, be it unanimously

1. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of *bona fide* squatter sovereignty, and acknowledge the right of any citizen of the United States to make a claim in Kansas territory ultimately with the view of occupying it.

2. *Resolved*, That such claim when made, shall be held so long as a *bona fide* intention of occupying it is apparent; and for the purpose of protecting and defending such claim, we agree to act in concert, if necessary, to expel intruders.

3. *Resolved*, That every person of lawful age, or who may be the head of a family, who shall make out his claim of 160 acres, so that it may be apparent how the same lies, and proceeds with reasonable diligence to erect thereon a *cabin or tent*, shall be deemed to have made a proper claim.

4. *Resolved*, That any person, on marking out his claim, shall be deemed to have forfeited it, unless he commences his claim, or pitches a tent within two weeks thereafter, unless the same be on such lands as prohibit it by military or Indian reservation.

5. *Resolved*, That all persons now holding claims shall have two weeks, from this day, in which to make the improvement contemplated by the foregoing resolutions.

6. *Resolved*, That no person shall be protected by the "Squatter Association," who holds in his own right more than one claim.

7. *Resolved*, That a citizen of the territory be appointed as "Register of Claims," who shall keep a book in which he shall register the names and description of all squatters and their claims, and the date of making same, for which registration he shall be allowed the sum of fifty cents for each claim, to be paid by the claimant.

8. *Resolved*, That we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in the territory, and recommend to slaveholders to introduce their property as fast as possible.

9. *Resolved*, That we afford protection to no Abolitionists as settlers of Kansas territory.

10. *Resolved*, That a "Vigilance Committee" of *thirteen* be appointed by the chairman to decide upon all disputes in relation to claims, and to protect the rightful party; and for that purpose shall have power to call together the entire "Squatter's Association."

11. *Resolved*, That all persons who wish to become members of the "Squatter Association" shall subscribe to the foregoing preamble and resolutions.

12. *Resolved*, That the secretary of this meeting be instructed to hand these proceedings to E. S. Wilkinson and S. J. Finch, or either of them, for immediate publication and reference.

Saturday, June 19th, 1854:

Lewis Burnes, President.

J. H. R. Cundiff, Secretary.

Ibid., July 6, 1854.

GREAT KANSAS MEETING IN CLAY COUNTY.—On Monday the 3d day of July, 1854, in the court house in the city of Liberty, assembled one of the largest gatherings ever witnessed in Clay county.

The meeting was called to order, whereupon Judge James T. V. Thompson of Liberty was called to the chair, and G. W. Withers elected secretary.

The chairman in an eloquent manner explained the object of the meeting, when the following resolutions reported by Mr. Gwinner, were laid before the meeting.

Whereas: In republican governments the voice of the people in public meeting assembled is universally respected.

Therefore, we the citizens of Clay county, believing self-preservation to be the first law of nature, and learning that organizations have been effected in the Northern states for the purpose of colonizing the territory of Kansas with

such fanatical persons as composed the recent disgraceful mob in the city of Boston, where a United States officer, for simply attempting to obtain justice for a Southern citizen, was shot down in the streets; and learning too that these organizations have for their object the colonization of said territory, with "Eastern and foreign paupers" with a view of excluding citizens of slaveholding states, and especially citizens of Missouri from settling there with their property, and further, to establish a link of the Underground Railroad, connecting with the Iowa line, when thousands of our slaves will be stolen from us—in thwarting their attempts upon our rights we do

Resolved, That Kansas ought of right to be a slave state, and we pledge ourselves to coöperate with the citizens of Jackson county, and the South generally in any *measure* to accomplish such ends.

Resolved, That the citizens of Clay county have no sympathy for, or connection with abolitionism, and we pledge ourselves to support and sustain our sons and brothers in Kansas who may resist the encroachments of Northern fanatics; peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the Westport and Kansas meeting on this subject meet our hearty approval, and we promise to coöperate in all measures for the protection of the slave interest in Kansas territory.

Resolved, In the language of our Westport brethren "that we will carry with us into the new territory of Kansas, every species of property including slaves, and that we will hold and enjoy the same; that we desire to do so peacefully, and deprecate any necessity for resorting to violence in support of our just and lawful rights; yet, (in no spirit of bravado and with the strongest wish for peace,) apprehensive of interference with our private and domestic concerns by certain organized bands who are to be precipitated upon us, we notify all such, that our purpose is firm, to enjoy all our rights, and to meet with the last argument all who shall in any way infringe upon them.

Resolved, That we recommend to our fellow-citizens of Missouri and Arkansas, more especially of the border counties, to organize with these ends in view; and to each and every man who feels an interest in the destiny of the future state of Kansas, to be on the alert that we may avail ourselves of the great advantages which the contiguity the new territory at once gives to us, and entitles us, in moulding the government and institutions of the future state in accordance with those of our own, and thus guarantee for the future a good neighbor and a firm friend, united to us by the bond of interest.

Resolved, That we tender our warmest thanks to Hon. David R. Atchison, Hon. Henry S. Geyer, John S. Phelps, James G. Lindley, A. W. Lamb, John G. Miller, Samuel Caruthers and Mordecai Oliver, for the manly and patriotic stand they took in defense of the Douglas bill, and the rights of the South.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the city papers and other papers in the state be requested to copy.

The resolutions were discussed by Messrs. Thos. T. Gill and E. M. Samuels and F. Gwinner, who were favorable to their passage. On motion of Capt. W. E. Price the resolutions were *unanimously* adopted nearly every person in the meeting voting.

After this decided expression of the citizens of Clay county, the meeting adjourned.

JAMES T. V. THOMPSON, *President*,
G. W. WITHERS, *Secretary*.

Ibid.

KANSAS MEETING.—In another column will be found the proceedings of a Kansas meeting lately held in this city. The resolutions there passed, we endorse to the letter, and are in favor of having them carried out. The resolutions are such as ever[y] *true* Missourian can subscribe to, they show the citizens of Clay to be sound on the slavery question, and willing to adopt ultra measures to rid ourselves of the squad of abolitionists, and Negro Stealing Free-Soilers, who infest this state. If every county in the state would speak as Clay has spoken, there would be no danger of Kansas becoming a free state, or the citizens of Missouri being longer troubled with such nuisances as Abolitionists, and Free-soilers.

Ibid., July 13, 1854.

Attention is directed to the articles from the Weston papers, offering \$200 reward for one Eli Thayer, principal of the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society," an association for colonizing Kansas with Abolitionists and Northern paupers, at the exclusion of citizens of slave-holding states. We hope the individual may be found, and meet with just such a course of treatment that one of his sort deserves—*hanging!!*

Ibid., July 20, 1854.

A large company left this city on Tuesday last, for Kansas territory. They took with them mechanical tools, and farming implements, for the purpose, we suppose, of "making improvements" in the new territory. They are of the "right stripe" and as soon as comfortably fixed will take slaves into the territory.

TRAVEL BY STAGE

Copied from an early-day broadside.

HO! FOR KANSAS!

ELDRIDGE BROTHERS'

EXPRESS & DAILY

POST COACH LINE

Fare to Lawrence, \$3.50

Through From Kansas City to Lecompton In One Day

One Daily Line from LAWRENCE to OSAWATOMIE, and Two Daily Lines
FROM LAWRENCE to LEAVENWORTH City.

Passengers by this Line have an opportunity of traveling over the most attractive and cultivated portion of the Territory in Splendid Four Horse Concord-built Coaches, and will save at least TEN MILES of tedious travel, making it the Shortest, as well as the Cheapest and most agreeable Route to the

INTERIOR OF KANSAS

Passengers leaving Kansas City by the Morning Line, breakfast at Wyandott, dine at Wolf Creek, and arrive at Lecompton in time for supper, making five changes of horses between Kansas City and Lecompton.

Express Freights taken at the Lowest Rates & delivered with Promptness & Despatch.

Office, 109 Levee, Opposite the Steamboat Landing, Kansas City.

AGENTS.—Kansas City, M. F. Caswell; Wyandotte & Lawrence, Eldridge Bros.; Leavenworth, Buckley.

S. W. ELDRIDGE, J. M. ELDRIDGE,
T. B. ELDRIDGE, E. S. ELDRIDGE, Prop's.

TRADE OF THE PLAINS

From *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, August 30, 1860.

Some idea may be formed of the vast emigration and trade across the Plains from the following figures:

During the present season, one hundred and fifty thousand persons have crossed on the roads leading through Kansas alone. In freighting, traveling, expressing, and carrying mails, 15,000 head of mules, 2,000 head of horses, 8,000 wagons, and 85,000 head of cattle are employed. The value of merchandise shipped to New Mexico, Pike's Peak, Utah, and to military posts and Indian traders' forts in the mountains, during the present season, is estimated at \$12,000,000, employing a capital of \$5,500,000 and returning a profit of \$5,000,000, or fifty percent, which is about the average profit claimed by persons engaged in the trade.—Leavenworth *Dispatch*.

SHINPLASTERS

From *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 14, 1862.

Our city is cursed with an innumerable quantity of miserably executed Leavenworth shinplasters. We don't want them, and if Leavenworth bankers persist in sending them out of their city, we advise our business men to adopt a system of promptly returning them to the issuers. We have a chartered bank which has always redeemed its issues in coin, and a responsible private banker, and if desired, they would undoubtedly supply all the small notes which our community would require, and of a quality which would not be worn out after passing through a few hands.

WICHITA IN 1870

Excerpts from the *Wichita Vidette*, August 13, 1870.

We present, today, the first number of the *Wichita Vidette*. . . . *Vidette!* That is the name of our paper. The word is from the French, who spell it Vedette. It means an out-post, or picket, or rather "sentinel on horse back," as Webster hath it. As we conceive ourselves to be the sentinel or picket of journalism in Southwestern Kansas, we claim the right to spell the word as we see proper, and therefore print it *Vidette*. Of course we expect some smart Aleck of a quill-driver will discover a mare's nest as soon as our title strikes his eye; and we expect him to go for us on what he will imagine to be very bad orthography, or at best a misprint. But we don't care a continental. "*Vidette*" is the name of our paper, and we purpose having it known as such. . . .

About ten miles southwest of Wichita, there is one of the greatest natural

curiosities in the world. It is the finest quality of salt imbedded in the earth similar to a rock quarry. It can be easily obtained with but little labor, and when pulverized (which is easily done), is similar to the Kanawa salt of Virginia. This is where the Indians, from all parts of the plains, get their supply of salt. This great salt plain is so extensive that there is no doubt but at some time it will be of great value.

There is another natural curiosity, eight miles east of Wichita near the head of Dry creek. It is a large apperture or cave, about thirty feet under ground, through which flows a stream of pure clear water, containing several varieties of fish. It was first discovered by Captain Payne, whose curiosity was excited at finding a shallow ravine, along which was occasionally a hole that had apparently been made by the earth being removed from the bottom which upon investigation, proved to be correct.

Captain Payne made a rope fast a few feet back from the apperture, then fastened the other end around his waist and descended into it through one of those holes to this great cave. Its extent as yet has not been explored. The distance from where the captain tapped this cavern to the foot of the bluff is about a quarter of a mile. The water flows directly in that direction, but sinks, as it approaches it, in the sand below. The height of the opening is about three and a half feet, the width varies from two to nine feet. The water flows south. The other end of this curious subterranean passage was explored by the Captain and some other gentlemen a few days since, for a distance, as they supposed, of about 500 yards. The main channel is nearly straight. At a short distance from the opening there is a chamber of about 10 by 14 feet and six to six and a half feet high, with lime stone rock above and sand stone below, perfectly dry. The sides are lime stone and yellow clay. There are other chambers, the extent and formation of which we have not yet learned. The Captain says he is determined to know more about this curious cave just as soon as he can find time to give it a thorough examination. The most singular part of this discovery is that fish should live where they are entirely excluded from the light.

There is the finest quality of soil along the Little Arkansas river, Cowskin and Chisholm creeks, and in fact along all tributaries of the great Arkansas river from twenty miles above Wichita to forty miles below, than there is in the United States, the Sciota Miami, and Great American bottoms not excepted. They are the most beautiful streams of clear running water, with level bottoms that any country can boast of from which the inhabitants catch the finest quality of black and yellow cat-fish, white bass, buffalo, and many other varieties; and as for wild game, it is far ahead of anything in the West. Along all the streams wild turkeys are found in abundance. Prairie chickens abound all over the valley, and, within a short distance immense herds of buffalo, antelope, deer and elk are found. The farmer has only to take his team and wagon, throw in sufficient bread-stuff to last him two or three days, a little salt, some coffee, tin cup, coffee pot and frying pan, and strike out west or south from twelve to twenty miles to get all the wild meat he wants to last himself and family three months. The settlers are crowding the wild Indians so far back that we have all these great hunting grounds to ourselves, unmolested by them.

In 1868 General Lawrence, Durfee, Munger, and others began talking about laying out a town; but it seems that the land could not be obtained for that

purpose. A year later Mr. Munger got a title to a part of the old town, and laid it off in lots. He had several buildings put up, which gave it the appearance of a town. Little else was done until about three months ago, when William Griffinstein laid off a town south of the old town, since which time buildings have been going up as fast as mechanics can do the work and building materials furnished. At an early day steps were taken to secure the publication of a newspaper, the first number of which is before you. . . .

Wood is cheap in this market—only \$4 per cord. . . . Sod corn here will produce, this year, forty bushels to the acre. . . . Three thousand head of cattle passed over the trail on Friday morning. A large herd came in this morning. . . . The Texas cattle trail is now permanently located at this point, and when railroads reach us, think, oh! wise men of the East, and study a way to this cattle Mecca. . . . A quarterly meeting of the M. E. Church will be held in Wichita on Saturday and Sunday next. We are glad to see so great an interest manifested in religious matters as is being exhibited by the members of the different religious denominations. . . . We are under many obligations to both stage lines, the Southern Kansas (Henry Tisdale's), and Kansas Stage Co. (Terry & Co.). Both run a daily line to Wichita. The managers spare no pains to accommodate the traveling public, while their agents and drivers are as kind and courteous as men can well be. . . . The Presbyterian church of this town are about erecting a very fine church edifice. . . . Joe Irwin's bull train passed through here today, en route for Harker. It came from Fort Sill, and had been on the road fifty-four days. The stock was in first rate condition. The drivers informed us that Wichita was on the most direct and best route between Forts Sill and Harker. . . . A ball and party, gotten up in a very respectable way, and comparing favorably with towns much older than we, was attended with great harmony and good feeling, last night. The music was excellent, and the viands partaken of with a relish. . . . Last week, we in company with J. C. Burke and Captain Payne, "went fishing" in the Little Arkansas about a mile and a quarter above town. We had Mr. Burke's net and fish-rack. This rack consists of narrow plank framed together, and when a haul is made the fish is taken from the net and placed in the rack, which is floated after the net. We made five hauls and took out about 500 pounds of fish, the largest cat-fish weighing fifty-two pounds gross. We like fishing when we can do as well as we did this time.

DEAD NEWSPAPERS

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, April 2, 1875.

The following beautiful and touching obituary notices appear in the *Cawker City Tribune*: "The *Beloit Index* has ascended the tin tube. It expired at the early age of three months. The fierce struggle for corn meal and potatoes was too much for it in these grasshopper times. Another good newspaper office will now become food for the sheriff. The Solomon valley is paved with newspaper presses, as hell is with good intentions. They stand at every four corners, monuments of warning to would be Greeleys and Bennetts. They are all sacred to the memory of departed ambition and ruined hopes. Only the bleaching buffalo bones outnumber them. Phillipsburg once had one. Kirwin has one dead and one stored away. Cedarville once had it, and it died. Osborne City killed one. Stockton was threatened with one. Cawker City has borne up under the infliction of two of them, and now supports

one. The place where Lindley once stood is marked by an old hand press. Solomon City gets away with about two a year, and this is not the first death that has occurred in Beloit. It buried a *Mirror* once. But now McBride 'has stepped down and out,' and the grief of Beloit is so great that she 'sits on the ragged edge' and wishes she had never held out inducements to lure the young 'Ibex' on to his ruin."

BUFFALO HUNTERS

From Dodge City *Times*, Aug. 18, 1877.

Dickinson county has a buffalo hunter named Mr. Warnock, who has killed as high as 658 in one winter.—*Edwards County Leader*.

Oh, dear! What a mighty hunter! Ford county has twenty men who each has killed five times that number in one winter. The best on record, however, is that of Tom Dixon, who killed 120 at one stand in 40 minutes, and who from the 15th of September to the 20th of October, killed 2,173 buffalo. Come on with some big hunters now, if you have any.

CHIPS

From the *Pearlette Call*, April 15, 1879.

You know wood is scarce in Meade county, and coal is expensive, hence you will doubtless wonder what we do for fuel.

Those who can afford it buy coal in Dodge, at \$7 to \$9 per ton, while others, having teams, get some wood in the canyons east of us.

But the most of us burn chips—buffalo chips we call them, but the majority of those we find were doubtless dropped by Texas cattle when passing north.

These chips make a tolerable fair fire, but of course burn out very rapidly; consequently to keep up a good fire you must be continually poking the chips in and taking the ashes out. Still we feel very thankful for even this fuel.

It was comical to see how gingerly our wives handled these chips at first. They commenced by picking them up between two sticks, or with a poker. Soon they used a rag, and then a corner of their apron. Finally, growing hardened, a wash after handling them was sufficient. And now? Now it is out of the bread, into the chips and back again—and not even a dust of the hands!

PROSPECTUS FOR A WESTERN KANSAS HUNT

From the *Lakin Eagle*, August 22, 1879.

HO FOR A BUFFALO HUNT!!

On The Plains of Western KANSAS.

In charge of CHARLES YOUNGBLOOD, The
Renowned Hunter of This Country.

A rare chance for INVALIDS and PLEASURE-
SEEKERS to spend a week among the herds
of wild HORSES, BUFFALO and ANTELOPE of
KANSAS and COLORADO.

TOURISTS

must not forget that C. Henderson will commence to run his excursion train over the WILD PRAIRIE in either direction for your accommodation, on the first of October next, and CHARLES YOUNGBLOOD, will go as PILOT. Youngblood has traversed the western plains for eight successive years, and knows it equal to the "RED MAN," whom he has met frequently, and will show you many interesting features, in connection with all kinds of WILD game found on the plains or, "Great American Desert."

EXCURSION

These excursions will commence promptly on the first day of October next and will be continued from time to time as occasions require, and start from Lakin, on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad.

This enterprise will be managed by men of ability and integrity, who are experienced frontiersmen, and will be under the immediate control of

CHARLES YOUNGBLOOD

a man who has been eight years on the BORDER, and is acquainted with the whole country, from Dodge City, Kansas, to Pueblo, Colorado.

Mr. Youngblood is a man fifty-three years of age, rather under medium height, dark complexioned, with keen piercing eyes, and dark hair sprinkled with grey. He is safe, trustworthy and reliable, and proposes to find game for all parties who go out under his leadership, or make no charge.

LAKIN

is situated on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, in Kearny county, Kansas, and on the extreme frontier of civilization, but here the tourist and pleasure-seekers can obtain as good hotel accommodations as are to be found in the state, and at the stores of O'LOUGHLIN'S or GRAY & JONES', all the necessary articles can be purchased to supply the wants of the excursion parties.

These parties are organized in the fall, for the reason that, that is the most delightful of our seasons for travel and recreation.

A love of the chase is a passion inherent in everyone, and when it is for game that is rare to Eastern people such as Buffalo, Antelope, and Wild Horses, it is rendered doubly so; but here is an opportunity for all to get a sight of those wonderful animals that they have only been acquainted with in books and legends, and to breathe the pure and exhilarating air of the

MAGICAL PLAINS

of the West. The atmosphere of this country is so pure and dry that any one can sleep at night in the open air with perfect impunity and in fact many a one, suffering from pulmonary diseases or general debility, have been effectually cured by living a time in the camp of the hunter or stockman.

These

HUNTING EXCURSIONS

will be run exclusively for the benefit of Health and Pleasure seekers, and the necessary out-fit for the accommodation of parties will be in readiness at the time stated.

MR. YOUNGBLOOD

proposes to make one round trip for each week, and parties will be taken for ONE DOLLAR per day each.

The herd of WILD HORSES, spoken of elsewhere is held within about a mile of LAKIN, and will doubtless be an object of interest to all new comers.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Several articles relating to the early history of Anderson county were published in the *Garnett Review* some months ago. The county's historic sites were described by Harry Johnson in articles appearing January 9, 23, February 6 and April 16, 1936. The sites are being considered for marking by members of the county Woman's Kansas Day Club. Valentine Gerth's early experiences in the boundaries of the present county were discussed by his son, John Gerth, of Lane, in the issue of February 27. Valentine Gerth was reported to be the first white settler of the county. He went there in 1854. Early life in Reeder township was discussed by M. C. Reddington, now of Los Angeles, Cal., writing in the March 5 issue.

A series of feature articles entitled, "Little Journeys to the Homes of Kansas Authors," by Adele Mehl Burnett, of Pittsburg, has been appearing in the *Kansas Teacher*, of Topeka. The articles commenced in the April, 1936, issue.

"Know Your Kansas," or "Oddities in the History of Kansas," is the heading for a weekly news release to newspapers of the state from the Kansas office of the *American Guide*, the federal writer's project of the Works Progress Administration. The series of releases was started about June 1, 1936.

Ox teams in early Haskell county were discussed by William Wallace in the *Sublette Monitor*, June 25, 1936.

A Lyons advertising letterhead of 1887, describing Lyons and Rice county of that period, was reprinted in the *Lyons Daily News*, August 8, 1936.

El Dorado banking history was reviewed in the *El Dorado Times*, September 3, 1936. The Walnut Valley Bank, organized in 1871, was the first bank in the city.

The history of Liberal's Christian Church was briefly sketched in *The Southwest Tribune*, Liberal, September 10, 1936. The church erected its present building in 1911.

Brief historical sketches are being contributed by F. A. Hobble to the Dodge City *Daily Globe* for its Monday issues. The series, labeled "In Young Dodge," is a continuation of a previous collection appearing under the heading, "When Dodge Was Young."

The first decade of Gen. William J. Palmer's work as a Colorado railroad builder, 1870-1880, was discussed by Dr. George L. Anderson, of the history division of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, and a former staff member of the Kansas State Historical Society, in the October, 1936, issue of *Colorado College Publication*, General Series No. 209. The issuance of the 172-page review marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of General Palmer, who was a director of the old Kansas Pacific Railway Co. and the promoter of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway Co.

Historical features printed in the *Neodesha Daily Sun* in recent months included: "History of Neodesha," by Mrs. Clinton McGlinn, in issues of October 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 1936; "Neodesha Pioneers," by Mrs. Blaine White, October 13, 16 and 17, and "History of the Refinery," by Mrs. H. A. Lockard, November 24.

Sketches of Council Grove's Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches were published in the *Council Grove Republican*, October 10, 1936.

"Early Days of Liberal" was the title of a series of articles appearing from time to time in *The Southwest Tribune*, of Liberal. The series, which started in the issue of October 15, 1936, was contributed by Mrs. Clay G. Stevenson.

A four-column review of L. M. Foster's pioneering experiences in Western Kansas was printed in the *Hoxie Sentinel*, October 15, 1936.

Over fifty views of Clay Center taken in 1887 were published in the *Clay Center Dispatch*, October 16, 1936.

Drury J. Feild, who came to Bourbon county nearly seventy-eight years ago, reminisced of early days in the county in an article appearing in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 17, 1936.

The origin of some of Ford county's place names was discussed in an article in the *Dodge City Journal*, October 22, 1936.

Excerpts from Judge J. C. Ruppenthal's speech, "Ethnic Elements of Ellis County," given before a meeting of the Hays Saturday Afternoon Club were printed in the *Hays Daily News*, October 26, 1936.

The National Resources Board has published in Part VII of the *Supplementary Report of the Land Planning Committee* several articles on the federal government's land policies which were prepared in part by Paul W. Gates, recently of the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, later the Resettle-

ment Administration. The study is the result of nearly a year's work and is a part of a much larger project Mr. Gates has under way on the "History of the Disposal of the Public Domain." Mr. Gates spent several days the past summer doing research work in the Kansas State Historical Society's collections before taking up his new duties as a member of the faculty of Cornell University.

A picture of the first schoolhouse in Chanute was printed in the *Chanute Tribune*, November 12, 1936.

Russell county's census of 1870 was discussed by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in his column, "Russell Rustlings," appearing in the *Luray Herald* and several other western Kansas newspapers November 12, December 3 and 10, 1936.

A résumé of Frank O. Carr's history of the First National Bank of Wichita which was read at the sixtieth anniversary banquet held in Wichita November 16, 1936, was printed in the *Wichita (Morning) Eagle and Beacon*, November 17. Mrs. Hiram W. Lewis, wife of the late Colonel Lewis, founder of the bank, was an honored guest.

Original minutes of the drought convention of Shawnee county, November 13, 1860, found in the home of Mrs. Dwight W. Whitney, of Topeka, were discussed by Cecil Howes in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, November 17, 1936.

A brief biography of W. H. Lindsay, lieutenant governor of Kansas, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal-Post*, November 22, 1936.

The history of electric lighting in Cottonwood Falls was sketched briefly in the *Chase County Leader*, November 25, 1936.

Bluff City's early history was recalled in the *Bluff City News*, November 26, 1936. First lots for the new town were sold by the Border Line and Town Co., on November 20, 1886.

A history of the Johnson Methodist Church, organized in 1886, was outlined in the *Johnson Pioneer*, November 26, 1936.

The killing of the last buffalo in Cloud county during the winter of 1872-1873 was recounted by G. F. Gray, of Tacoma, Wash., in a letter printed in the *Concordia Blade-Empire*, November 30, 1936.

A history of Irving township, Brown county, was briefly reviewed in the *Hiawatha Daily World* in its issues of November 30 and December 3, 1936.

"Robert J. Walker, Financial Agent to Europe, 1863-1864," a paper written by Wirt A. Williams, head of the department of social science at Delta State Teachers College, Cleveland, Miss., appeared in the College's *Bulletin* for December, 1936. Mr. Walker was governor of Kansas territory in 1857.

Historical articles featured in recent issues of the *Pony Express Courier*, of Placerville, Cal., of interest to Kansans include: December, 1936—"Wikiup and Wakonda," "The Frontier Was Snaky," a discussion of early-day place names, by George J. Remsburg; "The Chisholm Trail," and "The Pony Express," a reprint from Hutching's *California Magazine*, of 1860. February, 1937—"The Great Overland Trail in 1849," by Mr. Remsburg, and "Thomas J. Rananhan," Pony Express rider, by John G. Ellenbecker. March, 1937—"Recollections of a Pioneer [Frank A. Doty]," formerly of Topeka, by Mr. Remsburg, and "John Phillips' Heroic Ride," by Mr. Ellenbecker.

"Heretofore Unpublished Facts Concerning the Fleagle Gang," as recalled by Ben Strawn, former sheriff of Finney county, were mentioned in an article in the *Kinsley Graphic*, December 3, 1936.

Papers read at a special meeting held on November 22, 1936, observing seventy-eight years of Methodism in Randolph, were printed in the *Randolph Enterprise*, December 3, 1936.

"Kansas Governors Have Had a Long Line of Capable Secretaries," was the title of David D. Leahy's article appearing in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 6, 1936.

The history of early-day Oatville, as recalled by Bernell Bigelow, former postmaster, was related in an article in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, December 16, 1936.

Havensville newspaper history was reviewed in the *Havensville Review*, December 17, 1936.

The history of Santa Fé, Haskell county ghost town, was outlined in the *Sublette Monitor*, December 17, 1936.

A history of the lot on the southwest corner of Douglas avenue at Market street in Wichita was sketched by Victor Murdock, in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, December 18, 1936.

Regular train service between Kansas City and Lawrence began seventy-two years ago, the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* recalled in an article published December 19, 1936.

The work of Beatrice Paddock of the reference division of the Wichita City Library in translating parts of Margry's publication of the memoirs and documents of several French explorers who traveled over present Kansas and Oklahoma nearly two centuries ago was discussed by Bliss Isely in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 20, 1936, and the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, February 4, 1937. A detailed history of the Wichita Immanuel Lutheran Church was also published in the same issue of the *Eagle*.

"Father Padilla Died as a Christian Martyr in Kansas 400 Years Ago," was the title of a feature article by Cecil Howes in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, December 24, 1936.

Wichita high school in the middle 1880's was described by Mollie Wilson, of Wellington, in the *Wichita Eagle*, December 27, 1936.

The early history of Tennessee Bend, Butler county, as recorded by N. P. Reid, was discussed by Victor Murdock in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, December 28, 1936.

"Narratives of a Missionary Journey to New Mexico in 1867," edited by Thomas F. O'Connor, was the title of an article appearing in the January, 1937, issue of *Mid-America*, of Chicago. The article briefly referred to encounters with Indians while journeying across Kansas.

Location of oil pools opened in Kansas in 1936, names of operators, and initial production of the discovery wells was summarized in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, January 3, 1937.

The *Fowler News* sketched its history in its issue of January 7, 1937.

A special inaugural edition of *The Advocate*, of Topeka, was issued January 7, 1937, preceding the inauguration of Walter A. Huxman as governor of Kansas on January 11. The edition reviewed the accomplishments of the various federal agencies operating in the state and sketched the history of the Democratic party in Kansas.

Reno county's history was briefly outlined in the *Hutchinson Record*, January 8, 1937. The county was organized in 1872.

A biographical sketch of Gov. Walter A. Huxman, as presented in a speech delivered by Bruce Hurd at a recent Topeka Chamber of Commerce dinner for Governor Huxman, was printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, January 11, 1937.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Franklin County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Ottawa, February 20, 1937. A. P. Elder, 82-year-old Ottawan who has lived in Kansas nearly 79 years, was elected president. Other officers elected were: B. M. Ottaway, Ottawa, first vice-president; Asa F. Converse, Wellsville, second vice-president; Howard Rounds, Ottawa, recording secretary; Mrs. B. M. Ottaway, corresponding secretary; W. G. Tulloss, Rantoul, treasurer; directors, one-year terms, W. S. Jenks, Ottawa, R. H. Lister, Wellsville, Mrs. M. L. Robinson, Princeton; directors, two-year terms, Ernest Bohnet, Mrs. R. S. Gault, Richmond, Hiram Welton, Rantoul; directors, three-year terms, Dana Needham, Lane, Mary McLindon, Williamsburg, S. F. Harris, Ottawa. The constitution and bylaws as prepared by B. M. Ottaway, A. P. Elder and Mrs. H. L. Kennedy were adopted for the society.

Judge Otis E. Hungate was elected president of the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association at a meeting held in Topeka, December 5, 1936. Other officers elected were: Frank Washburn, vice-president, and Alice Meade, secretary. William A. Biby was the principal speaker of the session.

A History of Anderson County, Kansas, written by Harry Johnson and published by the Garnett Review, was issued late in December, 1936. Mr. Johnson spent several years in research, and during the past few years as a result of these investigations, numerous historical articles have appeared in Garnett newspapers under his signature. This new addition to Kansas county history shows thorough familiarity with the subject, and the quality of printing produced by the publisher maintains a high standard. Included in the six-section 383-page book are: A résumé of two former histories of the county's early settlement; news briefs from newspaper files, 1867 to 1933; stories of the settlement, industries and natural resources of the county; historical sketches of the district schools; pioneer and other reminiscences, and histories of the county's present and "ghost" towns.

One of the best Kansas books of recent years is *People of Kansas*, a Kansas State Planning Board publication of 1936, written and compiled under the direction of Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Rob-

erts. The book makes the population factor the central interest, and is concerned primarily with the growth, sources, distribution, composition, shiftings, and adjustments of the Kansas inhabitants. William Allen White wrote in the foreword: "This book . . . is a most interesting study. It has been carefully done—a scholarly work. More than any other book I have read, this book explains why Kansas is Kansas; why it is not, for instance, Oklahoma, and not Nebraska, certainly not Missouri nor Colorado."

A fascinating story of family life on the Kansas plains in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was told by Dr. John Ise, of Lawrence, in his recent book *Sod and Stubble*, published by Wilson-Erickson, Inc., of New York City. The author sets forth with sincere regard the heroic part played by a pioneer woman—his mother—who at the age of seventeen married a young German farmer and moved to a homestead in north central Kansas, where she reared eleven of her twelve children, and, remembering regretfully her own half-day in school, sent nine of them through college.



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Contributors

LEWIS E. ATHERTON is an instructor in history at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

MARTHA B. CALDWELL is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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

ROBERT TAFT is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

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

Disorganizing Effects of the Mexican War on the Santa Fé Trade

LEWIS E. ATHERTON

THE Santa Fé trade was among the safer occupations followed by residents of the West. Violence was not unknown, however, and the use of military escorts attests the dangers frequently arising to confront those engaging in the trade. Troubles were intensified for the Santa Fé merchants during the years 1846 to 1848, a period which saw the United States and Mexico engaged in war. Normally such a status ends all trade between the warring countries, but, in spite of the dangers involved, American goods continued to reach Santa Fé markets during the struggle.

The disastrous expedition of Samuel Owens and James Aull to Santa Fé in 1846 illustrates in many ways the obstacles created by the war time conditions. No claim is made that the experiences of these two traders were typical in all respects of the problems encountered by merchants during the war. Some merchants disposed of their goods in less time than did Owens and Aull, some escaped the necessity of serving in the army, and other merchants were spared their violent deaths. In general, however, the problems of this one firm were the problems of all other merchants involved. When the story of Owens and Aull departs from the usual run of experience it is generally in the direction of greater troubles than those faced by the average trader. Their difficulties, therefore, serve to illustrate how the Mexican War increased the possibilities of trouble for those engaged in the Santa Fé trade.

The troubles encountered by Owens and Aull cannot be charged to personal failings or inexperience. These men had been merchants in western Missouri for a number of years. From 1831 to 1836, James Aull headed the firm of "James and Robert Aull," a company with stores at Lexington, Liberty, Richmond and Independence, Mo.¹ In this capacity he traveled widely, making yearly trips to the Atlantic seaboard to purchase goods and occasional trips to New Orleans for groceries. Trappers, government forts, Indian missions and Santa Fé traders were among his customers, giving him a wide acquaintance with frontier life. In the early 1830's he invested in Missouri river steamboats, opened a rope walk at Liberty, Mo.,

1. "James and Robert Aull—A Frontier Missouri Mercantile Firm," Lewis E. Atherton, *Missouri Historical Review*, v. XXX (1935), pp. 3-27.

and built his own flour mill. But in 1836 an increasing load of debt caused the dissolution of the firm, and for the next ten years Aull devoted his time to the operation of the store at Lexington.

To a man so recently in the very center of things the new arrangement must have been dull, for Lexington was rapidly losing its favored position in western trade to Independence. The records of Aull's business during this period are fragmentary, and it is impossible to estimate the decline in the volume of his trade.² The one store, however, could not reach the trade area formerly served by the chain, and this, coupled with the decline of Lexington in the Santa Fé trade, limited his business activities to a relatively small field. Under these circumstances it was only natural for his interest to turn to the direct trade with Santa Fé, an enterprise with which he was well acquainted. In the 1830's, while Lexington still had hopes of competing with Independence, Aull had sold goods to the traders annually. In 1832 he sent his own agent to Santa Fé with a supply of merchandise. His primary reason for not personally continuing in the trade after that time came from the difficulty he experienced in disposing of goods in Santa Fé in time to meet his credit obligations in the East.³ Thus his mercantile experience and his knowledge of the Santa Fé trade, gained over a period of years, were sufficiently great to give him every prospect of success in the venture he was undertaking.

The dissolution of the Aull chain of stores in 1836 resulted in the formation of a partnership between a younger brother, Robert Aull, and Samuel Owens, to continue the business at Independence. Owens was a self-made man, having started out as James' "head man" at Independence when the chain was formed. Through the years he had gradually added to his wealth and position as a business man. In 1844 he purchased Robert's interest and became the sole proprietor of the store at that place. By that time he had become known in the Santa Fé trade, having the reputation of being a kind and liberal man who would "furnish wagons, teams, provisions, and general outfit for credit" to those engaging in the trade to the southwest.⁴ Thus as an Independence merchant Owens nat-

2. Letter books, invoice books, and account books for the firm of James and Robert Aull are complete for the years 1831-1837. A gap exists in the record to the letter book of Robert Aull, covering the period from November 20, 1847, to November 13, 1851.—"Aull Collection," Lexington (Mo.) Historical Society, hereafter cited as "L. B. V."

3. James Aull, "Letter Book," January 3, 1830, to February 14, 1833. Entry dated November 3, 1832.

4. James J. Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade 1844-1847* (v. I, *The Southwest Historical Series*, ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, Glendale, California, 1931), pp. 42 and 274. Webb mentions the fact that Owens occasionally sent goods of his own, but gives no estimate of the extent of this business.

urally became interested in the Santa Fé trade, and found a ready partner in his former employer who saw in the Mexican trade an opportunity to enter once more the main current of western commerce. As a result, the two men formed a partnership and set out for Santa Fé in the spring of 1846 with a \$70,000 stock of goods.

They could hardly have chosen a less propitious time. Mexican animosity towards the United States had increased as a result of the annexation of Texas; rumors of war had become increasingly current, and this would mean that the entry ports for goods in the Santa Fé trade would in all likelihood be blockaded. If war developed the merchant would find himself in enemy territory, his goods a free prize to a population willing to pay a high price for American products in more peaceful times. To forestall such a contingency, one group of traders left Independence early in May, 1846, and by rapid travel reached Santa Fé in forty-five days. Trouble developed, however, when they journeyed south to Chihuahua, the traders being held prisoners for a time before being allowed to start the sale of their goods. Men of English, German, and French nationality received preferred treatment, and at least one American trader was reduced to the necessity of traveling as assistant wagonmaster under a Prussian Jew, and with his goods under the man's protection.⁵

The group of traders of which Owens and Aull were members did not leave Independence until the latter part of May. They had traveled only three hundred miles when they were overtaken by a detail from S. W. Kearny's command and required to wait at the Pawnee Fork until the main body of troops arrived. The remainder of the journey was then made in the rear of the American troops, with progress so slow that Santa Fé was not reached until August. A peaceful commercial undertaking had thus become involved in the Mexican War, valuable time had been lost, and the matter of disposing of the goods had been plunged into the greatest uncertainty. War Department orders to Kearny to detain the traders were based on the belief that the merchandise would be confiscated in Santa Fé if military protection were not provided. Military authorities thought the least the traders could have expected, had they been allowed to proceed without protection, was detention in Santa Fé. In such a contingency the Mexican merchants would have preceded the Americans to the southern markets, and placed

5. This man was James J. Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade 1844-1847*, pp. 180, 262-264.

them at a disadvantage in the disposal of their wares.⁶ The merchants involved did not concur in these views, but found it impossible to alter the course of events.

Kearny's protection ended in Santa Fé, and the traders then set out for the markets of Chihuahua. The caravan camped for two weeks near the ruins of Valverd , however, in the hopes of obtaining news of conditions to the south. There they were overtaken by a detachment of Col. A. W. Doniphan's regiment of Missouri volunteers, under the command of Captain Walton, and were required to wait until Colonel Doniphan arrived.⁷ The period at Valverd  preceding the arrival of the troops was not a pleasant one, rumors of a Mexican attack keeping the group in a state of alarm. The traders exceeded three hundred in number and had formed a corral of their wagons for defense. But such measures did not conceal the fact that it would be useless to resist a Mexican army. Furthermore the patriotism of the American made no appeal to the foreign traders when the governor of Chihuahua tossed in an apple of discord by instructing merchants to dismiss American drivers in favor of Mexicans, with the assurance that those who did so could bring in goods free of duty. Most of the Mexican and English traders complied with the order, but the Americans remained adamant. The situation was not helped any by the offer of the British agent in Chihuahua to have the caravan proceed under his protection, a scheme particularly appealing to the traders of that nationality.⁸

The arrival of Doniphan put an end to the arguments, and the traders followed his troops into El Paso del Norte, taking advantage of the occasion to make a few small sales. But military restrictions proved irksome, some attempting to escape Doniphan's control and others getting into difficulties with him over endeavors to communicate with Chihuahua.⁹ Doniphan finally decided to push on to that city, but rumors of superior Mexican forces caused him to order the creation of a "Traders battalion" of two companies, to be commanded by "Major" Samuel Owens, one of the two partners.¹⁰ The procedure was very unusual, to say the least. Doniphan was commanding only a volunteer regiment, and without authority from the War Department had converted a group of

6. "Report of Committee on Claims," *House Reports*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., No. 458, pp. 1-2. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

8. John T. Hughes, "Diary," Thursday, October 26, to Friday, December 4, 1846. In John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*, ed. by William E. Connelley, Topeka, 1907.

9. Hughes, "Diary," January 2, February 4, 1847.

10. "Report of Committee on Claims," p. 4. The order was issued February 9, 1847.

Santa Fé merchants into "soldiers." The Mexicans easily might have seized them and their goods later on the clearly legal grounds that they were a military expedition.

The general story of the battle of Sacramento, fought on February 28, 1847, lies outside our present narrative. It is important here because of the consequences for the firm of Owens and Aull. Few Americans were killed in the battle, but Major Owens was among the casualties. There are innumerable stories of how he met death. Doniphan says that he lost his life by excessive rashness, riding up to a redoubt filled with armed men and continuing to fire his pistols until both he and his horse fell under the return fire.¹¹ James J. Webb was told by one of Owens' men that the major probably courted death because of family troubles and had shaved and dressed in clean clothes just before the battle. Webb also reports that only the horse was killed in the first firing and that Owens was pinned beneath it. Thus the Mexicans were able to kill Owens and strip him of his valuables.¹² William E. Connelley cites the story that he was killed by the spears of the Mexicans, and that his seeming rashness is to be explained as the result of the machinations of a cabal which stopped the general charge by the troops in order to give an officer named Reid the honor of winning the battle. Still another account pictures the major as charging with a shout of "Give it to them, boys! They can't withstand us," and falling two minutes later with a grape shot through the forehead, and so close to the gun that the fire burned his clothes.¹³ Indeed, Samuel Owens died as many different deaths as there are sources reporting on him. The funeral was in harmony with the importance of the death of the major. Burial took place "with great pomp" in Chihuahua after that city was occupied on March 1, 1847. A "coffin with trimmings" was obtained, costing seventy dollars—only a little more expensive than the bill for wax candles, an item which totaled sixty-five.¹⁴

The burden of caring for the goods of the firm was now left to James Aull. After Chihuahua was occupied the traders were free to dispose of their goods, their objective when they left Independence ten long months before. Danger had not disappeared even yet, however, for if Doniphan should depart the merchants would be at the mercy of the Mexicans. Consequently, a petition was presented

11. *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 18, 1847.

12. Webb, pp. 274-275.

13. *Doniphan's Expedition*, footnote 107. Connelley gives a number of versions by men who participated in the battle.

14. Owens and Aull, "Day Book," containing invoices of goods from February 14, 1846, and letters and entries from January 28, 1847. Entry dated March, 1847. Hereafter cited as "D. B. I."

to Doniphan asking him to make known his plans, a request he was unable to answer until he received orders from his superior officers. This uncertainty furthered the willingness of the merchants to sell at sacrifice prices on a market which would have been sluggish, even in a normal year, as the result of such heavy importations of goods.¹⁵

But James Aull was unwilling to be stampeded. For several years in the 1830's he had undergone a yearly battle to get his goods through from Philadelphia in time to serve the spring trade of four stores, and in spite of the primitive condition of transportation he had always succeeded. Schooled to expect difficulties, he was unwilling to admit defeat. So he set to work to sell the goods of Owens and Aull as fast as he could, but only at prices that would pay dividends on the venture. Even the slow journey down had been turned to profit, the account book of the firm containing numerous entries of sales made to the troops under whose protection Aull had traveled. On April 3, 1847, for example, he was able to send pay accounts of officers and drafts for army supplies in excess of \$15,000, to Rich and Pomeroy at Santa Fé, to be forwarded to his brother Robert at Lexington. Some of the money came from acting as middleman for the troops, his difficulties not preventing him from buying provisions from the Mexicans and quoting pork and mutton to the army at profitable figures. Nor were the profits to remain idle after they were delivered in Lexington, for James instructed Robert to invest the proceeds in treasury notes at five and six percent interest if they could be obtained at par.¹⁶ Thus dangers from a state of war had not deterred him from embracing the opportunities created by the predicament in which he found himself.

Meanwhile the sale of goods continued. By taking a note he was able to sell a load of goods to Santiago Ulivarri at St. Miguel for \$1,260. By the last of May his brother-in-law, E. W. Pomeroy, at Santa Fé, was able to send \$16,000 to Lexington, and at about the same time Owens' nephew, Harrison, left for Independence with seventy-five mules, six wagons, and \$1,250 in money.¹⁷ Obviously the goods rapidly were being liquidated, but a second major catastrophe was now to descend on the firm.

Doniphan had finally received orders from Gen. Zachary Taylor to join him at Saltillo. What were the traders to do? If they re-

15. *Doniphan's Expedition*, pp. 453-455, 465-466.

16. "D. B. I."

17. E. W. Pomeroy to Robert Aull, May 29, 1847, Aull MSS.

mained they would be without protection. If they accompanied the troops there was small prospect of disposing of their goods. Doniphan attempted to help them by the negotiation of a treaty with Governor Trias to provide for the neutrality of Chihuahua, but his effort failed. On the twenty-fifth of April Doniphan ordered the evacuation of the city, and by the twenty-eighth all had obeyed, except a very few traders who were unwilling to sacrifice their goods. Among the latter was James Aull. His friends in Santa Fé realized his precarious position, and Pomeroy, in his letter of May 29, 1847, could give Robert little assurance of his brother's safety. Persons of influence in Chihuahua had promised protection, but were unwilling to answer for the mob. Misgivings must have filled the minds of these merchants as they watched the scene which greeted their eyes on the morning of April 28, 1847—"The army and a part of the traders were moving off in the direction of Saltillo, while a bustling train of merchants were hurrying out at the other end of the city in the direction of Santa Fé; the skulky Mexican soldiers and lawless rabble rejoicing at our departure from the capitol, and Mexican girls dressed as men accompanying their sweethearts on the road to Saltillo."¹⁸

Shortly after Doniphan left the remaining traders agreed to pay the legal rates of duty on the imported goods, in return for which they were to receive protection. On the evening of June twenty-third, however, while alone in his store, James was attacked by four Mexicans and fatally stabbed in the back, and most of the available money and goods taken.¹⁹ The act was motivated solely by the hope of plunder, and the municipal authorities made what recompense they could by apprehending the culprits and giving James a big funeral. But the second of the two partners had now met his death, and the property of the firm was in danger of being confiscated.

The Mexican authorities appointed a "depository" for the goods, and from June to August they were stored in two rooms for which the heirs of the estate were charged twenty-five cents a day. The "depository," John Mandri, proved himself to be a good bookkeeper. He collected \$4,323.19, from the sale of wagons and harness and from debtors of the estate. His accounts show that he paid out exactly the same amount for translating, customs, fines for illegal inclusion of powder and whiskey in the goods, transportation, and

18. John T. Hughes in the *Liberty* (Mo.) *Weekly Tribune*, July 3, 1847.

19. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 477.

rent.²⁰ But this was at least better than the confiscation of all the goods, a rumor which was current for a time.

On August 8, Pomeroy with several others left Santa Fé for Chihuahua to settle the estate. Apache Indians had been terrorizing the Mexicans along the route and Pomeroy's party was attacked, but managed to escape with the loss of only three mules and three hundred dollars worth of provisions. Fortune continued with them, and they were able to obtain possession of the goods about the middle of October. These proved to be principally lienzo, a bleached goods for which there was little demand. The partners had originally planned to sell these farther south, but, as there was now no hope of getting permission to make the journey, two retail stores were opened in Chihuahua.²¹ By November 15 a third store was in operation and \$9,000 worth of goods had been sold.

A Doctor Connelley, who had engaged in ventures with Owens in Chihuahua in 1843, was appointed legal representative for the estate under a bond of over \$150,000. Power of attorney had to be obtained if the estate was to be kept out of the courts, and Pomeroy urged that a trip be made to Pittsburg, Pa., from Lexington, Mo., to get the Mexican consul there to certify the papers. The situation at Chihuahua was grave, and the difficulty of communicating with the outside world is shown by the fact that copies of Pomeroy's letter were sent out both by way of Santa Fé and Vera Cruz, in the hope that at least one letter would get through. Pomeroy closed his urgent request with the words, "Remember that we are in H-ll and wish to be transferred to a better place."²² In spite of the appeal for haste the papers were not ready until March 4, 1848, at which time the required authorization was sent to Chihuahua.²³

The Mexicans had permitted the sale of the goods to continue, however, and by January, 1848, the estate had been liquidated, with the exception of forty bales of bleached cotton. Pomeroy estimated that there was enough of this article in Chihuahua to supply the demand for two years. Otherwise the goods sold at an excellent price. The cost of the original outfit had been \$70,000. Duties and expenses connected with the liquidation brought the total invested to \$100,000. Pomeroy had hoped to realize a net profit of \$30,000

20. "D. B. I."

21. Joseph P. Hamelin to Robert Aull, October 31, 1847, Aull MSS. Hamelin was a clerk for James Aull.

22. E. W. Pomeroy to Robert Aull, November 22, 1847, Aull MSS.

23. Robert Aull to John Potts, March 4, 1848, "L. B. V."

from the expedition, but when the books were closed it was found that the venture had barely cleared expenses.²⁴

Owens and Aull had left Independence in 1846 with reasonable expectations of disposing of their goods in six months at an excellent profit. Conditions created by the war had lengthened the time to two years, taken the lives of the two men and destroyed the prospects of a profit. Prompt action on the part of Santa Fé friends of the men had prevented the last possible disaster, the confiscation of the cargo.

24. Robert Aull to Siter, Price & Company, July 14, 1848, *ibid.*

The Stubbs

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

AFTER the invasion of the polls by the Proslavery forces at the election of March 30, 1855, the Free State settlers began to organize to defend their rights. In Lawrence two companies, of about fifty members each, were formed, and an agent was dispatched to Boston to secure arms. One of these companies, Kansas Rifles No. 1, organized on April 16, 1855, was, according to Joseph Cracklin,¹ its captain, the "first military company organized in Kansas, and the only one that preserved its organization until the close of the war and many years after."²

During the summer of 1855 the Kansas Rifles drilled daily and served as part of a "standing army" for the protection of Lawrence. In November of that year when the arrest and rescue of Jacob Branson precipitated the Wakarusa war, they were among the first to enroll in the Free State army, being mustered in on November 27, 1855, as Company A, First regiment Kansas Volunteers, First brigade. This company and another were quartered in the *Kansas Free State* printing office, during which time the paper was suspended. R. G. Elliott states that Company A was so "vociferous" for an attack on the Proslavery forces that it threatened mutiny when the peace treaty was signed, and it was only when Gov. Charles Robinson assured them that the "unratified and unproclaimed treaty was not a surrender but a triumph of diplomacy" that the mutineers were quelled.³ Immediately after peace was made the Free State army was disbanded.

About a year after its organization the Kansas Rifles officially adopted the name Stubbs. Most of the men who composed the com-

1. Joseph Cracklin was born in Boston, Mass., May 2, 1816. He was educated in the public schools of Boston, and at the age of sixteen went to sea, where he remained for twelve years, rising to the command of a vessel. Lured to California by the gold rush of 1849, he engaged in mining for two years and then returned home by way of the Isthmus. In 1854 he again set out for the west with the second party of the Emigrant Aid Company. On reaching Lawrence he decided to remain and aid the Free State cause. He was one of the original members of the Lawrence Town Company. As captain of the Stubbs, he took an active part in the border trouble. During the impending attack upon Lawrence in September, 1856, he resigned his Stubbs captaincy to receive a commission as lieutenant colonel from Gen. James Lane. He was again elected captain of the Stubbs in 1857, serving until 1859.

In the Civil War Captain Cracklin served successively as captain of Company D, Second Kansas Volunteer infantry, battalion adjutant in the Second Kansas Volunteer cavalry and second lieutenant of Hopkins battery of the same regiment. He was mustered out in December, 1862. Returning home, he was under medical care for some time for disabilities caused by a sunstroke received in the service. He then engaged in the real estate business in Lawrence and served as city marshal for a number of terms. He was married in 1847 to Miss Julia A. McDuffy, who died ten years later. In 1858 he married Miss Emily Dunlap. After a long illness he died August 2, 1881.

2. *Lawrence Gazette*, April 5, 1883.

3. R. G. Elliott to Katharine Mayo, August 6, 1908, Elliott papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

pany were of short stature, one squad under Sgt. Jonas Colburn being called the "stumpy squad." While in camp on April 6, A. D. Searle moved to change the name to "Stubbs" because the "Stumpies" were in the majority."⁴ The motion carried and on April 24 a meeting was held whereby the organization was perfected under the new name.⁵ In December of the same year the company also endorsed the title of "Oread Guards" as its name in compliment to the ladies of the Oread Female Institute, of Worcester, Mass., who had made and presented each member with a water-proof overcoat.⁶ These they proudly displayed in a parade on Christmas day.

During the border trouble of 1856 the Stubbs were continually in the field. They participated in the attack on the Proslavery forces at New Georgia and at Franklin, and they took part in the capture of Fort Saunders and Fort Titus. In September they joined Col. James A. Harvey's command, which, in response to Lane's call for reinforcements, marched to the attack at Hickory Point. Though they succeeded in capturing the place, the adventure proved disastrous. On the return journey to Lawrence they were captured by the federal troops, marched to Lecompton, and imprisoned; some being confined for several months. The prisoners apparently received no undue favors, for they felt impelled to issue an appeal to the "American People" from their "Great Political Prison," in which they set forth the circumstances of their capture and the hardships they endured at the hands of the Proslavery guards. This appeal appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*, of Lawrence, November 15, 1856, signed by ninety-eight prisoners, at least twenty of whom were members of the Stubbs. The list of names included Capt. A. Cutler, F. B. Swift, E. D. Lyman and L. D. Coleman. Their trial was held at the October term of court. Many were acquitted and some were convicted, six members of the Stubbs being among the latter. By March, 1857, all had either escaped or had been pardoned.

Following the border troubles the Stubbs continued their organization, and in February, 1858, obtained a charter from the Territorial legislature. They also revised their constitution and bylaws. These articles, which are here reproduced, are interesting examples of the rules and regulations governing the many local military organizations popular throughout the country at that time.

4. *Leavenworth Press*, December 18, 1879.

5. *Lawrence Gazette*, April 5, 1883.

6. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 13, 1856.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STUBBS⁷

WHEREAS, the Stubbs organized themselves, upon the 16th day of April, 1855, for the protection of Lawrence and the people of Kansas; and whereas a Constitution and By-Laws which were then adopted were imperfect in many respects, having been hastily drawn up and adopted at a time when it was more our duty to look after the welfare of Kansas than the perpetuity of our Company;

Therefore Resolved, That we deem it necessary that our former Constitution and By-Laws be altered or amended to meet the present necessities of the Company, and we the undersigned bind ourselves to be governed by the following Constitution and By-Laws:

SECTION 1. This Company shall be known as the "STUBBS," and shall be composed of any number of men not to exceed sixty-four rank and file.

SEC. 2. The military officers of this Company shall consist of five commissioned and ten noncommissioned officers, and the civil officers shall consist of six, all of whom shall be elected upon the last Thursday in February in each year, and whose term of office shall be one year; the commissioned officers to be elected by ballot,—all others viva voce.

SEC. 3. The commissioned officers shall consist of one Captain, three Lieutenants, and one Surgeon; and the noncommissioned officers, one Ensign, five Sergeants, and four Corporals; and the civil officers, one Recording and one Corresponding Secretary, one Treasurer, and three Trustees.

SEC. 4. The duties of commissioned and noncommissioned officers shall be the same as laid down in *Cooper's Manual*, with the exception of fifth Sergeant, whose duty it shall be, in addition to his other duties, to take charge of the field piece, and see that it is kept in perfect order.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the Captain to preside at all of the meetings of the Company, and in case of absence the senior officer present shall preside.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a strict account of all the proceedings of the Company, and of all money received by the Company, and to receive and pay over the same to the Treasurer and take his receipt for the same; to keep an account of all fines against members of the Company, and enter them in a book to be kept for that purpose, and to give credit for the same when paid; to keep a journal of all the battles in which the Company took a part, and their action therein.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to carry on all correspondence for the Company; to keep a copy of all letters sent, in a book to be used for that purpose, and file all letters received; to hand over to the Treasurer all moneys received by letter, and take receipts for the same.

SEC. 8. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep a strict account of all monies paid to him belonging to the Company, and to pay over to the Recording Secretary all money from the treasury not otherwise appropriated which he may demand on order signed by himself, and countersigned by the Captain, and no money shall be paid in any other way, and keep a strict account of all such money so paid over, and carefully file away all such orders, and at any time to be ready to make a report when called for by the Company.

7. The constitution and bylaws of the Stubbs were presented to the Kansas State Historical Society by Mrs. Mary S. Learnard of Lawrence, Kansas.

SEC. 9. It shall be the duty of the Trustees to receive and preserve all deeds, bonds, or other writings for property, which may be received for the Company, and a duplicate of all leases which may be given or received by the Company, and have them properly recorded in the office of the county tribunal transacting such business, and to keep a correct record of all such papers in a book to be kept for that purpose, and to see that all such writings for the Company be made out in the name of the "Stubbs," and to sign in the name of the Stubbs all deeds, mortgages, leases, articles of agreement, and other writings, when so directed by a vote of the majority of members present at any of the stated meetings of the Company, or at a called meeting, when two thirds of the members shall have been previously notified of such meeting by hand-bills posted or otherwise; to make contracts for the purchase and sale of property, always subject to a vote of the Company, and to see that deeds be procured where bonds have already been given.

SEC. 10. The Company shall be divided into three rolls—Active, Honorary and Retired Rolls.

SEC. 11. The Active Roll shall consist of all active members of the Company, who shall at all times hold themselves in readiness to go into active service, and shall be subject to fines and other punishments, for disobedience to their officers, or non-attendance of meetings and drills of the Company.

SEC. 12. The Honorary Roll shall be composed of persons who may or may not have been upon the Active Roll of the Company, who shall receive none of the benefits to which active members are entitled, nor take any part in drills or meetings of the Company, but may attend meetings at any time.

SEC. 13. The Retired Roll shall be composed of persons who have been upon the active list, and who have taken part as members of the Company in some of the battles of Kansas. They may or may not attend meetings or drills at their pleasure; and shall be entitled to vote in the Company, but shall be subject in other respects to all the rules and regulations to which active members are subject.

SEC. 14. By-Laws may be altered or adopted at any meeting of the Company, by a vote of the majority present, provided such adoption or alteration does not conflict with this Constitution.

SEC. 15. This Constitution may be altered or amended at any meeting of the Company by a majority vote of the members present, provided that one week's notice in writing shall have been given of such proposed amendment.

BY-LAWS OF THE STUBBS

I. Any person becoming a member of this Company shall sign his name to the Constitution and By-Laws, and agree to be governed by all the rules of the Company, and bind himself to pay all fines imposed, or suffer such other penalty as shall be inflicted upon him by the Company, for neglect of duty in any respect, and to pay his proportion of taxes levied to defray the expenses of the Company.

II. If any member of this Company shall absent himself from Company meetings, he shall be bound by the action of the members of the Company present at any such meeting, and if absent, unless by sickness, or on parole, shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five cents nor more than one

dollar; provided, that no person living more than five miles from town be compelled to attend weekly meetings.

III. If any member of this Company be guilty of disobedience to superior officers, or neglect to attend a regular parade when duly notified, unless absent by sickness or on parole, he shall pay a fine of not less than two, nor more than five dollars, or be expelled from the Company, or fined and expelled.

IV. Each member of the Company shall hold himself accountable to the Company for any injury that may befall any arms entrusted to his care; and shall be fined if he appear upon parade with such arms or accoutrements out of order, soiled or rusted, or with his uniform unclean or out of repair, not less than two dollars nor more than ten, unless a good and sufficient excuse in the estimation of the Company be given, and shall return all such arms, accoutrements and uniform to the officer in command, at such time and place as he may designate, and in good order.

V. The Orderly Sergeant of the Company, or other officer acting as such, for any neglect of duty in notifying members to appear at meetings, drills, or parades of the Company, when so ordered by the Company, or by the commanding officer of the Company, or in cases provided for in these By-Laws, shall be fined for each such offence not less than two dollars nor to exceed twenty-five.

VI. All other officers, for neglect of their duties, shall be fined for each offence at the discretion of the Company, not to exceed five hundred dollars.

VII. This Company shall meet for public parade once in each three months, and on their anniversary, and upon such holidays as the Company may designate, notice being given by the Orderly Sergeant, through one or more papers, or by notices posted in three or more public places in this city, which shall be considered a sufficient notice.

VIII. The Company shall meet for the transaction of business or to drill, on Thursday of every week, and meetings may be called for the transaction of special business, by a call signed by any three of the members.

IX. No person shall become a member of this Company without he first pay an entrance fee of ten dollars, and receive a majority vote of the members present at a stated meeting; provided, nothing in this section be construed into compelling any person whose name is upon the Revised Roll to pay the above fee.

X. In case of any member being sick, it shall be the duty of each member of the Company to see that he is properly cared for, and in case a member in good standing becomes destitute, his wants shall be provided for by the Company, and should a member die while thus destitute, the expenses of his funeral shall be borne by the Company.

XI. The civil officers of this Company shall, upon entering on the discharge of their duties, each give bond for the faithful discharge of the business entrusted to their care, in the sum of five hundred dollars.

Because of the territorial tension the Stubbs company was probably a more serious minded organization than similar groups in the Eastern states. However, like other companies, it was partly social in nature, and was popular in Lawrence where its members fre-

quently gave military balls. The *Kansas Free State* of November 19, 1855, published an account of an elaborate ball given by the company at the Free State hotel just before the Wakarusa war, which was attended by five hundred guests. Another was given Christmas day 1856, shortly after the release of some of the members from the Lecompton prison.⁸ The Stubbs also possessed that love of pageantry and the exhibitionism which still prevails in the parades of many secret orders and veteran organizations today. Ample proof of this is seen in the description of the proposed uniform, which was to meet the following specifications:

UNIFORM OF THE OREAD GUARDS, ALIAS STUBBS⁹

Hats for Privates

Black Kossuth hat, high crown, black feather on right side of hat, fastened up with silver loop and button, Silver cord and tassel encircling hat.

Coats

Deep blue cloth hunting frock with cape and belt at waist, and close coat sleeve, with buttons at waist and on sleeve, bottom of cape, and skirt trimmed with silver fringe. Silver gilt bayonett in each corner of cape.

Pants

Black Cassimere pants with Silver cord $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch in diameter down the outside seam.

Officers

For Captain, three Lieutenants, and Surgeon, uniform same as for privates with the exception that where Silver trimmings are used for privates, Gold is used for Officers.

Arms and Equipment

Seventy-five Sharps Rifles, Seventy navy-size Colts Revolvers, Five dress Swords, Five Sashes, Ninety Six Cartouch boxes. White patent leather Shoulder Straps and Belts, and Pistol Holster.

An addition to this description of the uniforms also indicated the amount of material to be used. For one captain, three lieutenants, one surgeon and ninety-six privates, the materials were as follows: 275 yds. black cassimere; 96 silver loops and buttons for hats; 100 Kossuth hats; 250 yds. blue broadcloth; 96 silver cords and tassels for hats; 480 yds. silver fringe for coats; five gold loops and buttons for hats; five gold cords and tassels for hats; 25 yds. gold fringe for coats; $12\frac{1}{2}$ yds. gold cord $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter for pants; 10 gold gilt bayonets for coats; 192 silver gilt bayonets for coats; and 100 black feathers for hats.

8. *Herald of Freedom*, January 3, 1857.

9. The original manuscript is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, the gift of Thaddeus Hyatt.

It is doubtful whether any similar organization had a sterner record of service in the Civil War than did the Stubbs. When President Lincoln called for troops in May, 1861, they responded immediately. After filling their ranks they proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, where they were mustered into the First regiment of Kansas Volunteer infantry. In completing the organization of the regiment, lots were drawn for rank and that of "D" fell to the Stubbs. The company's officers were F. B. Swift,¹⁰ captain, N. W. Spicer,¹¹ first lieutenant, and Caleb S. Pratt,¹² second lieutenant. On June 12 orders were issued for six companies of the First regiment to proceed to Wyandotte. Much to the disgust of the Stubbs they were left behind, due to the illness of Captain Swift and the absence of Lieutenant Spicer.¹³ But the delay was only for a few days and soon the whole force was under orders to march.

Within two months after organization the First regiment engaged in its first major battle at Wilson creek, one of the most important battles in the West. In this engagement hard fighting fell to the First Kansas and the First Missouri infantry, both of which suffered terrible losses. It is recorded that the Stubbs here displayed the greatest bravery, being one of six companies of the First Kansas ordered by Col. George W. Deitzler to engage a rebel force four times their number.¹⁴ Lieutenant Spicer, who took command after Captain Swift was wounded, wrote of the battle: "At one stroke the officers of our company all fell but myself. After Captain Swift was wounded and disabled, I took command. . . . We were exposed to a galling fire from two directions for over three hours. The men fell around me in every direction. There was a perfect storm of iron and lead. But our men never flinched or moved until ordered. Thirty of our company were killed and wounded, although I only

10. For biographical sketch of Francis B. Swift see *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 482.

11. Newell W. Spicer came to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1856 with an emigrant party from Chicago. He arrived in Topeka August 13, and immediately joined with the attack on Fort Saunders. During the remainder of the struggle he was continually in the field, rising from the rank of first lieutenant of the Chicago company to the office of adjutant. He became a member of the Stubbs company, and was elected third lieutenant in 1859. He entered the Civil War as first lieutenant of Company D, First regiment Kansas Volunteer infantry in 1861, and was promoted to captain in 1862. In June, 1863, he rose to the rank of colonel.

12. Caleb S. Pratt, a native of Massachusetts, arrived in Lawrence September 12, 1854, a member of the second party sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company. He engaged in the real estate business in Lawrence, and from 1858 until his death he held the office of county clerk. He also served as city clerk for several years. As a member of the Stubbs he took a conspicuous part in the territorial struggle. On June 3, 1861, he was mustered into the federal service and became second lieutenant of Company D, First regiment of Kansas Volunteer infantry. He fell at the battle of Wilson creek, August 10, 1861. He was twenty-nine years old and unmarried.

13. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, June 20, 1861.

14. Major Halderman's report of the battle of Wilson creek in W. S. Burke's *Military History of Kansas Regiments*, Appendix, p. 454.

reported 24.”¹⁵ He also quoted Maj. S. D. Sturgis as saying, “The Kansas boys are doing the best fighting I ever saw before.”¹⁶ In his official report, Maj. John A. Halderman likewise gave much credit to the First Kansas. “All the officers and men of this command fought with a courage and heroism rarely, if ever, equaled.”¹⁷

For the remainder of 1861 the First Kansas did guard duty along the railroads in Missouri. In February, 1862, it was ordered to Fort Leavenworth to join the contemplated expedition to the southwest. Plans for the expedition were abandoned, however, and the regiment was sent east to reinforce Gen. W. H. Halleck in Mississippi. In February, 1863, the regiment was mounted and served the ensuing eighteen months as mounted infantry, being mustered out of service on June 17, 1864.¹⁸

An unusually large number of Stubbs received recognition for valiant service. Captain Cracklin stated that twenty-seven out of the sixty held commissions.¹⁹ Milton Kennedy, who was a later captain of the company, in an interview with the editor of the *Kansas Tribune*, gave some interesting particulars concerning its remarkable record, asserting that “the entire rolls of the company contain 390 names since its first organization and the aggregate on their discharge was eighty-nine. There were fifty-two promotions mostly from the original company, as it was organized at Lawrence, of whom three became colonels.” He added, “It is probable that no volunteer company in the service has so large a list or better record for gallantry.”²⁰

After the war the need for local military companies ceased, and the ranks of the original Stubbs were too much depleted, perhaps, to allow a continuation of the organization. At any rate no account of their meetings is found. At the old settlers’ anniversary meeting held at Lawrence in September, 1871, W. I. R. Blackman, the first captain of the Stubbs, called the roll of the company.²¹ Only five or six persons answered to their names. The greater part of the absentees were either listed as “dead” or having moved to some other locality.

15. Extract from a letter of Lieutenant Spicer to his wife, *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, August 29, 1861.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865*, “Military History of Kansas Regiments,” p. 7.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

19. *Lawrence Gazette*, April 5, 1883.

20. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, September 28, 1865.

21. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, September 16, 1871.

Ferries in Kansas

(Concluded)

GEORGE A. ROOT

PART XV—MARAI DES CYGNES RIVER

THE Marais des Cygnes river rises in the northeast part of Lyon county, being formed by the junction of One Hundred and Forty-two and Elk creeks. It flows in a generally easterly direction across Osage and Franklin counties, cutting off the southwest corner of Miami and the northeast corner of Linn before entering Missouri. Early maps designate the stream as the Grand river, but the Osage Indians called it the Marais des Cygnes. A footnote in Andreas' *History of Kansas*, page 63, states that the northern fork of the Osage was called the Marais des Cygnes until its junction with the Little Osage, the two forks uniting to form the Osage or Great Osage. However, in Kansas the stream is known as the Marais des Cygnes as far as the state boundary, but after it crosses the line it is known as the Osage river. The river is about 445 miles long, approximately 150 miles being in Kansas.

Ascending the river within the state of Kansas, the first ferry location of which we have information was that one at the mouth of Big Sugar creek, in Linn county. In the legislature of 1857, House Petition No. 1 was presented, asking for a charter for a ferry across the river at the mouth of Big Sugar creek.¹ House bill No. 12 was also introduced, granting to Samuel Carmack permission to operate a ferry at that point for a period of fifteen years. This bill was passed and signed by the governor.²

In 1860 another ferry was projected for this vicinity when a bill was introduced in the house of representatives to incorporate the Osage Falls Bridge and Ferry Co. The company consisted of A. B. Massey, Hardy Keeney, Addison Danford, John Watson, George A. Crawford, Asa Hairgrove, Andrew Stark, Robert B. Mitchell and Jacob M. Fickes. The act gave them ferry privileges for a period of twenty-one years, with power to erect a toll bridge or bridges across the Marais des Cygnes and Big Sugar creek, and to run a ferry across the river at the mouth of Big Sugar creek until such bridge or bridges should be built. Capital stock of the company was listed at \$15,000, with shares at \$10 each.³

1. *House Journal*, Kansas, 1857, p. 45.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 56. *Council Journal*, 1857, pp. 49, 55, 70, 84. *Private Laws*, 1857, pp. 165, 166.

3. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 356, 391, 692. *Council Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 507, 534. *Private Laws*, 1860, special session, pp. 23, 24.

The next ferry location upstream was probably in the vicinity of old Trading Post, about a mile distant. During the regular session of the legislature of 1860, Mr. G. A. Colton introduced a bill for the establishment of a ferry at that location. Owing to friction between the governor, secretary and the legislature growing out of the removal of the legislative body to Lawrence, and the refusal of the secretary to provide needed supplies for the use of the members, the solons voted to adjourn and did so, without taking action on the bill.⁴

Another ferry project for the same locality was contemplated in a bill introduced the same year at the special session by Rep. J. H. Jones; who on January 23, submitted a bill to establish a ferry at the old Trading Post in Linn county. This location was approximately a mile above the mouth of Sugar creek.⁵

The earliest ferry within Linn county was authorized by the legislature of 1855, in House bill No. 117. It was established by Martin Taylor and John Ballard, at or near their own ford on lands claimed by them. They were granted special privileges at this point and for a distance of two miles above their ford, for a period of ten years.⁶ W. A. Mitchell, in his "Historic Linn," published in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 614, says Taylor and Ballard were given the monopoly of a ferry and ford where the old mill stands, which was built at considerable expense by R. A. Denton in 1870, and was on the Mundell farm. The ferry was operated opposite where Thornton Creager lived in later years.

In 1859 the legislature passed an act granting authority to N. H. Williams and his heirs and assigns to keep a ferry across the Marais des Cygnes river within one mile of Ballard's ford, in Linn county, with exclusive privileges within the distance of one mile on each side of his ferry location. The operator was required to keep a good and substantial boat or boats, sufficient to cross the traveling public, and keep the same in good repair, or in case the boat was lost to secure another. Ferry charges were to be fixed by the county authorities. This act was signed by Gov. Samuel Medary on February 11, 1859, and took effect at once.⁷

The next ferry location upstream was at a point near where the road from Twin Springs to the Missouri state line crossed the Marais des Cygnes river. In 1860 Henry Dunbar was granted authority by the legislature to establish a ferry within one mile of the

4. *House Journal*, 1860, p. 138.

5. *Ibid.*, special session, p. 64.

6. *Ibid.*, 1855, pp. 199, 202, 226, 238, 249. *Council Journal*, 1855, p. 147. *General Statutes*, 1855, pp. 796, 797.

7. *Private Laws*, 1859, pp. 108, 109.

above location and was to have a ten-year exclusive privilege for a distance of one mile on each side of his ferry site. This location is about three miles northwest of La Cygne.⁸

The next ferry location upstream was in present Miami county, where the old "Telegraph" road from Kansas City, Mo., crossed the Marais des Cygnes. Lacking data of Miami county ferries, the writer appealed to the venerable editor and publisher of *The Western Spirit*, of Paola, who kindly furnished the following:

PAOLA, KANSAS, 4, 15, '36.

DEAR ROOT—Hoover and English (Dr. Woodson D. Hoover, pioneer practitioner in Paola, and T. C. English of Osage township, a farmer) operated a ferry at what was known as "Wire Crossing" of Marais des Cygnes river, 6 miles directly south of Paola, in 1867, and continued it until the early summer of 1869, when Mo. Riv., Ft. Scott & Gulf R. R. went through Miami county. There were other owners in latter part of 1866. The operators from summer of 1867 to the close were R. P. Loomis and Henry White. It paid fairly well, even against heavy flood losses, until the railroad was built in 1869. "Wire Crossing" was so named because in 1864-'5 the U. S. government ran a telegraph line from Kansas City, Mo., to Ft. Scott, via Paola. I helped Henry White do ferrying in the spring of 1869.—BERNARD JAMES SHERIDAN.

Osawatomie was probably the next ferry location, and a ferry was in operation there the summer of 1855. We have been unable to locate any mention of this enterprise aside from two slight references. The earliest of these mentions was in a letter written from Osawatomie to the *Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, under date of July 27, 1855, and copied in the *Herald of Freedom*, of Lawrence, on August 18, stating that "A deep cut is made in the banks of the streams for the crossings; and a ferry boat has been placed upon the Osage." The other was by the Rev. S. L. Adair, who referred to it in his testimony in a suit brought by the Osawatomie Town Company⁹ vs. Samuel M. Merritt, Jacob Benjamin, Daniel W. Collies, Randolph Hughes and John Yelton, mail contractor, before the land court at Lecompton, in the late 1850's. This location was on the northeast quarter of S. 11, T. 18, R. 23. How long the above ferry operated and who ran it, we have no knowledge, but it must have been taken over by other parties or discontinued, for in 1859 O. C. Brown, H. H. Williams, George W. Cavert, Cyrus Foster, Samuel Geer, S. C. Parish, F. W. Cram, Amos Alderman, Wm. Chestnut, J. B. Scofield, F. Conant, H. B. Smith and others secured a charter from the legislature permitting them to establish and keep a ferry on the Osage

8. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, p. 329. *Council Journal*, 1860, special session. *Private Laws*, 1860, special session, pp. 277, 278.

9. This original document is in the Manuscript division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

river and Pottawatomie creek. They were to have exclusive privilege for one mile each way from a point opposite Osawatomie for a term of five years, or until the streams were bridged at or near the town. The above-named parties agreed to keep in repair a good and substantial boat or boats, steam or flat, as the wants of the public might demand, but in case of accident or loss of boat were to be allowed proper and necessary time to repair or obtain a new one. County authorities were to fix ferriage rates from year to year, and these were to be posted at the ferry landing. The operators were also required to file a good and sufficient bond. This act was approved by Governor Medary on February 9, 1859, and took effect at once.¹⁰

The next ferry upstream was in the vicinity of Stanton, where Josiah Bundy was engaged in the business at a point known as Bundys' ford in Lykins county. We have been unable to learn the date this enterprise was started. During the session of the 1859 legislature he secured a charter permitting him to engage in the business, with exclusive privileges for a five-year period, no one being permitted to engage in a similar service within the distance of a mile of his ferry. He gave bond in the sum of \$2,000 that he would pay all damages ensuing from any neglect or mismanagement of the ferry on his part. This act was approved by the governor on January 28, 1859, and went into effect at once.¹¹ Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, while on his way to Osawatomie to make an address, wrote of it as follows:

We were early on the bank (a mile from Stanton) of the Marais des Cygnes, which was running heavy driftwood, and otherwise misbehaving itself. It had buried up the ferry-rope, without whose aid the boat could not be propelled across its sweeping current; one of the trees to which that rope was attached was now nearly in the middle of the stream; and there had been no crossing for a day or two. But a new rope had been procured and somehow stretched across the stream; whereby we were taken across in our turn, after waiting somewhat over an hour. A mile or so of well timbered and too well watered bottom brought us again to prairie, over which we drove rapidly into Osawatomie, which we reached before 10 a. m.¹²

I left Osawatomie on the morning of the nineteenth, in the Lawrence stage, crossing the Marais des Cygnes at Bundy's ferry (where we crossed the day before), and finding the water considerably lower, though still over its regular northern bank, and the access on either side most detestable.¹³

10. *Private Laws*, 1859, pp. 115, 116.

11. *Council Journal*, 1859, pp. 51, 64, 84, 106, 168, 171, 182. *House Journal*, 1859, pp. 122, 171. *Private Laws*, 1859, pp. 109, 110.

12. Greeley, Horace, *An Overland Journey*, p. 31.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

Several measures were before the special session of the legislature in 1860 for ferry privileges on the Marais des Cygnes river, some of which passed both houses but failed to get the approval of the governor. One, however, for a ferry at the Morse ford, near Stanton, became a law. This act authorized S. L. Morse to operate a ferry for a period of five years at this point. His charges for ferriage were to be fixed by the county board.¹⁴

The next ferry location upstream was in the vicinity of Peoria, in Franklin county, but aside from a mention in the journal of the lower house of the legislature of a bill to authorize a ferry at the old town of that name, we have been unable to locate any further history.¹⁵

In 1860, Henry Shively,¹⁶ a member of the house of representatives, gave notice at the regular session of that body that he would at an early day introduce a bill for the establishment of a ferry across the Marais des Cygnes. The legislature adjourned before action was taken on his measure. During the special session which convened immediately afterwards a new bill was introduced which passed both houses and was approved by the governor on February 27. This act carried a five-year privilege at a point known as the Sewel ford. Ferriage rates were fixed by the county board.¹⁷

The next ferry upstream was at or close to Ottawa, and the first one in this vicinity may have been operated by Ottawa Indians, who were living on a reservation which embraced lands in this immediate neighborhood. Fred Richmond, an early resident of Ottawa, says that he was the first white boy to live in Ottawa after it was laid out in 1864, and to the best of his recollection the Ottawa Indians operated the first ferry at that point, using ropes. He thought that a Mr. Robbins, who also ran a store, operated a ferry at one time.

The earliest mention of ferries in this locality coming to our attention was one dated 1859. That year D. W. Houston, P. P. Elder, and A. R. Morton and their associates were given authority by the legislature to establish and keep a ferry across the Marais des Cygnes in Franklin county for a term of ten years, with landing privileges on both sides of the river. This act was approved by the governor on February 9, 1859, and took effect at once.¹⁸

An item in the *Wyandotte Gazette*, of June 30, 1866, stated that

14. *Private Laws*, 1860, special session, p. 279.

15. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, p. 729.

16. Henry Shively is listed in the "Census of 1860," Franklin county, Peoria township, pp. 275, 276. His age is given as 41. He was a native of Indiana.

17. *House Journal*, 1860, p. 126. *Private Laws*, 1860, special session, p. 278.

18. *House Journal*, 1859, pp. 202, 225, 242, 277, 278. *Private Laws*, 1859, pp. 110, 111.

"A good ferryboat has been placed in the Marais des Cygnes, at Ottawa." F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher, an early resident of Ottawa, recalled a story told by the late Col. J. N. Harrison, better known among his acquaintances as "Curly" Harrison, about Charles Robbins, who ran the ferryboat at Ottawa before the bridges came:

Colonel Harrison said that the late Charles Robbins, picturesque pioneer of Ottawa, was operating the ferry across the Marais des Cygnes at Ottawa. Business was not exactly rushing one warm summer day and Robbins had his ferry docked on the south side of the stream. He was engaged in a game of cards in the shade with some "unemployed" friends. A man appeared on the north side of the river. He called across but the ferry operator did not want to be annoyed. The newcomer kept clamoring for attention, however, and finally Robbins turned around and demanded to know what he wanted. He shouted that he wanted to cross the river. Robbins, peeved by the interruption, shouted the demand: "How much money have you got?" The man who wanted to cross announced that he had a dime. "If you've only got a dime, you will be just as well off on that side as on this side," Robbins yelled back, closing the negotiations and returning to his interrupted card game.¹⁹

Mr. Brinkerhoff in a letter to the author, dated April 13, 1936, gives additional data of this early-day operator. He wrote:

Robbins was one of the first men in Ottawa. I knew him very well. He served for many, many years as justice of the peace and died, as I now recall it, about 20 years ago. He was an early-day sheriff of Franklin county. Robbins had an affliction. He seemed to have no roof in his mouth.

Another story that Harrison used to tell ran like this. Robbins was on his ferry on the south side of the river one day when another fellow afflicted in the same way appeared at the north side dock. He called across to Robbins who got the notion he was being mocked. According to Harrison the battle of words was terrible until a bystander intervened and straightened the thing out.

We have discovered no mention of ferry matters for the Marais des Cygnes in either Osage or Lyon counties, and nothing further for Franklin.

PART XVI—VERDIGRIS RIVER

THE Verdigris river is formed by a number of small branches which start in Chase county, in R. 9 E., and T. 21 and 22 S. The stream flows east into Lyon county, cutting the southwest corner and on into Greenwood county, which it leaves at a point almost east of Eureka. From here it enters Woodson county, close to the town of Toronto, and flows across the southwest corner. Wilson and Montgomery are then crossed in a circuitous fashion before the stream enters Oklahoma. From the state line south the river con-

19. Pittsburg Sun, December 6, 1935.

tinues through Nowata, Rogers and Wagoner counties, and joins the Arkansas river in the extreme northeast corner of Muskogee county, about a mile above the point where the Neosho river enters that stream. The Verdigris is approximately 270 miles long, of which about 158 miles are in Kansas.

Probably the earliest mention of the stream is by Pike, the explorer, who refers to the river in his journal under date of September 10, 1806.¹ Thomas Nuttall, another explorer, mentions the river in his journal on July 14, 1819, and speaks of the rapids in the stream.² Maj. S. H. Long also wrote of the Verdigris on September 4, 1819, and gives Was-su-ja, as the Osage name.³

The first ferry north of the Kansas-Oklahoma line was probably not far from the old town of Parker. This town was established in 1869, named for D. T. Parker, and was located on the east side of the Verdigris, about one half mile north of the state boundary. We have been unable to learn who operated this crossing, or how long it was in service.

Westralia was probably the location of the next ferry, which may have started sometime during 1869. On June 24, that year, the Westralia Bridge and Ferry Company was organized, its incorporators being Eli Dennis, Oscar F. Johns, Wm. D. Bailey, H. C. Crawford and E. T. Saunders. The principal office of the company was to be located at Westralia, and its capital stock was placed at \$10,000, with shares at \$100 each. The purpose of the company was to establish a ferry across the Verdigris river and to improve crossings and fords on the stream, commencing at the point where the 37th parallel of latitude or south line of Kansas crosses the Verdigris river, thence north up the river for a distance of ten miles, including all fords and crossings on the river. The company was also privileged to improve the banks of the principal crossings and to build a toll bridge within the ten-mile limit at the northwest corner of Westralia. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, June 30, 1869.⁴

Verdigris City was the next ferry location upstream. On July 7, 1869, the county commissioners of Montgomery county granted a license to Daniel McTaggart and M. C. Dickey to operate a ferry at this point. Mr. Dickey was one of the founders of Topeka. McTaggart, a Civil War veteran, was an early settler of Montgomery

1. Pike, *Expeditions* (1810), p. 136.

2. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. 13, pp. 234, 235.

3. *Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 281.

4. "Corporations" (copybooks from secretary of state's office in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society), v. 2, p. 94. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1565.

county, and located on Indian lands in this vicinity soon after the war. He was the first county treasurer of Montgomery county, and later served as a member of the legislature. He also operated a flouring mill and cotton gin, and during the later years of his life he resided at Liberty.

The next ferry location upstream was at Independence. The ferry, which was run by J. W. Jones, was probably started about 1869 or 1870, and was the first ferry at this point. A letter to George H. Wark, of Independence, regarding it brought the reply that "there seems to be a very meager record in the city hall at Independence, but the ferry was operated there near the site of what was afterwards Waldsmith Mill, during the year of 1870 and perhaps part of 1871."

Another ferry upstream was the one operated by E. H. Moseley, at the north line of S. 4, T. 28, R. 15, in Wilson county. This location is shown on a plat of a road running from Humboldt, in Allen county, via Fredonia, to the junction of Duck creek and Elk river.⁵ Moseley was an early-day trader among the Osages, and was one of the commissioners who laid out the road.

Toronto was probably the last location on the river to require a ferry, but aside from an item in the *Western Home Journal*, of Lawrence, January 17, 1871, which stated that "A ferryboat is to be put on the Verdigris at Toronto," we have found no further mention of ferries on this river.

PART XVII—COTTONWOOD RIVER

THE Cottonwood river has its source in northwest Marion county where a number of small branches unite. A little over two miles west of the city of Marion the south branch of the Cottonwood joins the larger one, and the combined streams flow in a southeasterly direction through the county to enter Chase at a point about a mile northwest of the village of Cedar Point. From here the river flows in a northeasterly direction, making a bend to the south and east, touching Cottonwood Falls on the north, and thence in an easterly direction to leave Chase county at a point about two and one half miles due east of the village of Safford, where it enters Lyon county about one mile west of the village of Plymouth. From here it flows in a circuitous course, touching the southern limits of Emporia, and on into the Neosho about three miles northwest of the town of Neosho Rapids. The Cottonwood has the distinction of being the largest tributary of the Neosho. It is approximately 137 miles long,

⁵. Original plat and field notes are in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

about 42 being in Marion, 58 in Chase and the balance in Lyon counties. Its drainage area is estimated at 1,690 square miles.¹

A writer in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, of July 22, 1930, wrote that a small steamboat brought from Lake Michigan, plied up and down the Cottonwood in the early 1880's. The boat was known as the *Maude Murphy*, and was named for a popular teacher in the Marion schools. This boat is also mentioned in a *Handbook of Marion County*, published in 1886.

The first ferry on the Cottonwood upstream was located a short distance south of Emporia, about two blocks south of the old Soden mill, and was operated by "Big" and "Little" Jim Moore—father and son. This enterprise was started in 1866 or 1867, and continued until the bridges came. The late E. M. Hinshaw, of Emporia, at times assisted in the running of the ferryboat. His son, John E. Hinshaw, has a lively recollection of the old ferryboat, and in a letter to the writer describes it as a rope ferry. A cable was stretched across the river, and a wheel rode on top. A windlass with spokes wound or unwound as the boat crossed over.

Mrs. Martha S. Rees, 1901 Rural street, Emporia, also remembers the ferryboat. She was living south of the Cottonwood river at that time, and recollects that the ferry was located a short distance south of Soden's mill.

Mrs. Flora I. Godsey, Emporia, in a letter to the writer, stated that she had talked with Mrs. Hallie Soden, daughter of Emporia's early miller, and a Mrs. Stack, and that they both had spoken of the large, flat-bottomed boat used occasionally when the river was up.

Ordinarily the Cottonwood was easily forded, the ferryboat being used when highwater prevailed.

Agitation for a bridge began early in 1867 and at that time the river was too high to be forded,² so it is more than likely the ferrying in this county ceased this year or the next.

The next ferry upstream was in Chase county, near the town of Cottonwood Falls. The only mention of this we have discovered is the following item and advertisement in the *Chase County Banner*, Cottonwood Falls, January 10, 1869:

Wood's Ferry Boat is in running order. Persons wishing to cross the Cottonwood will always find a safe and easy passage. This ferry being only three fourths of a mile below town, it will accommodate the travel going to Council Grove as well as that passing down the Cottonwood. This arrange-

1. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau, *Daily River Stages*, Part IX, p. 47.

2. Emporia News, February 8, 22, 1867.

ment will also relieve our Butler Co. friends from the necessity, as has frequently been the case, of waiting upon the bank of the Cottonwood until a large freshet had subsided; as it will be but a very little out of their direct line of travel to Emporia and other points farther north and east.

WOOD'S FERRY IS NOW IN RUNNING ORDER. One Mile Below Cottonwood Falls. My Boat is 36 feet long, 14 feet wide, and perfectly safe. The toll is as follows: Loaded wagon, \$1.00; Empty wagon, 50; One horse and wagon, 50; Single Horse and Rider, 25; Footman, 15; Loose cattle and horses, 5 cents per head; Sheep and hogs, 2 cents per head; Teams of over two horses, or one yoke of Oxen, 10 cents additional for each animal. S. N. WOOD.

So far as we have been able to learn, this completes the history of ferrying on the Cottonwood river.

PART XVIII—SPRING RIVER

SPRING river rises in the western part of Lawrence county, Missouri, flows in a slightly northwest direction across it and Jasper counties and enters Kansas in Cherokee county. It runs in a generally southern course out of Kansas and into Ottawa county, Oklahoma, where it unites with the Neosho river. The stream is about 100 miles long, twenty five of which are in Kansas.

The first ferry on the river north of the Kansas line was in the immediate vicinity of Baxter Springs. Frank M. Perkins says:

*Mr. Geo. A. Root,
Topeka, Kan.:*

BAXTER SPRINGS, Ks., Aug. 9, 1932.

DEAR SIR.—Yours of July 2 rec'd and will say I have interviewed every old timer here in regard to the ferry matter.

The Baxter Springs Bridge and Ferry Co. never did function.

A. Willard built and operated a cable ferry from 1867 to the time the bridge was built over Spring river in 1886. This was on what is now called 12th street or River street and is one half mile east of Baxter. There was a ferry over the Neosho at Chetopa, and one over Spring river at Boston Mills, about 6 miles up the river from Baxter.

There was a ferry known as Pooler's ferry in Oklahoma, about 20 miles south of here. Mose Pooler was a half-blood Cherokee Indian.

Yours truly,

FRANK M. PERKINS.

Another ferry in the vicinity of Baxter Springs was known as Stanley's ferry, and was operating in the spring of 1870. At meetings of the county commissioners on May 2 and 3 of that year, a petition was presented by J. S. Van Epps, asking the board to appoint commissioners to view, locate and lay out a road running from Water street, in Baxter Springs, to Spring river, thence along that

river south to Stanley's ferry. This petition was granted and J. S. Van Epps, R. Little and C. Harvey were appointed commissioners, who, together with the county surveyor, were to view and survey this road on May 23, 1870. No further mention of this ferry has been located.¹

On March 2, 1869, the Baxter Springs Bridge and Ferry Co., was organized, its projectors being Wm H. Hornor, Goodwin Vanwinkle, E. W. Botsford, A. S. Dennison and D. W. King. This organization was capitalized at \$50,000, with shares at \$25 each. Baxter Springs was designated as the principal place of business, and the company contemplated building a bridge or operating a ferry on Spring river near there. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 10, 1869,² but according to Mr. Perkins the company got no further.

Boston Mills, about six miles up Spring river from Baxter Springs, was the next ferry crossing. The mills were on the west side of the river. The post office of Destine was here also, the military road passing between the mills and post office. Boston Mills was about two miles north of Empire City,³ and is shown in the *Third Annual Report* of the State Board of Agriculture of 1874.

John Broylis operated a ferry on Spring river in Cherokee county, but we have been unable to locate any data concerning it, other than the casual mention that the ferry was an intermediate point on a state road running from Sovereign's ferry on the Neosho river, to Columbus and via Broylis' ferry to the state line. Milton Douglas, Fred Wagoner and John Broylis were the commissioners who laid out the road, the latter probably being the operator of the ferry.⁴

PART XIX.—NINNESCAH RIVER

THE Ninneseah is formed by two branches, the North and South Forks, which unite slightly northwest of the village of Venice in Sedgwick county. The North Fork rises in the southeast part of Stafford county, flows slightly to the northeast and enters Reno county in Range 10 W., Township 24. Describing an arc the stream passes close to Sylvia and Arlington, thence eastward, passing just south of the village of Castleton, thence to the southeast into Sedgwick county to unite with the South Fork. The South Fork is the longer of the two branches and rises in Pratt county in Range 14, near the center of that county from north to south. It has a

1. *The Workingman's Journal*, Columbus, May 20, 1870.

2. "Corporations," v. 2, p. 37.

3. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1169.

4. *Laws*, Kansas, 1871, p. 302.

practically east course through that and Kingman counties, thence to the southeast and across the southwest corner of Sedgwick, uniting with the North Fork, the combined streams then entering Sumner county and crossing that county to the southeast to join the Arkansas river about three miles north of the town of Oxford. The North Fork is approximately 77 miles long, while the South Fork to its junction with the Arkansas is about 147 miles in length. Ninnescah is an Osage word, and the meaning has been variously given. One rendering is "Beautiful squaw."¹ The late James R. Mead, of Wichita, who lived among and traded with the Osages, in a paper on the "Origin of Names of Kansas Streams," read before the Kansas Academy of Science, said the word is an Osage (Dakota) name meaning "good spring water," from the great number of springs coming out of the tertiary gravels of its upper course.² Another authority gives the word as Nen-ne-es-cah, an Osage word, meaning "white water."³ Andreas' *History of Kansas*, page 1525, says the Ninnescah is a beautiful stream and being fed altogether from springs, its water is pure and clear.

The earliest mention of ferries on this stream is the following from the *Arkansas City Traveler*, of June 20, 1877: "The body of John Broderick, who was drowned some weeks since by the upsetting of a ferry boat on the Nennescah river, has been recovered." Lacking opportunity to consult county records we are unable definitely to locate this ferry, or give the names of its operators. Since the only mention we have found appears in papers near the mouth of the stream, we are convinced the ferry was in Sumner county and close to the Arkansas river.

Another item mentioning the ferry is found in *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, February 21, 1878: "The Nennescah river was past fording last week and the ferry at London crossing was brought into requisition."

Nothing further has been found concerning Ninnescah ferries.

PART XX—WALNUT RIVER

THE Walnut river has its source in the northeast part of Butler county, and flows slightly southwest, passing Augusta to the east and south, and on into Cowley county. By a circuitous course the stream continues southward through Winfield and joins the Arkansas river in the southeastern part of Arkansas City. The

1. *The Leader Courier*, Kingman, April, 1900.

2. *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 18, p. 216.

3. *Arkansas City Traveler*, February 13, 1878.

river takes its name from the abundance of walnut timber which grew along its course. The Walnut is about 130 miles in length, approximately 75 miles being in Butler county and the balance in Cowley.

The first ferry on the river upstream was in the vicinity of Arkansas City, and apparently was in operation as early as 1877. We have been unable to learn the name of the operator of this ferry, the date it started, or the length of time it was in service. Aside from the following items from the *Arkansas City Traveler*, of June 20, 1877, we have found no other mention:

At last the Walnut is fordable and the farmers are permitted to come to town without the exquisite pleasure of a ride on the ferry and a walk the balance of the way.

The saw frame belonging to Lippman's mill, sunk in the Walnut river by the capsizing of the boat, was fished out yesterday. It was lying fifteen feet under water and was bedded 18 inches in mud.

Another ferry upstream was located at the south entrance of Winfield, and was operated by Thomas Wright. He was granted a license by the county commissioners on February 1, 1871, and was authorized to collect the following rates for ferriage: For a two-horse team and wagon, 75 cents; horse and buggy, 25 cents; 1 horse, 15 cents; footman, 10 cents; loose horses and cattle, 15 cents; sheep and hogs, 5 cents each.* This ferry probably functioned when necessary, up to the completion of a bridge across the Walnut near Winfield.

So far as we have learned no other ferries operated on the Walnut river.

PART XXI—INDEPENDENCE CREEK

ONE of the shorter but most interesting streams of Kansas is Independence creek, in Doniphan and Atchison counties. This stream has its source in a number of small branches some of which rise in the southwestern part of Doniphan county and the others in Lancaster township, Atchison county. The creek forms a small part of the boundary between Atchison and Doniphan counties before its confluence with the Missouri, at a point about two and one half miles above the city of Atchison. Independence creek is approximately fifteen miles long, about equally divided between Atchison and Doniphan counties.¹

* "Commissioners' Records," Cowley county, 1871.

1. Evert's, *Atlas of Kansas* (1887), pp. 26, 29. Anderson's *Atlas of Doniphan County, Kansas* (1927), p. 3. Ogle's *Standard Atlas of Atchison County, Kansas* (1903), p. 7.

The first mention of this creek, which was not named at the time, was by the French explorer Bourgmont, who in 1724 referred to it while on a visit to the Kansas Indians at this point, calling it "a small river." To Lewis and Clark belong the credit for the naming, when they camped there on the evening of July 4, 1804. Their journal of this date says:

The morning of the 4th July was announced by the discharge of our gun. . . . After fifteen miles sail we came to on the north a little above a creek on the southern side, about thirty yards wide, which we called Independence creek, in honour of the day, which we could celebrate only by an evening gun, and an additional gill of whiskey to the men.²

Maj. Stephen H. Long's Yellowstone expedition stopped at the mouth of the creek in 1819, and in his journal he marks the stream as Independence creek. The expeditionary force of Capt. Howard Stansbury camped on the headwaters of the stream in 1849 and also designates it by that name.³ The probabilities are that the name bestowed by Lewis and Clark is the one by which it was first known to the whites.

So far as we have been able to discover, there was but one ferry on Independence creek. It was operated by Joseph B. Beatty, and was running during the later fifties. In a pictorial edition of the *Atchison Daily Globe* of July 16, 1894, is an item about Col. A. G. Ege, a well known early-day Southerner of Doniphan county. The colonel was a frequent Atchison visitor, who came by way of the ferry, and was almost always accompanied by a pack of hounds. The article stated that he always carried a pistol, and one of his modes of diversion was putting a hole through some bystander's hat without hitting him. On one occasion, while at the Independence ferry, the colonel took a shot at a man's hat but, aiming a trifle too low, creased him. Being a gentleman, the colonel took the injured man to his own home and nursed him until he was recovered.

Just how long the ferry was operated we have not learned. But since the legislature of 1858 passed an act granting to Jacob N. McCall, Egbert M. Lee, A. J. Allison, Benjamin Wrigley and E. W. Stratton, members of the Kansas Express Stage Company, the right to erect a toll bridge across Independence creek within two miles of its junction with Deer creek,⁴ it is probable that Mr. Beatty soon after discontinued his ferry, for the legislature of 1859 passed an

2. Lewis and Clark, *History of the Expedition* (1814), v. 1, p. 21.

3. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 338. George J. Remsburg, in *Atchison Daily Globe*, November 8, 1905.

4. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1858, p. 39. *House Journal*, 1858, pp. 82, 246. *Council Journal*, 1858, pp. 271, 273.

act granting him the right to construct a toll bridge across the creek at a point known as Beatty's ferry.⁵

PART XXII—POTTAWATOMIE CREEK

ACCORDING to Harry Johnson, writing in the *Garnett Review*, of July 12, 1934, a ferry run by Charles Ellis, spanned the "North Fork" of Pottawatomie creek, in Anderson county, where the present bridge on highway No. 73W is located. No dates were given, but the time was before any stream in the county was crossed by a bridge. The Pottawatomie figured quite prominently in the troublous times of territorial days, the Pottawatomie massacre taking place at Dutch Henry's crossing. The creek, like most small Kansas streams, was fordable the greater part of the year, requiring ferry service only during the occasional periods of high water. On such occasions the ferryman charged one dollar each for taking wagons across.

On one occasion, following a rainy spell, Yankee Robinson's circus, the first one to show within the confines of Anderson county, drew up before the ferry. They were to show in Garnett that day. Having pulled through the sticky mud of the valley to the bank of the river where the ferry was located, the boss in charge was not long in accepting Ellis' offer to ferry his outfit across for \$1 a wagon. Thirteen wagons had been taken across and Ellis had collected a dollar apiece for same, when a teamster decided to water his team. Spying a place where it appeared practicable to get his horses down to the water, he finally reached the creek and at the same time discovered that a ford was located at this place—in fact he saw a settler of the neighborhood drive into the water and start across, the muddied waters not reaching above the horses' knees. The circus teamster hurried back to where the balance of the teams were pulling up the steep bank on the south side of the stream, shouting the news as he came. The whole circus outfit at once started a search for Mr. Ellis, who, having witnessed the teamster making for the ford to water his team, and knowing his discovery of the ford, wisely locked his boat to the bank and suddenly departed from the scene. Not finding him, the circus outfit returned to the task of getting the wagons to the top of the hill, the show's one and only elephant ably assisting in this chore. Yankee Robinson's circus showed in Garnett in later years, crossing the North Fork on a bridge, high above where the ferryboat operated.

5. *Private Laws*, 1859, pp. 21, 22.

The Kansas Prairie

Or, Eight Days on the Plains

ISAAC MOFFATT

I. INTRODUCTION

ISAAC MOFFATT, whose record of a visit to Kansas in 1859 is here reproduced, was a resident of Philadelphia. He came to the territory to remove the body of a friend, named only as George in the account, who was a member of a surveying expedition and who died about a month before Moffatt's arrival. Moffatt wrote somewhat extravagantly and a few flights into the upper reaches of his fancy, quite irrelevant to the presentation of a picture of Kansas through the eyes of an Eastern traveler, have been omitted. In a preface he offered an apology for the deficiencies of a narrative written only for members of his family and close friends who might be interested in an account of travel in the newly opened territory. Spelling and punctuation for the most part are reproduced as in the original. The manuscript is a small bound volume of 105 leaves; the writing is heavily shaded in the fashion of the period. *Philadelphia, 1860*, appears on the title page.

II. THE NARRATIVE

EIGHT DAYS IN KANSAS TERRITORY

Chapter 1st

The morning of the 19th September, 1859, dawned on the little town of Kansas City with a cheerless aspect, the rain which had fallen at intervals throughout the previous day had rendered the unpaved streets nearly impassable. The travel for the last fifteen hundred miles from Philadelphia to this place had been unmarked by any particular event to relieve the monotony and the tedium of a through passage by rail and steamboat,—and I now awaited the gearing up of the team that was to convey me to the interior with that anxiety that a man might be expected to entertain, who is about stepping out into the untried world for the first time;—and I must confess that the continuance of my journey in the manner now intended,—and over a new country of entirely different complexion to any yet seen,—had that charm for me, which the beautiful and romantic never fails to excite in the breast of any true lover of na-

ture. Breakfast over, and bills paid "I wait for the waggon" which in a short time makes its appearance at the door of the Hotel,—the baggage is duly stowed away, the Buffalo skins adjusted,—and we are off for the Plains.

Our team one of that class more for service than for show was admirably chosen,—a full size gray horse of the norman stock,—and his mate the black a sample of the perfect roadster,—one in whom a good judge would expect to find great endurance; a real wiry fellow!—the waggon,—one without springs,—long, easily set on the wheels,—once of a bright blue colour is fitted with bows for a cover,—and by the arrangement of an old buggy seat jammed in between the additional side boards makes quite a comfortable voiture,—and one in which you might with confidence expect to reach your destination in safety;—the driver my only companion is a young lad whose entire experience has been gathered in the neighbourhood of the stable,—and to whom the care of horses appeared to be a position of considerable importance in the world;—in fact he thinks for them,—talks to them,—and I verily believe dreams of them;—such is my coachman Dominique!—a simple child of nature,—with as good a heart as was ever encased in a mortal frame,—kind, cheerful and happy.

The road we are now traversing between Kansas City and Westport is in a dreadful state from mud, mostly uphill and through a considerable piece of oak and walnut timber,—the rain has washed the earth away from the huge stones which form the basis of the road, rendering our progress very slow and troublesome.

The heavy clouds which have been for some time gathering overhead,—now break upon us in a copious shower of rain,—and we halt at the roadside, under the temporary shelter of the noble trees to arrange and put up our canvas cover, which the hurry of preparation for our departure had prevented us from doing sooner;—this done we continue our westward course and pass through the village of Westport on the boundary line of Missouri,—and within two miles of the prairie;—in a few minutes we overtake a number of waggons conveying emigrants for the interior, some of the waggons having hopelessly settled in the mud holes on the road; we pass on, and arrive at the Missouri line,—where we meet a large party of Santa Fé traders and their waggons encamped,—and getting ready for their long and tedious overland voyage;—here also is the United States mail for Santa Fé, at a halt,—and are about taking down the small tent which they had pitched on the roadside;—the conductor

a half Mexican looking individual with a slouched hat,—and a Blue Blanket shawl,—under which a large revolver, and a bowie knife are plainly visible, is keeping guard,—and paying no more attention to the drizzling rain which is steadily descending, than if it was part and parcel of his lot in life!—half a mile further and we are launched on the Grand Rolling Prairie! which under the misty canopy which now covers it,—is like an immense sea of land,—enveloped in fog,—the grass on its great wavy surface, sparkling in moisture and resembling the heavy swell of the Ocean after a storm,—while the road from the peculiar nature of the soil, and the rain,—looks like an enormous Black Snake! wending its tortuous course over a green velvet carpet.

Onward through the disagreeable and chilling rain the team holds its course,—at the usual walking pace adopted by all travellers in crossing this territory, the continual up and down of the road, as you descend into a slough at the foot of every hill, and rise again to the summit of the next crest, forbidding a trot,—except at rare intervals where a level surface intervenes for a half mile or so. We now come in sight of an improvement in the shape of a large farm, or ranche, entirely surrounded with a durable stone fence,—with a large yard partitioned off in like manner for cattle,—in which I can discern some two hundred head, or more;—the other portion of the farm,—entirely covered with Indian corn; but the day is too gloomy to see anything to advantage, and I must notice this excellent farm again, on my return.

For some miles further on,—no sign of habitation is visible;—this county (Johnson county) being mostly Indian Reservation, and few Indians having actually settled thereon makes this portion of the road particularly lonesome,—and the weather today renders it more so.

Shortly after passing the ranche we cross Indian Creek,¹ an insignificant stream of water, near which is a corn patch, and an Indian's hut in the midst of it,—and after three or four miles of the same desolate road, I at length discern at the top of a fine crest a small log-cabin,—which Dominique says must be our Hotel for this time. As it is now getting late I make up my mind to give up further travelling for this day,—the limited amount of light remaining being insufficient for us to reach the next station;—dinner time has passed and gone, long since without a chance of obtaining that wel-

1. Indian creek rises in Olathe township, Johnson county, and flows in a northeasterly direction joining Tomahawk creek in Oxford township about a mile west of the state line.

come meal,—the wide expanse of country, over which we have passed, not presenting any other habitation than the one Indian hut;—so that cold, hungry, and with stiffened limbs, we gladly avail ourselves of the humble shelter and fare of this lonely cabin before us,—scramble out of our waggon as best we can, and enter Cook's mansion,—for such we find is the name of our host;—the horses are put up for the night, and a hasty meal ordered of our active hostess. The log-cabin is an extremely well ventilated one of the most primitive style,—containing in all, two small rooms,—Parlour, Dining-room, and Kitchen in one,—and sleeping and store room the other, the entire house is only about eight feet high, and twenty feet long, with a rude chimney of prairie flag-stones on the outside of one gable,—a door on either side, and a small window about two feet square, adjoining the front door,—the sleeping room has also a similar window, which completes the outside decoration of this prairie Home,—it is not a regular house of entertainment, but being situated at cross roads, and being also the only house for miles, it is always sought by those who need refreshment or rest; the furniture of the interior is much on a par with the house itself, being of the rudest description, two beds, a tin meat safe, and a coffee mill, comprise the movables in the chamber, three old chairs, a cooking stove, two old and common tables, also furnish up the general department, a bucket, a wash basin, two or three pots, and a frying pan, are all the kitchen utensils I have been able to discover,—while a few odd cups and saucers, and some old plates comprise the dinner and tea service; on one of the tables,—a side table there is the paste-board, on which a small bag of flour holds a prominent position, a bowl of fat, and a hair comb are alongside,—the skillet is on the stove, and the cook (Mrs. Cook) is about slicing up some cold boiled-beef which is destined for the skillet,—to reappear in the shape of beef-steaks, she has also made from the flour and fat, some biscuits as they are called, which are deposited in the oven, and with the kettle now beginning to speak for itself, preparations on a large scale are going forward for the united dinner and supper of the City-man! The house now begins to wear the appearance of a genuine Hotel;—as the darkness comes on—and the winds howl,—other benighted travellers make their appearance, and although on our arrival there was but one guest, a real specimen of the Missouri frontier-man,—acquainted as I afterwards find, with every creek and every settlement on the Missouri line, or in Kansas territory,—we are soon favoured with two more arrivals from Leavenworth,—who with the

usual plea of weariness and hunger, wish to be allowed to remain over night,—so that our party now numbers five,—who have availed themselves of the friendly shelter of Cook's Prairie Hotel (as I have christened it), to escape from the cold and violent blast which is now sweeping over the prairie with a force and power unknown in any other portion of this continent.

Our combined kitchen, dining-room and parlour presents a strange and busy scene,—huddled together,—as near the fire as possible to avoid the winds whistling through the hundred and one chinks and cracks with which the room is ventilated,—not forgetting the ill-fitting frame of the six-light window sash;—the busy house wife bustling round in close proximity to the stove, and striving to make out a decent meal by the aid of the aforesaid biscuits,—steaks, coffee, and apple-sauce,—is a scene,—the novelty of which will not be easily forgotten.

At length,—we gather round the welcome board,—where with the assistance of a solitary and dimly burning candle, (stuck in a bottle) we attend to the wants of the inner man, who has for some time been asserting his right to consideration;—This interesting and satisfactory operation ended,—for "hunger is sweet sauce,"—we gather around the stove,—turn up the collars of our overcoats,—to turn off the superfluous atmosphere, and for an hour or so before retiring, are edified by the tales of border broils,—and other events in the early settlement of this Kansas territory;—its future prospects,—incidents of travel, and the usual amount of roadside news. Our two friends from Leavenworth had been cultivating the acquaintance of a friend whom they styled "Tanglefoot,"—better known as bad whiskey;—the name is novel to me, though I must own not inappropriate,—seeing that they have much difficulty in walking straight. Our host,—and hostess fill their pipes, immediately after supper, and join in the conversation of the evening, . . . the number of bushels of corn they expect to raise, and such like topics forming the staple of their talk,—which they utter in that drawling, twanging voice acquired by a down-easter when he has become westernized,—for the Cooks are Yankees, who have lived for some time on the Ohio near Pittsburg, and have emigrated from thence to their Kansas home. In looking over my map by the dim light of the candle, I enquired of our hostess the name of the settlement, her farm (or claim as they call it) is located in, she replies,—by asking me, if I notice the name of Elizabethtown, on the map,—which I answered in the affirmative,—she states that I am now on that spot,—and

that when the road commissioners were at her house a year ago,—they applied themselves to the task of designating the place,—and after selecting various names,—all of which they found on looking over the list of towns and villages in the territory had been already monopolized, she mentioned her own (Elizabeth) and as that was then new in Kansas, it was henceforward set down as *Elizabethtown*, Johnson county.²

The dishes having been washed up by the good wife, while I am nursing the baby who has been for some time restless, (owing to an attack of chills and fever), she finds time to fix up the beds in the adjoining room,—the apartment of state, and one in an outhouse for our “Tanglefoot” friends,—we take our line of march bedward,—I have the best bed offered me and my man, our hosts occupy the other bed,—and the frontier man turns in,—on the floor;—I choose the back part of the couch,—and having divested myself of overcoat, hat, and shoes, and placing my undercoat on the pillow, so as to have the pistol pocket at hand,—I retire to rest in my other clothes, having wrapped my handkerchief around my head,—to keep off the excessive ventilation with which the chamber is favoured,—and after sweeping away two or three large spiders near my face,—and commending myself to the protection of my Heavenly Father,—with a prayer for those I love,—in the far off regions of the East,—I sink into a profound slumber, as sweet as could be obtained in a Palace!—no frightful dreams marred the repose of that Prairie bed, and I awoke at daylight much refreshed in body and spirits;—and now for breakfast,—and the road again;—Breakfast in this section is but a repetition of the same bill of fare as supper, and needs no further description.

Chapter 2nd

Second day on the plains:—Twenty-two miles from Kansas City, cold bracing wind from the north, clear sky,—and sunshine,—course southwest;—make an early start,—the sun just peeping over the hills, the roads nearly dry from the effects of the high winds during the night,—and the weather giving tokens of a fine day;—after an hours drive we come to a fine spring,—and there meet the first living soul this day,—a team is leaving the spring, beside which the male and female occupants of the waggon, have just finished their camp breakfast,—the rude fire of sticks among the stones, is still burning,—they have the usual prairie waggon,—with its close canvas cover,—and have camped out all night,—as is the universal custom with

2. *Elizabethtown*, Johnson county, was situated four miles southeast of present Olathe. Now an extinct location. Shown on Robert L. Ream's *Sectional Map of the Territory of Kansas*, 1858.

the inhabitants of the plains;—their team consists of six oxen, and they seem prepared for a long journey. We pass onward and proceed to Spring Hill³, which we reach at ten o'clock,—make no stay here, but forward to Marysville where we intend to dine,—Spring Hill is a very nice little settlement,—with three or four superior looking houses for this part of the country, and there are several large patches of splendid corn near them,—the first semblance of comfort I have seen since I came into the territory;—we reach Marysville⁴ about noon put up the horses and engage dinner. This place bids fair to make a thriving settlement, situated on a high ridge of land,—overlooking an immense tract of country;—boasts of two little stores,—some cabins and a good weatherboarded house at which we are stopping, and which has been intended for the village or roadside Tavern (though no sign of a bar or liquor is visible), and is surrounded with several fine farms,—its course is evidently upward and onward.

While awaiting dinner I notice an Indian and squaw riding past, on a visit to some of their neighbours,—they are drest off in their best and are mounted on two excellent horses,—their attire is a cross between the Indian garb and the white mans costume,—the squaw is touched off with some gaudy red trappings,—but she sits her horse like a Queen!, but the whiskey bottle which is tied up in a red and white handkerchief, tells a tale of Indian ruin; their whole appearance however is highly picturesque and accords well with the scene around.

This portion of the county is also mostly Indian reservation, which accounts for the sparsely settled population,—and will remain so until it is sold back again to the government which will be at no distant date,—Indians at the best making but poor farmers.

After a better dinner than that of yesterday we resume our journey, the day has now become delightful, the clear sky,—the brilliant sunshine, and the bracing air of the Prairie filling the breast with rapture, as the magnificent scenery bursts on the view from the summit of one of the higher crests;—here on every side for miles,—as far as the eye can reach is one continuous chain of hills and valleys,—all green and fertile!—no barren spots, or frowning precipices;—undulating like the swell of the ocean,—and interspersed and laced in every direction with beautiful belts of timber,—the sure sign of some gently winding Creek or River! While around

3. Spring Hill, situated in the township of the same name, Johnson county, was surveyed in 1857 and the first building was erected in the same year. It is ten miles south of Olathe, on the southern boundary line of the county.

4. Marysville, or St. Marysville as it was also known, was about seven miles north of present Paola, Miami county. In 1861 the name was changed to Lyons. It is now an extinct town.

you,—every here and there,—large patches of Prairie flowers! usurp the place of the native grass. . . .

Such is the landscape through which we are now taking our afternoon ride, a treat worth coming the entire distance from Philadelphia to enjoy!,—while ever and anon,—startled by the rumbling of our waggon,—the beautiful Prairie Chicken rises from its covert in the long grass,—like pheasants in an English preserve;—and after describing a semi-circle in the air,—disappears again, in its native sphere!—these birds are very curiously formed, and when dead as we see them at market, convey no idea as to their beauty when seen in this part,—their handsome spotted plumage,—and fat, round forms, deficient in tail, render them easily recognizable among other birds.

After an hours drive we cross Big Bull creek,⁵—the most picturesque piece of water on the plain, about the width of the widest part of our Wissahickon,—with lofty trees growing to the water's edge,—and with a gentle serpentine course, it looks charmingly romantic!—while the water at the ford is as clear as crystal,—running over a bed of flag stones,—and now only about two feet deep.

Some ten miles from Bull creek over a road much improved in condition as regards sloughs,—and lonely as the most devoted lover of solitude could desire (not an habitation being visible);—the timber of the Osage River is reached,—it extends in width on either side of the river some half mile, and the track through the woods is of the very worst description,—the heavy rains having made great pools of soft mud, in which the wheels sink to the hub,—every minute,—but we are out on the open plain again,—and all is pleasant once more;—this river is no wider than Bull creek,—and not quite so picturesque.

The sun is now declining, . . . the evening dews . . . are now beginning to gather. The Prairie Chicken are trotting along the road in front of us, in parties,—their custom at eventide,—the Plover are enjoying a walk also,—the grasshoppers are chirping their evening lay,—and all nature lies serene beneath the setting sun!

About a mile from the western bank of the Osage River, we come up with a new house,—not yet entirely finished, the appearance of which from its modern design, invites us to make it our hotel, for the night,—we ask leave to put up with the family,—our request is granted if we will be content with their fare,—our answer of course

5. Big Bull creek rises near the southern boundary of Johnson county and flows south, joining the Marais des Cygnes about four miles south of Paola, Miami county.

is very happy to do so,—the team is installed in the barn,—my carpet bag carried into the house and laid on the carpenter's bench, there are three carpenters at work here finishing the interior of the structure, the floor has for a carpet, a goodly coat of shavings about ankle deep,—and altogether the prospect for a comfortable night's lodging,—is anything but encouraging.

The stove in the center of the one large room, which comprises at present the entire lower part of the house,—together with the carpenter's bench,—and a lot of lumber,—as also a bedstead in one corner, on which is reclining a very sick old man,—and the only table, now spread with plates,—leave not a particle of room for locomotion,—and I therefore take a seat beside my bag on the bench;—the women for there are two raw-boned, dark skinned specimens of female loveliness, (one of whom, by the by, the most forbidding looking individual I have met with in many a day)—are preparing supper, and enjoying their pipes!—but to my anxious eye there is nothing particularly attractive;—however we are now seated at the table;—

Will you take coffee Sir?—if you please,—coffee handed,—such stuff,—but for the cup, you would not know what to call it,—have you any sugar and milk?—we have milk,—but no sugar,—take a Biscuit?—if you please,—I take a hot Biscuit, made from black ill looking flour,—seeing no butter, and fearing it is in the same place as the sugar, I do not ask for any;—so I proceed to make my supper from the black Biscuit, and the sugarless coffee;—will you take some more coffee Sir?—no, I thank you,—I will take a glass of milk,—they hand me buttermilk,—which I do not touch,—there are some boiled potatoes of a black, watery complexion,—on the table,—as also some bare-bones which they call beef,—I decline them both,—and with a supper little calculated to produce indigestion, I retire to my seat on the carpenter's bench,—to await the time for retiring. I cannot help thinking as I sit in communion with myself, how deceptive is outside appearance. This house from the tasty manner in which it is finished externally, promised to my sanguine nature comfort, and good fare!—but Oh! what a disappointment,—the people are filthy,—and the food fit only for a savage!—they may be getting along well in their farming operations, as they have considerable land under cultivation,—but Oh, how lost to everything that can make life desirable,—cleanliness, decency, and education;—the coarse,—nonsensical conversation which they are indulging in,—proclaims them ignorant in a degree! . . .

We are now informed that our bed is ready, when we wish it;—and myself and Dominique gladly avail ourselves of the release from the jargon of this circle, and proceed up stairs;—one large room meets our view,—with four beds spread out at intervals on the floor;—steady there!—in wending my way to the litter allotted to us,—I come near making a short descent into the kitchen below;—as I find the floor is only loose boards laid on the joists, and I grasp the red hot stove pipe which comes up through the floor, in preference to scraping an acquaintance with the stove below.

Now if the theory of well ventilated sleeping apartments is correct,—then this is a remarkable healthy one, for it is minus one sash,—and as the chimney was not yet built, the stove pipe is allowed to pass out through a large hole in the roof,—which serves also to create a thorough draught;—there is one thing in the economy of sleeping chambers in this territory calculated to save time, that is the trouble of taking off your clothing at night,—and putting it on again in the morning!—in fact the slight cover on each bed, admonishes you that instead of undressing,—your overcoat will be better laid on your shoulders;—profiting by last night's experience,—and the look of this garret,—I lie down just as I have been drest all day,—hat,—boots,—overcoat and all,—and sleep until three in the morning, when the wind from the hole in the roof awakens me,—and I remain thinking of the future of my journey, till daylight. One feature has attracted my attention in this part, that is the total absence of Pine-wood;—talk about Black Walnut Furniture on East as being a luxury, why the very house in which I am now domiciled is built of Black Walnut from the ground to the roof; in fact it is all hard wood you meet with in this section,—and I verily believe there is not a stick of Pine-wood growing in the territory.

Chapter 3rd

Third day on the Plains:—Arise this morning shortly after daylight,—and scrawl a few lines before breakfast,—Breakfast I said!—well, I'll not cavil about terms,—I'll call it so,—but it does not come up to the standard of the supper!, true we have some white butter, churned alongside the stove, while the kettle is boiling,—but then we have no milk!—so the change is not for the better;—I shall in future say little more on the score of food,—until some remarkable change for the better takes place,—I dislike this sameness in description,—as much as I do in actual practice, and as meals in general are not objects of primary importance with me,—

I should not have devoted so much time in talking about them if I could have given an idea of the domestic habits of the settlers in this country in any other way. However here comes the team,—all right!—we are on the road again; the same fine weather,—sun rising over the plain in magnificent style,—with a prospect of a very warm day;—after a short ride we fall in with an encampment,—some of whom are crawling out of their beds in the waggons,—while others are seated before some burning logs, preparing breakfast,—and close by a fine spring, they are evidently going far into the interior and are from one of the western states,—it is a romantic sight to one unaccustomed to such scenes, but is a regular system of life on the plains;—in fact few of the persons crossing the country ever think of staying at a house;—they have their household furniture and utensils with them,—as also their stores,—and they invariably select some spring,—or creek, to locate their camp. In about two hours . . . we ford the Pottowattomie creek,—Two miles south of Stanton,⁶—and proceed to Greeley,⁷—during this morning, and at times yesterday I have had occasion to consult my map and compass frequently,—the many roads running into the one we are on,—at divers points, rendering it difficult at times to fix upon the right course, but the compass always settled the matter;—we knew where we had to go by the map,—and the unerring magnet pointed the way!—

The scenery to day is growing richer,—and richer,—the Prairie is more undulating than ever,—and is what may be called a wooded Prairie,—that is, there are small belts of woodland at every three or four miles distance independent of that on either sides of the creeks,—and then again,—to add fresh beauty to the scene,—every now and then we come in sight of one or more of those beautiful natural mounds for which this part of Anderson county is remarkable.

These Mounds are very large, and high,—a half mile or so in length, and fashioned in the most artistic manner,—and when by some turn of the road we come in sight of five or six of these lovely creations,—as is now the case,—description utterly fails. . . .

6. Stanton is in Stanton township, Miami county, about one half mile from the western boundary of the county.

7. Greeley townsite, Anderson county, was selected in the spring of 1856 and was surveyed in April, 1857. In as much as the territorial administration was unfriendly to Horace Greeley for whom the town was named, the post office established at that point was called Walker, as was also the township, in honor of Gov. Robert J. Walker.

We are now nearing Canton⁸ which is visible on a high crest before us,—there is a fine weather-boarded house of dazzling whiteness,—near by are several smaller tenements, one of which has a tall Hickory pole beside it,—the unmistakable sign of the country store,—and the large white house must be the storekeeper's dwelling,—we shall look for dinner there. My poor Dominique has been in a dreadful way all this forenoon;—after watering the horses at the creek,—the white horse who is an awful glutton, having through the night devoured a quantity of new corn,—and not being used to it, took to swelling,—to such a degree,—that the faithful driver would frequently stop the waggon and exclaim,—he will die!—I know he will,—look how he is swelling!—he cannot stand it,—and I shall loose him!—I know I shall!—in vain I tried to sooth his fears;—we had endeavoured to procure old corn on the way,—but to no purpose;—I now bid him be of good cheer, as we were approaching the finest settlement I have yet met with and felt certain that we should find the great desideratum in Canton,—old corn!

Arrived there we make for the store,—as everybody else does who enters a village,—for the store is also the Postoffice;—Mr. Tyler the gentlemanly proprietor will be taking dinner, in half an hour,—and will be pleased to accommodate us,—he is happy to say also,—that he is the only man in Anderson county who has old corn,—which we can have for one dollar per bushel, (price of new corn about thirty cents),—a bargain is struck for three bushels,—and the horses receive their first instalment;—Oh! what a radiance there is on Dominique's visage!—Canton bathing in the sunbeams looks no brighter! Here I find in addition to the store of our host, a carpenter's and blacksmith's shop, while the large white house of the storekeeper, his ample barns and stable, and farm,—convey an impression of comfort and decency that I have not witnessed since leaving Westport.

At the table I am introduced to Mrs. Tyler who has been busy fixing up the dinner;—I find her of a different class altogether from any of the females so far,—having been accustomed to live like a Christian in her native (New York) state, she has endeavoured as far as may be to keep up to the mark in Kansas, but it is a hard task;—the chills and fever, that curse of this western paradise,

8. "The town of Canton was located and laid out in 1857, by B. Tyler, on S. 23, T. 20, R. 20. It was laid out as a rival to Garnett. Some improvements were made on its site in 1858-1859; but, when the question of the county seat was settled in favor of Garnett, Canton was soon abandoned and left to the roaming herds, but has since been reduced to fine farms by the husbandman. Such was the fate of the once noted rendezvous of intemperance and wickedness."—W. A. Johnson, *History of Anderson County* (Garnett, 1877), p. 256. Canton is shown on Robert L. Ream's *Sectional Map of the Territory of Kansas, 1858*. The *U. S. Official Register*, 1861, lists Brockholst Tyler as postmaster at Canton.

have made sad havoc with her,—and she sighs for her Northern home!

After leaving Canton and pursuing our route,—now nearly south;—in a short time we pass through Garnet, and Shannon⁹ which joins it,—leaving Ossawatimie¹⁰ some two miles to the south east;—Garnet is the largest village in this county;—and boasts a steam saw-mill, several small stores,—carpenters and blacksmiths shops,—several dwellings, and withal is a thriving place,—a Prairie town situated in a valley;—houses are going up in all directions,—and its success appears certain.

A little further on we cross the south fork of Pottowattomie Creek, an inconsiderable stream, being only a branch from the main trunk. At Canton we were advised to make for the house of Tyler (No. 2) no relation to our Canton friend and about twelve miles distant, towards sunset we arrive at the house mentioned, and congratulate ourselves on the appearance of the place,—although our last nights experience should have forbid us trusting again to outside show.

I alight and make enquiry,—but alas!—our anticipations meet with a severe check, when we are informed that they cannot accommodate us,—as Mr. Tyler has just died; ¹¹—here is a dilemma,—of slight consequence perhaps in a town, or in a thickly settled country, but here on the open Prairie!—the sun just going down,—and no other house for fourteen miles!—several sloughs to be passed,—also a creek (Deer Creek),—no moon!—the darkness so great that we can scarcely see the road,—and that only by occasionally getting out,—and reconnoitering!—however the horses eyesight is stronger than ours, and by dint of perseverance we thread our way through that most difficult part in a dark night,—the timber, skirting a creek;—arrive at the bank of the stream,—we examine the steep and crooked road as best we can,—plunge forward into the ford,—and mount the opposite bank!—the whole proceeding very much like a leap in the dark!—through the timber on the south bank with some trouble,—then out on the plain once more and all is safe!

9. Garnett is the county seat and largest town in Anderson county. The townsite was selected in 1856 and by March, 1857, had been surveyed and platted. Early settlers included a colony from Kentucky. Shannon, also laid out in 1857, a mile south of Garnett, was the county seat until its removal to Garnett in 1859. Shannon was named in honor of Wilson Shannon, second governor of Kansas territory. The town was abandoned soon after the removal of the county seat.

10. This, obviously, is an error. The author undoubtedly revised the record of his trip through Kansas territory after his return to Philadelphia and it may be assumed that in this instance his notes were incorrect or that he misinterpreted them. The south fork of Pottawatomie creek ran about two miles to the south and east of Shannon and it is possible that he intended to note this fact.

11. W. A. Johnson, *op. cit.*, states that Patrick Tyler was the first white settler in Monroe township, Anderson county, arriving in the spring of 1855. He also notes a Patrick Tyler as a settler in Washington township in the summer of 1856. The "U. S. Census of 1860" records the death of Patrick Tyler of Anderson county in August, 1859.

After calculating from the time we have been out in this "Night on the Prairie,"—that we could not be far from the house,—we are gladdened by a flash of light,—like a falling star, in the dark canopy of Heaven!—see there!—it flashes again!—it is the house!—but how distant,—and so high!—it is far away yet,—and we are rising some very steep ground,—ah!—we are on the Ozark Mountain!¹²—and it is surely the house!—Flash, flash, again, the inmates are moving about with the light,—and it is right on our course,—the horses too have seen it!—and although they have drawn their heavy load for forty miles to day,—they prick up their ears,—and self-impelled, trot through the darkness;—nearer, still nearer—is the light,—and now smaller lights appear,—we are approaching the settlement of Elizabethtown, Allen county.¹³ The open door of a house, through which our beacon light, has been sending its cheering ray far out into the darkness to guide us to a home is now before us,—they are cooking a late supper,—and we are just in time.

After our meal,—in casual conversation with Mr. Stubblefield our host;—I state that I am going onward to Humboldt, on business with Genl. McKee the surveyor;—I am well acquainted with McKee answers my host, and with all his party,—there was a fine young-man from the East,—who died at the Camp about a month ago,—I was at his funeral,—and this young man Mr. Martin who boards with me attended him in his sickness at Mr. Flinn's house;—and also helped to bury him!—did you know his name I enquired?—O yes,—very well,—everybody knew George!—and loved him too!—Well then my dear Sir,—the calamity as I at first considered it,—in having to come on from Tyler's through the night,—has been the best thing for me after all,—in thus placing me among friends,—and facilitating my operations;—for there, in that waggon, is the leaden coffin in which I must bear his remains to his sorrowing parents. These friends inform me that he is buried only three miles from here!—that the house where he died,—is also three miles,—in another direction,—that the Doctor,—and the minister who attended him live nearby,—and Mr. Martin promises that on the morrow he will go with me, to the Grave,—to Mr. Flinn's,—and to the camp of Genl. McKee at Humboldt,—which kind offer I gladly accept. Here was good fortune awaiting me,—when and where I least expected

12. An elevation of land running across Ozark township, Anderson county, is known as Ozark ridge. It divides the waters of the Arkansas and Missouri rivers.

13. Elizabethtown was on S. 15, T. 23, R. 19 in Anderson county. The fact that it was within a mile of the northern boundary of Allen county accounts for the author's error. The town was located and laid out in 1859 and soon thereafter a small store was opened by W. Stubblefield & Co. Elizabethtown is listed in Polk's *Kansas Gazetteer* as late as 1888-1889.

it!—and I shall retire to rest this night in a comfortable frame house,—with the conviction in my heart,—that “Whatever is,—is best”!

Chapter 4th

Fourth day on the plains:—

Up and about shortly after daylight,—amuse myself writing these few remarks till breakfast,—that over,—prepare for the road,—our new friend Mr. Martin in company as pilot and so forth;—strike across the Prairie without reference to road, Indian fashion, our aim Mr. Flinn’s,—arrive there about eight o’clock,—find them a very worthy old couple,—their home small,—but very neat and clean,—the family consists of five children,—two of them men grown;—here again chills and fever is at work,—and they have buried a son,—a fine lad,—about two weeks since,—who died only a few days after George’s funeral,—and of the same disease Typhoid fever;—the mother is much cast down;—they are all glad to see me;—and speak of George in the highest terms;—he had found true friends in that humble,—but worthy family,—who had ministered to his wants with a care and attention only equalled by a parents unremitting watchfulness,—and undying love.

After spending an hour with these deserving people,—we strike out over the plain for Iola,—on the road to which place we shall visit the Grave,—the weather still continues delightful;—about ten o’clock we pull up alongside a small low log cabin, encircled by a worm fence,—heaps of logs and brushwood are lying about in every direction;—a small patch of corn extends from the rear of the cabin to the timber of Deer Creek,¹⁴—the cabin is very small,—but firmly built and close,—with two window frames about two feet square, the whole building being about the size of a moderate room;—the noise of our waggon brought the “Monarch of a Shed” to the threshold, I am introduced by my friend Martin to Dr. Laeder, of Deer Creek, Allen Co., Kansas;—this gentleman, (for he is a gentleman,—notwithstanding his unshaven beard, his blue blanket coat, and his general hoosier like appearance) attended George in his short sickness and I feel certain did all that human skill could;—the indications of a good and generous heart which shone out full in his honest manly face, giving a full warranty that he did his duty.

14. Deer creek flows from the northeast across Deer Creek and Carlyle townships, Allen county, emptying into the Neosho river at the northern boundary of Iola township. Settlers located near the mouth of the stream as early as the spring of 1855.

After bidding the doctor good day we pass on to the south west, and in a few minutes my attention is arrested by a small clump of elegant trees standing alone, and forming the extreme point of a belt of timber, which adorns the plain at this spot. At the foot of these five trees little square plots are fenced in with rails,—raised about five or six feet in height;—little mounds of fresh earth may be seen inside of each inclosure,—and to the Eastward of these and opposite to one of the finest of the Trees,—and disconnected from the rest,—there is one lone Grave!—the fence is like the others,—the Earth too is fresh,—but there is a rude headstone standing in this enclosure (and the only one upon the ground),—it bears the name of George ——! With a feeling that such a scene as this is calculated to inspire,—I linger around this beautiful spot for some minutes, admiring the charming site which the inhabitants of Deer Creek have selected as a repository for their Hearts treasures! and then, with the said reflection, that on the morrow I must disturb the quiet repose of this Hallowed soil, I push forward for Iola,¹⁵—at which place we arrive for dinner. This little town which has sprung up within six months has now several neat frame houses,—ranged in perfect lines,—and carpenters are busy putting up others,—there are two square buildings, each about sixteen feet in diameter, on opposite sides of the main street (that is to be) and dignified by a sign over the threshold “Store,”—one of these owned by the person at whose house we dine,—is also the Post office,—the merchandise in this establishment might fill a waggon,—and comprises a small lot of groceries and some common dry goods, chiefly cotton fabrics;—the opposition store appeared pretty well used up,—for I could discern no other articles of commerce than six bags of coarse salt,—half a barrel of the vilest whiskey,—six boxes of sardines, and a chunk of tobacco! Dinner dispatched we are again en route for Cofachicque and Humboldt, and are now crossing Rock Creek, on the south side of Iola;—after descending the south side of the Ozark Mountain, immediately on leaving Elizabethtown,—we strike a level line of country, which has continued on ever since, and I am told by our friend Martin extends to Humboldt, and although more desirable for farming purposes,—looses considerable of the interest felt by the traveller in the more picturesque portions of the country.

15. Iola, present county seat of Allen county, was founded in 1859 by a group of settlers who were dissatisfied with the location of the county seat at Humboldt. The removal to Iola was not accomplished until 1865.

After a drive of three miles, we are at Cofachique,¹⁶—a village, much older than extensive;—there is but one house visible here,—it is a large size frame building of a dingy brown colour,—and is as usual the store and Post office of the settlement;—this house is not far from the timber of the Neosho River,—which lies on the western side of the road.

On our way from Cofachique to Humboldt a distance of six miles;—we have the rare pleasure of witnessing that sublime, and grand spectacle,

The Prairie on Fire!

Immediately on leaving Cofachique we are met by clouds of smoke,—which betoken an extensive fire in front of us, the wind is blowing from the south, and right in our faces, in a few minutes the clouds of smoke become more dense, and roll closer, and closer to the ground,—the roaring and crackling sound of the fire, may be distinguished;—there is no escape!—but we are relieved from fear of actual danger from the fact that we are on the road—and the grass is all worn off the track,—so that there is nothing inflammable under the horses feet,—the smoke now becomes suffocating like that from burning straw,—the warmth may be plainly felt, though no fire can be seen through the heavy rolling cloud of smoke which is wafted past us,—louder and plainer is heard the roaring and crackling element!—the smoke is lifted from the Earth by the wind,—and we behold the entire Prairie on fire from East to West,—in a line of more than a mile in width!—the flaming tide is now upon us!—we force the horses into a brisk trot,—and amidst a shower of cinders flying past us,—and with our hands carefully covering our eyes,—we pass through the scorching blaze,—in safety!

The danger over, we turn round to admire this great destroyer of the Prairie!—this devastating tide,—which spares nothing within its reach! . . . The Prairie a few minutes before, so green, fertile, and velvety in appearance,—is now a charred and blackened des-

16. The town of Cofachique, Allen county, was founded in 1855 by a group of Proslavery men from Fort Scott. It was laid out on the east bank of the Neosho river about one and one half miles southwest of present Iola and the town association was authorized to hold any quantity of land, not exceeding 900 acres, where the town was located. Cofachique was the only town in Allen county for nearly two years and was the county seat until 1858. The town lasted but a short time after the removal of the county seat to Humboldt. The natural disadvantages of the townsite—it was not easily accessible and there was no water supply—together with the sympathies of the founders contributed to the ultimate death of the community. Writers of the state's history are not agreed on the origin of the name Cofachique. Duncan and Scott in their *History of Allen and Woodson Counties* (Iola, 1901) state that the name was that of an Indian chief. C. E. Cory in his article "Slavery in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 238, states that the town was named for an Indian princess who met De Soto on the Savannah river. Accounts of the De Soto expedition of 1540 contain references to a pause at the Indian town of Cofitachique (the name is given various spellings) where friendship and entertainment were offered by the woman governor. That she was later made a prisoner is interesting if not pertinent. The similarity of the names suggests that the town of Cofachique, Allen county, may have been named for the sixteenth century village on the Savannah river, but there is a lack of evidence.

ert;—not a vestige of what it was,—is left to tell of its once lovely crests and slopes!—the Prairie flowers . . . are now no more!—all is black! desolate, and dreary!—and must remain so,—until the balmy breath of Spring!—and the warm rains . . . again call forth the green blade, and the gay flowers . . .

We are now at Humboldt,¹⁷ the Capital of Allen County, and about one hundred and thirty miles by the windings of our road from Kansas City;—it is situated near the banks of the Neosho River, on a level plain, and overlooks towards the south, a considerable tract of country of a more undulating character than that over which we have passed for the last fourteen miles;—it is decidedly the most stylish town of any on the route, with streets properly laid out, stores built in City Style,—and boasts a church!—and a creditable looking Court-house,—there are also two excellent steam saw mills on the Neosho,—at one of which, that of Mr. Thurston,—I find Genl. McKee,¹⁸ a fine looking gentleman, now suffering from chills and fever,—that old and constant scourge.—my business finished with the Genl., he introduces me to Mr. Mitchell, and the other gentlemen of the surveyors camp, now pitched on the Neosho,—near the mills.

They have just closed the labours of the day,—the ox team has come in, and the oxen turned loose to graze,—the compass man is returning with that invaluable instrument on his shoulder;—on an old bench, one is mixing up some of the everlasting Biscuit,—while slices of salt pork are in the skillet ready for the fire!—another is washing out the under clothing,—samples of his work are hanging on lines between the trees,—and every thing looks romantic!—but stay!—we enter the Tent,—and there,—stretched on the ground, with a blanket and an India Rubber sheet beneath them,—are two robust framed men of some thirty years, lying as helpless as infants,—from chills!—a fate the whole party with the exception of one member, have equally shared;—pale,—haggard, and careworn,—they look the picture of distress.

Sickness is not confined to the Human family, alone, in this section,—the cows are dying daily from what is here called the Spanish

17. Humboldt, named for Baron Von Humboldt by its German founders, was located in the spring of 1857 and the first houses were built in the summer of that year. It was the county seat from 1858-1865, losing then to Iola. A U. S. land office was located here, except for a period of a few months, from 1861-1870. The town was burned by rebel raiders in 1861 but was later rebuilt. The first church of the community was that of the United Brethren in Christ begun in 1859 and finished the following year. It was used as a union church for several years, also for a schoolhouse.

Orlin Thurston came to Humboldt during the summer of 1857 and erected a steam saw-mill. In the following spring another sawmill, also grist mill, was opened by W. C. O'Brien.

18. The name Hugh McKee in the capacity of deputy and survey examiner appears in the reports of Ward B. Burnett, surveyor general for Kansas and Nebraska, for the years 1858, 1859.—See *Reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office*, 1859, 1860. The name David T. Mitchell occurs in the report for the year ending September 30, 1861.

fever,—said to have been contracted by the native cows, from a drove of Texas cattle that lately passed through Humboldt;—the inhabitants are consequently deprived of milk.

After taking leave of the Genl. and his camp, with a promise from him that he would be up at the grave, before noon tomorrow,—if he could possibly ride there;—we turned again toward the north star! and commence the first stage on the way home,—but there is much to be done yet e'er I can say now for Home!—We return to Iola in time for supper;—one of the surveying party,—a young man from Norfolk, Virginia, is boarding at this house, for the recovery of his health,—having been laid up for more than a month;—he was taken sick a few days before George,—they had been running the compass together,—and were wading up to their breasts in Deer Creek, for about an hour;—the stagnant water brought on the sickness,—fatal to one,—and nearly so to the young man before me;—there he was,—pale, emaciated,—without energy,—carr[y]ing about with him a bottle of mixture for the chills,—as hot as fire, and as bitter as gall! poor youth!—he had left his mother in Virginia,—to sow his wild oats in Kansas!—and was reaping his crop!—poor fellow,—I tendered him a free passage in the waggon to Kansas City,—if he could get home from there,—but he could not make his arrangements.

Chapter 5th

Well this day has come at last!—the looked for day!—I rise early and breakfast,—Mr. Martin, myself and Dominique are soon on the road to Mr. Flinn's distant about ten miles,—where we had left the coffin and case yesterday;—we get that in the waggon again,—but my hopes begin to sink when I discover no inclination on the part of any of the persons present to assist in the undertaking;—am I to be defeated in my project,—and at the moment of seeming success?—it must not be! I insinuate in the course of conversation, that I intend doing the Lion's share of the work myself, and that if any of my friends can spare time to assist,—money will be no object! This is the Talisman!—when will it cease to be!—I now gradually obtain assurance of assistance from the party,—and soon the Flinns,—father and the two grown sons are in their saddles,—armed with spades and axes.—I take leave of the good lady, thanking her over, and over again, for her motherly kindness, and with a parting memento, I leave this comfortable cabin and turn our team towards the Prairie Grave!

On our way we call again on our friend the doctor who is desirous of going to the ground as a looker on,—and by the time we arrive in

sight of the little clump of trees that mark the spot,—we find one or two horsemen already there,—attracted by the novelty of the affair,—which has already spread through the settlement;—the sun is now near meridian, and we are now taking down the rails;—the horses are driven under the shade of the trees,—the strangers have tied their horses,—and are reclining on the grass,—we have taken the case out of the waggon, and are waiting a few minutes in the hope of being joined by the Genl.—he comes not,—and we commence our work;—I strip off every article of superfluous clothing,—the case is near the grave,—my carpet bag is open, and the necessary tools laid out,—one has already cut up a quantity of the rails to make a fire for the soldering bolt,—and to melt the cement for the case,—another is cutting away the grass around the spot where the fire is to be kindled,—to prevent another conflagration of the Prairie;—two of the young men are digging open the grave, while I am busy opening the case previous to cementing its joints,—now the massive leaden coffin is laid near the excavation on the windward side;—I have finished the cement, and am now scraping the joint around the coffin lid, preparatory to soldering the same,—the smoke of our fire ascends and travels over the plain,—and the visitors look on in astonishment and silence. . . .

We accomplished our work in about three hours,—the outer case now rendered air tight,—is placed in the waggon, the scattered implements are gathered up, the grave filled in again and smoothed over, and each one of the party,—after an affectionate farewell,—turns homeward,—the Prairie resumes its accustomed Silence!—and our team is on its way to our old friend Stubblefield's at Elizabethtown where we shall pass the night.—5 o'clock, we have finished our journey for the day, and are awaiting dinner;—I feel much fatigued, partly with anxiety, as also the incessant labour of the last few hours,—dinner over I sit at the door looking out at the wide expanse of country to the south,—but the heart will turn its affections homeward, as the magnet to the pole!—my thoughts are centered there—that word is uppermost. . . .

Chapter 6th

Sixth day on the plains,—

The task is finished!—Breakfast over, and an early start,—Ho!—for our own loved Philadelphia!—To where the sun is rising in his majesty—gilding the tops of the timber,—as with burnished gold!—we direct our course;—here,—on the summit of the Ozark Mountain!—looking over miles of receding hills,—woodlands and valleys,

. . . we commence our homeward march. I long to get over the sixteen hundred miles which separate me from my loved ones,—and for the next three days shall vote this team traveling a slow coach;—but patience, patience!—the steamer and the dashing cars will soon convey me there once more. . . . I resign myself to the three days snails pace on the plains;—the whole country is more than beautiful,—but I have no interest in it!—and there is no health here!—I have not visited a single house in which sickness is not,—or was not,—chills and fever,—chills and fever is the Universal Cry!—and the doctors make the best of it;—ague pills and mixtures out-sell everything else,—and are a sure card in the storekeepers hands. There is no doubt, however, that a great portion of the sickness in this Territory is brought about by incautious exposure,—the want of proper habitations,—and by the general practice of locating farms on the borders of the Creeks,—in order to secure a portion of Timber land, but then again the chills are also felt on the highest points of the Prairie, though not so generally as on the Creeks;—the conclusion therefore we must arrive at is this;—that the primary cause of all this disease is owing to the immense amount of vegetable matter constantly decomposing. And again there is another striking peculiarity about this country;—during the latter part of summer, and the Autumn, the winds are from the south,—and those located on the south side of the creeks are comparatively healthy;—while others on the north side, receive all the malaria arising from the stagnant water,—wafted upon them by the southern breeze,—and are consequently more frequently sick;—there is no doubt however that as the country becomes more settled and cultivation takes the place of rank vegetation,—most of these evils will be abated, and the territory will then perhaps as an agricultural region of vast extent,—be unequalled on the continent;—almost everything usual on a farm may be grown to perfection and in immense quantities; and as to Beauty,—there is none to compare with it!

We have retraced to day about forty miles of our outward trip,—and have now halted for the night on the northern side of Pottowattomie Creek;—As I repassed those wonderful mounds near Greely, I could not but take one long, lingering gaze . . . and turned away reluctantly from the most lovely landscape my eyes ever beheld,—or expect again to see. . . . About noon we dined with our old friend Tyler at Canton, and obtained a further supply of Dominique's coveted old corn. On our way to this creek we fall in with a large family making their entre into the interior;—as they descend a gentle slope we notice three teams of six oxen each,—the

large covered waggons are filled with every article necessary to furnish their new home;—before,—alongside,—and in rear of the teams,—are Horses,—Cows, and Calves;—in one of the waggons are the good old mother and her cheerful daughters,—in another the boys are frolicking,—while in front,—the weatherbeaten, gray haired old sire, mounted on the strongest horse,—is leading the van!—care on his brow, and anxiety in his eye, seeking an independent home for his offspring,—a Grave!—for himself and the partner of his youth!—indeed I could not help picturing to my mind the numerous hardships this little community must endure e'er they can call themselves settled in their new Home in Kansas Territory.

The house at which we are now staying is the largest we have met with since leaving Westport;—it is two stories in height, with a superfluity of windows, and is a strong frame tenement;—there is a large farm attached to it,—and the first garden we have met in the territory;—the family are in comfortable circumstances,—have only resided here a year or two, and are from Indiana;—their name is Butler;—Our host has passed the meridian of life and is suffering from the everlasting chills;—his wife (a second wife) is a very pretty and respectable person,—and their habits are those of well to do farmers who have been raised in good Society.

I feel more at home here than I have done since I came on the plains. They are preparing supper in a large and cleanly kitchen while our host is shooting some chickens for the morning's breakfast.

The first table for a week where decency and decorum has presided;—the board well provided with everything that can be desired in a farm house,—coffee, milk, sugar, good Biscuits, and preserves, with cleanliness for a relish!—I need not say I enjoyed myself;—Happy indeed for Kansas the day,—when she can count such homes as this is by the thousand!

In conversation with Butler who by the way is a very intelligent man,—he informs me that although accustomed to large crops of corn &c in Indiana, his last year's crop surprised him,—it was beyond his most sanguine expectations.

Chapter 7th

Seventh day on the plains:—

Early breakfast off the aforesaid chickens, and we are on our way again,—sky clear with the prospect of a hot day,—must make Cook's tonight.—This place was the scene of a terrible massacre in the early settlement of Kansas,—here was the residence of the Doyle

family,—this house is situated in the extreme northwest corner of Lykens County which our road intersects.¹⁹ . . .

The drive through the timber of the Osage, this early in the morning is particularly pleasant;—the varied hues of the foliage,—from the delicate green,—the orange tinge,—to the glowing carmine which adorns the smaller brushwood,—is beyond the painters art to depict,—or the pen to describe!—and I cannot resist the temptation of cutting a cane from one of the small sapling oaks, here growing in profusion,—as a memento of this charming spot!

On our way to Marysville I am amused by a practical demonstration of the wonderful intelligence of that valuable animal the shepherd dog!—on the gently rolling land over which we are passing there are a number of oxen grazing,—a man on horseback is instructing the dog to collect such of them as belong to his master,—which feat he proceeds to accomplish with wonderful precision;—singling out from the number only those desired, gathering them into groups and as each one is brought to a certain point,—the quick eye of the dog is directed to his master for approval, and for further orders;—and when all are collected, a wave of the master's hand,—and the dog is marching them in the direction indicated for the village,—ever watchful that none of the drove stray away from the main party,—and continually turning his intelligent eye on his master,—to read his wishes;—thus the apparently difficult task is accomplished with precision and diligence,—without one particle of trouble on the part of the owner,—who never leaves his seat in the saddle.

We are again at Marysville,—for our Sunday's dinner,—and the team rests for an hour.—

This settlement as I remarked previously is on high ground overlooking a large extent of country,—and the settlers experience great difficulty in getting water, the person with whom we are stopping, has already sunk two wells,—without the desired result and is now sinking a third one very deep;—at present he has to haul water from a well, nearly a quarter of a mile distant from his house,—water is not plentiful on any part of the Prairie, and often very scarce on the higher localities,—which will be found a great inconvenience and drawback as the country becomes more thickly settled, the scarcity of water, and the total absence of pine wood, together with the

19. The author was here confused in his statements. The distance traveled, and his mention of the scene of the Pottawatomie massacre and the home of the Doyle family would place him at this time in Pottawatomie township of Franklin county, near Lane. His route of travel did not take him across the northwest corner of Lykens (present Miami) county at any time.

scantness of fuel, will operate disastrously on the future prospects of Kansas.

After a short rest we resume our course;—the day for this season is intensely hot;—towards evening we recross the beautiful stream of water which is threading its way over the plain like a vein of liquid silver and known as Bull Creek,²⁰—the gem of the Prairie! The air is now becoming sultry and oppressive in the extreme,—the sky is undergoing a marked change,—fitful puffs of a cooling breeze are wafted over the Prairie,—and there are unmistakeable signs of a severe storm abroad;—we quicken our pace somewhat to recross Blue River²¹ before dusk, and just succeed in so doing;—two miles yet to Cook's;—the sun has gone down some time since,—setting with a fearful glare! . . . the lightning is now visible around the horizon, and the distant thunder is heard with a dull roll; near a spring we pass a small party camping for the night,—they are at supper round a small fire, apparently at ease,—and perfectly unconcerned about the weather.—One mile more,—Cook's house visible in every flash!—but what strange sight is this?—through the darkness, each flash reveals to us a number of covered waggons,—the house is literally surrounded by them,—and see there are tents pitched on the ground!—it is a large train of emigrants for the interior,—the waggons are arranged in a circle, with their fronts to the center;—their fires are burning brightly, they are cooking;—their cattle are grazing near the tents, in great numbers,—and they are placing old quilts and other rags over the canvas covers, to ward off the heavy rain which has now commenced,—but we are at the House!

This is a large party of emigrants,—they have made all their preparations for the dreadful night before them,—they have evidently travelled a long distance and are used to this mode of life,—moving around quite contented and happy,—and look like wandering Arabs!

The rain is descending in torrents,—the thunder rolling in fearful peals,—the lightning for rapidity and grandeur exceeding any I ever beheld;—it is not the sheet lightning,—nor the forked or zig-zag, such as I have been accustomed to see;—it is as though an immense ball of molten Silver burst in the high heavens,—scattering its contents in every direction, and in the most fantastic windings,—

20. Since the route of travel was north from Marysville, the creek here crossed must have been Little Bull creek, Bull creek or Big Bull creek, as it was also called, passing to the west of Marysville.

21. The Blue river of Johnson county flows northeast across the county emptying into the Missouri river about 6 miles east of the state line.

like nothing I can name but one of those splendid rockets,—which exploding high in air,—discharge a hundred fiery serpents to wriggle out their brief existence for the gratification of sight seers on the Glorious Fourth!

The storm has now lasted for several hours, the thunder roaring louder and louder, and the lightning becoming more frightful,—while the heavy gusts of wind, sweeping over the Prairie, threaten the removal of our shanty every moment!—I can only add that to behold a thunder storm in perfection you must come to the Prairie!

We have for fellow lodgers, a middle aged man and woman belonging to the train,—with their sick child;—they are a hard featured,—weatherbeaten couple,—with skins as dark as Arabs,—and as withered and dry as parchment!—in conversation they inform me that they are enroute for the Verdigris River,—which is beyond the Neosho some twenty miles;—they have some friends there,—but the man says if he does not like the appearance of the country when he gets there,—he will travel further on!—such is Western life!—Onward!—Onward!—Westward Ho!

Chapter 8th

Eighth day on the plains;—

Early start,—Storm all over,—and the sky serene again,—On the road for the last time,—eighteen miles more and we will be at Westport Missouri,—and off the plains!—and four miles further Kansas City will finish our waggon voyage.

The roads are somewhat muddy but not sufficiently so to make them heavy;—recross Indian Creek, the last stream on our road;—day becoming delightful,—the grass looking all the better for the thunder storm,—and the Prairie-flowers of a deeper and richer hue, are waving their graceful heads in the gentle breeze. . . .

We are now in sight of the Stone fenced Rancho,—the plains round about it are moderately sloping, and are admirably adapted for grazing;—all the cattle we noticed in the enclosure, on our outward trip are now scattered over the prairie and what a sight! they are,—their sleek spotted hides, and fat round limbs, would furnish a grand subject for the pencil of a Bonheur, as seen on their native lawns.

This is really a model farm of large extent,—the well built wall of flag stone (set up without mortar and with as much regularity as a brick wall) which surrounds the entire farm, will endure for ages;—and the crop of tall corn which is peeping over the fence is remarkably heavy;—this farm may be taken as a sample of what Kansas

will present as the country fills up,—and men of means emigrate there and devote themselves to stock-raising,—for which the country is admirably adapted.—the grazing is excellent on the prairies from April to November,—and the native grass, when made into hay,—with the corn fodder affords excellent forage for the winter months;—in a word their keep costs next to nothing,—with the exception of the fattening off.

The habit of smoking is here supreme male and female addicting themselves to it alike, in nearly every house I have visited the women smoked, indeed I have watched them making the biscuits and frying the meat, at the same time filling up a dirty smoke blackened pipe,—lighting it,—pushing down the coarse tobacco with their fingers,—and then sucking away at the short stem with all their might,—while their clothing appeared to have had no connexion with the wash tub for at least two weeks;—there is only one excuse I can make for these men and women,—the prevalence of the chills among them makes them careless as to everything about personal appearance,—and the effect of the complaint on the system is to deprive them of energy and ambition, and causes them to consider everything they have to do, a trouble.—Daylight dawns, and the grass (some two or three feet high) is so wet that it is unfit to go through except on horseback,—then the cattle have to be hunted up,—work about the farm is carried on in a slow,—slovenly way;—dinner time comes,—again work is resumed till the sun begins to set,—and then the darkness and the chilling dews of evening drive every body to their dwellings and their beds,—and thus at present proceeds the monotonous life of a Prairie farm!—no churches!—no schools!—no social circle!—no enlivening and instructive conversation!—no friendly visitings!—the damp air and the distance from other habitations forbid that pleasure.—Kansas lovely in Nature! in the interior must long continue a place of Self exile!

We are now nearing the Missouri line,—the heavy timber forming a natural barrier to the plain, in a straight line from North to South,—we enter the splendid woodlands and take our last gaze at Kansas and her verdant lawns!—through the straggling outskirts and extensive orchards we re-enter Westport and make for its excellent Hotel;—gazing on the beauties of nature in their pristine purity is delightful food for the mind!—but in a charming little town, and at the door of a comfortable house of entertainment I must be pardoned when I say that for the moment the animal propensity prevailed over the romantic! and I went through the neces-

sary ablution to fit me for the dining room with alacrity.—Dinner was just over when I made my appearance, but towards the head of the table was gathered an abundance of good things, to which my man Dominique and myself had for a week been strangers,—and we sat down with a feeling of evident satisfaction,—the good old sable daughter of Africa, the major-domo of the Establishment being our attendant;—after all the courses usual at Hotel dinners, we came to the pastry (which I never saw excelled not even at the St. Nicholas!),—we pay our respects to the dainties,—thoughts of the leaden biscuits of the Osage!—occasionally intruding themselves,—and after satisfying ourselves that we had in nowise slighted the good dames preparations and were thinking of retiring,—the good old lady would insist on us making a fresh attack on the preserves and cake,—alleging dat as Massa hab to pay for wot he eat,—dar was no use of leabin de table, hungry!—so we had to patronize the preserves and cake, and top off with a glass of milk to please her,—as she allowed dat when Massa was at de Hotel he should make hisself at home!

After strolling along the main street a few minutes while Dominique is looking after the horses,—we resume our seats and are off for Kansas City.

Westport is indeed a very neat little village having a large Hotel, two or three churches, several good stores,—and is well laid out,—and derives great support from the Santa Fé merchants who purchase nearly all their waggons here;—one wheelwright informs me that there were nearly eight hundred waggons sold in the village this season,—as this is the starting point of the Santa Fé traders;—the trade holds good from April to September.—

On the road from Westport to Kansas City,—which is beautiful in dry weather, I notice many very fine residences surrounded by handsome grounds, and as we proceed we are met by a long train of Santa Fé traders who have been to Kansas City for their goods,—and are now outward bound,—the drivers are rather a hard looking set of fellows,—and the long Bowie Knives dangling from their girdles do not add anything to their beauty.

We are now overtaken by a party of Indians mounted on fine wiry ponies,—who are coming in from the plains, they pass on in their usual sullen mood;—

They are drest out in a fanciful manner, and each one has his Rifle slung over his shoulder, and is otherwise decorated with ornaments.

The road is now one scene of animation and bustle,—heavily loaded Ox teams are leaving for the interior,—neighbouring settlers are passing home with supplies,—residents taking their afternoon drive,—Farmers and their wives on horseback are carrying home some light articles of dry-goods or clothing,—and all is Life!—The houses touch one another,—Stores may be counted by the dozen,—carpenters are busy in all directions,—the Farriers are busy at work shoeing the horses of the traders,—the road is filled with all classes of vehicles,—meat shops, and Lager-beer Saloons meet you on either side,—a party of Germans are dancing on the green to the music of an Excellent Band!—in short,—I am in the World again!—and in Kansas City!

Additional Notes on the Gardner Photographs of Kansas

ROBERT TAFT

IN the *Quarterly* for February, 1934, attention was directed to the stereoscopic photographs of Kansas made by Alexander Gardner, of Washington.¹

A catalogue of the 150 Gardner views owned by the Kansas State Historical Society was published in this paper and 1868 was assigned as the year of their origin. I was not altogether satisfied with the authenticity of this date, which was based on indirect evidence. Since the publication of the original article several extended searches have been made, and additional data has come to light which now makes it possible to fix the date when these photographs were made with reasonable certainty.

In the Lawrence *Daily Tribune* for September 21, 1867,² there appears among the local items the following note:

Mr. Gardner, a photographic artist from Washington City is in Lawrence, having come to Kansas for the purpose of taking photographic views of remarkable and noted places in our state. He comes here, we believe, under the auspices of the Union Pacific Railway to make draughts of points on the road. He will take a view of Massachusetts Street this forenoon. These views will be a fine advertisement for our state and we hope the artist may have all the assistance and courtesy which our citizens can render him.

This item, together with the fact that the printed labels on the individual photographs of the Gardner collection bear the caption "From Gardner's Photographic Art Gallery, 511 Seventh street, Washington. Across the Continent on the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division" leave little room to doubt that the photographs referred to in the *Tribune* item and those of corresponding title in the Gardner collection are one and the same. The matter is settled without doubt, however, by the additional evidence described below.³

In my original paper I called attention to the fact that the Gardner photographs were reported to have been made in larger sizes

1. "A Photographic History of Early Kansas," by Robert Taft, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3, pp. 3-14 (1934).

2. Page 3, column 1.

3. It should be stated that the item from the Lawrence *Tribune* is confirmed in part by the photographs (Nos. 34 and 34½) themselves. The *Tribune* stated that the view of Massachusetts street would be made "this forenoon." An examination of these photographs shows from the position of the shadows that they were made in the forenoon. Further, if one accepts the date of September 21, 1867, as that of their origin, the angle made by the shadows shows that the photographs were made about 10:30 a. m. of that day.

than the stereoscopic views. Mrs. Laura Perry Carpenter of St. Louis, a granddaughter of John D. Perry, president of the Union Pacific when under construction, wrote me that she had in her possession a number of Gardner views of Kansas which bore the caption "Across the Continent on the Kansas Pacific Railroad—1867." These views were subsequently given to the Missouri Historical Society. Through the courtesy of its curator, Mrs. N. H. Beauregard, information concerning Mrs. Carpenter's collection was obtained and may be summarized as follows:

The prints donated by Mrs. Carpenter measure 6 x 8 inches and are mounted and titled in print. The size, including mounting, is 12 x 18 inches. There are 115 photographs in the collection, 12 numbers being missing. Several of the views are identical with those reproduced in my original article, in particular No. 38 and No. 152.⁴ In addition there is one view, obviously the last in the series from a chronological standpoint, slightly different from No. 152, which bears the date *in print*, October 19, 1867.

It is thus established that the photographs were made in the period beginning about September 15, 1867, to October 19, 1867. The last date is that of the last photographs in the series. The first date is based on the fact that the Lawrence views, at least those of Massachusetts street (Nos. 34 and 34½) were made on September 21, 1867. As these come early in the sequence of views it is reasonable to assume that the first ones (those made at Wyandotte) were made approximately a week before the Lawrence views. Attempts to secure exact dates upon which other photographs of this series were taken have as yet not been successful. The date of the item from the Lawrence *Tribune* obviously suggests an examination of the newspapers of neighboring towns for reference to Gardner's activities. A search of the newspaper files available in the Historical Society's possession failed to disclose any such reference.

The authentication of the date of origin of these Gardner photographs serves to enhance further their historic value. They record a typical cross-section of the state of Kansas when it was a little under seven years of age. Indeed, some of the western towns on the Union Pacific were yet in their swaddling clothes. Thus the views of Ellsworth (Nos. 139, 140, 141, 142 and 143) were made when the town was but three months old.⁵

4. Numbers refer to catalogue as published in my original paper (see footnote 1).

5. A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 1883, pp. 1276-1277. According to Andreas, Ellsworth was laid out on the banks of the Smoky Hill river in the spring of 1867. As a result of a devastating flood, the town was moved back to higher ground in July of 1867. As the photographs of Ellsworth were made approximately October 1, 1867, the town as then located was but three months old.

Again, the view of McCoy's cattle yard (No. 115) was made only a few months after McCoy had decided to establish a cattle depot at Abilene.⁶

The views made at Hays City (Nos. 146 and 148) were likewise taken when the town was in its infancy. Andreas⁷ states that Hays was platted early in 1867 before the arrival of the Union Pacific. Upon the arrival of the railroad, the growth of the town was extremely rapid. The railroad probably arrived at Hays October 5, 1867,⁸ and consequently the Gardner views of the town were made two weeks later than this event. An examination of the view of the town (No. 146) reflects its rapid growth, for a considerable proportion of the dwellings are tents.

It should also be pointed out that this set of photographs, with the time of origin so definitely established, furnishes a valuable reference date for many moot points of Kansas history and local geography. For instance, it has been stated⁹ that the first frame residence in Salina was built in 1868. An examination of the views of Salina (Nos. 120, 121) actually shows frame residences, which from the date of the photographs, were in existence by October, 1867.

6. Joseph C. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, 1874, p. 51. McCoy states that the decision was made in July, 1867.

7. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1291.

8. The Junction City *Weekly Union* of Saturday, October 5, 1867, p. 3, contains the following item of interest in this connection: "The R. R. is progressing at the rate of 2 mi. per day and is expected to be at Hays City this (Saturday) evening. Wednesday it was within six miles of this place." That the railroad reached Hays early in October of 1867 is also borne out by the Gardner photographs themselves. No. 152 shows the end of track on October 19, 1867. According to the label on the photograph this location was twenty miles west of Hays on this date. Accepting the rate of construction as "2 mi. per day" and allowing for no halts, the arrival of the railroad at Hays would be October 8 or 9.

A description of the town of Hays a few days before the arrival of the Union Pacific is given by a correspondent of the *Weekly Union* of October 12, 1867, p. 3.

9. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 701.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history and biography.

We receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1935, to October 1, 1936. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

SKETCH OF A BORDER RUFFIAN

From the Geary City (Doniphan county) *Era*, August 1, 1857.

Dr. Gihon, the private secretary of Ex-Governor Geary, in his forthcoming work on Kansas, gives the following truthful and graphic picture of the world-renowned Border Ruffian. Every citizen of Kansas will attest to its accuracy. As the race is fast becoming extinct, so few now being found who will acknowledge the name, they will soon be as scarce as witches.—Hence a painting of them drawn from life will in a few years be of great interest:

“Active preparations for war were discernible at all the river towns. At Lexington, a large crowd was assembled on the levee, many of the persons comprising it loaded with arms. But at Kansas City, the warlike demonstrations were still greater. This town is on the southern side of the mouth of Kansas river, which, at this point, separates Missouri from the territory of Kansas. It is situated about five miles from Westport, near the eastern landing of Kansas, where the Missouri army was concentrating preparatory to the invasion of the territory. Both of these towns have become notorious as places of refuge for the most desperate characters, whose almost nameless crimes have blackened the annals of Kansas, and as being the resorts of numerous combinations which have there congregated to plot against its peace. In a word, they are the strongholds of the worst of the ‘Border Ruffians.’

“Let it not be understood that this latter term is considered by those to whom it is applied as one of reproach. On the contrary, they boast of it, are proud of it, glory in it, and do all in their power to merit it, and very many of them have been eminently successful. In their manner they assume the character of the ruffian—in their dress they exhibit the appearance of the ruffian—and in their conversation they are ruffians indeed. They imitate and resemble the guerrillas, ladrones, or greasers of Mexico—the brigands of Spain or Italy, or the pirates, robbers and murderers of the theatre. On the levee at Kansas City stood a sort of omnibus or wagon, used to convey passengers to and from Westport, upon either side of which was painted, in flaming capitals, the words ‘BORDER RUFFIAN’. Standing about in groups, or running in every direction, were numbers of the men who claim for themselves that gentle appellation.

“A description of one of these will give the reader some idea of their general characteristics. Imagine, then, a man standing in a pair of long boots, covered with dust and mud, and drawn over his trousers, the latter made of coarse, fancy-colored cloth, well soiled—the handle of a large bowie-knife projecting from one or both boot-tops—a leather belt buckled around his waist, on each side of which is fastened a large revolver—a red or blue shirt, with a heart, anchor, eagle, or some other favorite device braided on the breast and back, over which is swung a rifle or carbine—a sword dangling by his side—an old slouched hat, with a cockade or brass star on the front or side, and a chicken, goose or turkey feather sticking in the top—hair uncut and uncombed, covering his neck and shoulders—an unshaved face and unwashed hands. Imagine such

a picture of humanity, who can swear a given number of oaths in any specific time—drink any quantity of bad whisky without getting drunk, and boast of having stolen a half-dozen horses and killed one or more abolitionists, and you will have a pretty fair conception of a border ruffian as he appeared in Missouri and Kansas.”

FINANCIAL PROSPECTS FOR 1858

From *The Kansas Crusader of Freedom*, Doniphan City, January 30, 1858.

Money is very scarce in Kansas. But we believe that there will be more money in the territory next summer than in any state in the union, in proportion to population. The Utah expedition has already cost \$6,000,000; the army has already lost 1,700 mules and between 3,000 and 4,000 head of cattle. The probability is that all their stock will be gone before spring. This stock, the feed and fodder—every kind of agricultural produce—will have to be replaced. It will give a market to our farmers—who will sell for cash, at the highest prices, all that they can raise. Let Eastern Emigrants, who have stock, bring them on.

ANNEXATION OF “SOUTH PLATTE,” NEBRASKA, TO KANSAS

From *The Weekly Highlander*, Highland, January 1, 1859.

For two years past—in fact ever since the organization of Nebraska and Kansas, there has been considerable said in Congress and out of it as to the practical operations and beneficial results most likely to arise by annexing “South Platte,” Nebraska, to Kansas. As a journalist, and private citizen, together with, we are satisfied, a great majority of the citizens of Nebraska residing south of the Platte river, we have opposed such a proposition for the single reason that we would thus become mixed up in the “Kansas troubles.” These difficulties being now removed, or settled, we are forced to admit that there are many and weighty reasons in favor of the movement. We will hastily give a few arguments that present themselves to our mind.

In the first place, the Platte river is a natural boundary line; has been, is and always will be, an almost inseparable barrier, dividing the two sections of Nebraska, known as “North Platte,” and “South Platte.” Full one-half the season it is utterly impassable. It cannot be bridged except at an enormous expense; and should this be done, owing to the treacherous embankments and bed of the river, nine chances to one, the first freshet after its completion, would sweep it away.

Again, there has grown up a bitter sectional or local feeling between those two portions of the country, entering into almost every question that may be agitated; which always has and always will prevent harmonious effort, and retard the progress and development of the territory. In short, there are no interests in common at stake.

And still again while we remain as we are we cannot reasonably expect to be admitted into the great sisterhood of states short of ten years to come. We have not the population to gain admittance. We have not the financial ability to sustain ourselves as an independent state government.

In the second place, the line as it now exists between Kansas and Nebraska is really only imaginary—on paper—in passing from one to the other it cannot be found. Not even a stone or a stake denotes the separating line, except, perhaps, some private mark of the surveyor known only to himself. The natural interests of the two sections spoken of are one and the same; nature has so arranged, and it cannot be otherwise.

By annexation, we assist to swell a population sufficiently large to gain immediate admission into the union, and thus take our place in the rank as a sovereign state, with a voice, votes, and influence in our national council. We become identified with a portion of the country possessing a world-wide notoriety. And however much we may deplore the manner of obtaining, and the cost of that notoriety, yet we must admit Kansas has an advertisement unprecedented; attention has been drawn to her from, we might say, almost every portion of the known world. We become attached to, and gain a population and wealth; a section of country susceptible of agricultural advancement and internal improvements, proportionate with our own. We become joint participants in the extensive land donations which usually follow the admission of new states, and will thereby be enabled to adopt and carry out a system of internal improvements, and consequent development, which will in a surprisingly short time, make a state of unsurpassed wealth, prosperity and greatness. We become possessed of the power to regulate and govern our own affairs; we pass from minority into majority, become men of full stature; breathe free, feel free, and are free.

We have briefly given a few of our individual ideas in relation to this matter, in this number of our paper. We shall refer to it again; perhaps frequently; and in the meantime would be pleased to hear from others who may feel disposed to present their ideas through the columns of the *Advertiser*, either for or against.

We have conversed with a number of prominent citizens of Nemaha, Johnson, and Clay counties within a few days past, and find a very general opinion in favor of annexation. We trust, however, that no action will be asked of, or taken by Congress, until an expression by petition or otherwise, of the citizens interested, can be had.—Brownville [Neb.] *Advertiser*.

ANNEXATION MEETING AT BROWNVILLE, NEBRASKA.—A meeting of the citizens of Brownville was called on Tuesday evening of the present week, at the new Presbyterian church, to take into consideration the expediency of calling a convention of the people of South Platte portion of Nebraska, for the purpose of obtaining an expression of their views and feelings in regard to annexation to Kansas.

The meeting being organized by the appointment of Richard Brown as president, and O. B. Hewett, secretary, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the question of annexing that portion of Nebraska south of the Platte river to the territory of Kansas is beginning seriously to agitate the public mind, and the measure is one that so materially concerns the interests of the people of that section of Nebraska, as to merit their prompt and serious consideration; and whereas, we, the citizens of Brownville, and Nemaha county, deem it desirable that a conference of the people of South Platte should be held, and an interchange of views and feelings upon the subject

should be had, and further, that a time and place for holding such a conference should be appointed.—

Therefore be it resolved, that the people of every county of South Platte, Nebraska, be, and are hereby invited to meet with the people of Nemaha county in a convention to be held at the city of Brownville on the first Wednesday of January, A. D. 1859, for the purpose of interchanging views and obtaining the sense of the people of that section of Nebraska upon the proposed annexation to Kansas.

Resolved,—that we do earnestly urge upon our fellow-citizens the importance of such a convention being held, and that in selecting Brownville as the point for holding it, we are influenced only by consideration of its local convenience to the whole South Platte.

Resolved,—that we recommend to our fellow-citizens of other counties, that they do immediately take steps to secure a representation in the proposed convention, and that the citizens of Nemaha county be requested to meet on Wednesday the 15th instant, at Peru, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the South Platte convention.

Resolved,—that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Advertiser* and *Journal* of Brownville, and that all papers favorable to the proposed convention be requested to copy them.

A BUFFALO HUNT

From *The Commercial Gazette*, Wyandotte, December 1, 1860.

John P. Alden, T. J. Darling, I. D. Heath, John Blachly and Alanson Reeve started from Wyandott on Thursday, Sept. 27th, as our readers were informed at the time, on an expedition in search of buffalo, with the determination to bring back some meat if there was any to be found in the buffalo country. Messrs. Alden, Darling and Heath arrived home with the ponies and light wagon on Thursday night of last week, the 22d inst., having been gone just eight weeks. Messrs. Blachly and Reeve came in with the ox teams on Sunday night, bringing the "spoils" amounting to over 5,000 pounds of as fine buffalo meat as ever tickled the palate of a hungry man.

By conversation with members of the party, and a hasty glance at the diary of one of them, we have gathered some items in regard to the expedition which may be of interest to our readers.

They took along two ox teams, each two yoke of oxen, a pair of ponies with a light wagon, a small rat terrier and a big dog.

In the way of outfit they had a tent, three Sharp's and one muzzle-loading rifle, two shot guns for small game, three Colt's revolvers, navy size, five lbs. powder, ten lbs. shot, twenty-five lbs. lead, five sacks flour, two sides bacon, one bushel onions, one bushel potatoes, seven bushels corn meal, four cwt. salt, fifty lbs. sugar, ten lbs. coffee, five gallons sorghum, one gallon common molasses, table salt, pepper, ginger, pipes and tobacco for three smokers, &c., &c., &c.

Thursday, Sept. 27th, started from Wyandott, crossed the bridge to the south side of the Kansas, went through Shawnee and camped on Mill creek, having made about 16 miles.

Friday, Sept. 28th, went about 15 miles and camped on the prairie.

Saturday, Sept. 29, went a little beyond Lawrence, camped near the forks of the road, and stayed over Sunday. Heavy thunder shower Saturday night and drizzling rain most of Sunday.

Monday, Oct. 1st, started in the afternoon, made about 9 miles, and camped about 4 miles S. E. of Lecompton.

Tuesday, 2d, went on about 2 miles beyond Tecumseh and camped. Killed some prairie chickens. Met a good many people going out of the territory, but most of them said they were coming back in the spring.

Wednesday, 3d, went about five miles beyond Topeka, crossing the Kaw at that place, and camped on Soldier creek, just west of Indianola, in the Pottawatomie reserve.

Thursday, 4th, drove on past Silver Lake, and past the council house of the Pottawatomies, and paid outrageous toll over Cross creek bridge, when, had we taken the left hand road at Silver Lake would have had an excellent ford with a shorter and better road, as proved on return. Crossed a toll bridge over Mud creek, 7 miles from Cross creek, (a poor ford close by,) camped one and half miles this side of St. Mary's mission, making a day's drive of 22 miles.

Friday, 5th, passed the mission, which is a Catholic institution for the Indians. Grounds neatly fenced and kept, buildings of wood, and beginning to show age. Went on over Lost creek on a toll bridge, (which may be avoided by going a little lower down,) and camped on the Vermillion.

Saturday, 6th, drove through Louisville, which is just west of the reserve over a beautiful rolling prairie, camped at Pittsburg, at the mouth of the Big Blue, and remained over Sunday.

Monday, Oct. 8th, drove through Manhattan and Ogden, and camped two miles this side of Fort Riley.

Tuesday, 9th, drove by the fort and Junction City, and camped at Kansas Falls, eight miles beyond Junction.

Wednesday, 10th, drove across Chapman's creek, and 16 miles further across Mud creek, and camped two miles beyond Mud creek, having driven 24 miles. Here prairie chickens, ducks and geese were abundant, and buffaloes in countless numbers had been seen but ten days previous, between Chapman's and Mud creeks. Darling and Heath had their first shot at buffalo about three miles off the road. Had a hard time looking for camp, and finally gave it up and passed a cold uncomfortable night at the mouth of Solomon, eight miles beyond Mud creek.

Thursday, 11th, the teams having come up about 11 o'clock, spent the rest of the day in fishing and shooting ducks. Caught a barrel of fish and salted it down.

Friday, 12th, drove on up Solomon, and camped on Hard-crossing creek (fitly named). There the buffalo carcasses were very numerous, showing that there had been great slaughter among them a few weeks previous. A good many Irish and German settlers in this neighborhood. Shot at more buffalo.

Saturday, 13th, drove on across Sand creek, a beautiful soft water stream, and camped on Solomon. Shot at more buffalo, but brought none down yet.

Sunday, 14th, forded Solomon and camped on Salt creek. Saw a few wild turkeys. The timber consists of cottonwood, burr oak, white oak, black walnut and elm.

Monday, 15th, killed three buffalo, and brought two, nicely dressed into camp before sundown. Lost the other from not being able to dress it soon

enough. Buffalo must be dressed immediately after being killed, or the meat will spoil. Two of these were killed each with a single ball, while the third was so tenacious of life that he refused to give up till he had nearly a pound of lead under his skin.

Tuesday, 16th, spent the day cutting up beef, and commencing the process of "jerking." Cut up the hind quarters in thin slices, across the grain, which are then dipped in hot brine, or allowed to lie in cold brine all night, and afterwards the meat is spread upon small strips of wood or upon wire, and dried by smoke, sun and wind.

Wednesday, Oct. 17th, Darling, Blachly and Reeve went out and brought in one buffalo, nicely dressed. Some one remained in camp all the time.

Thursday, 18th, killed a fat young buffalo, and "jerked" the whole.

Friday, 19th, killed one buffalo.

Saturday, 20th, killed three buffalos, but saved only one of them.

Monday, 22d, Alden, Blachly and Reeve killed four buffalos late in the afternoon, about four miles from camp. Went after the meat with the ox team, and returned about 2 o'clock in the night, with all the hind quarters, and some of the fore shoulders.

Tuesday, 23d, spent all day curing our beeves.

Wednesday, 24th, killed one buffalo.

Thursday, 25th, killed *nichts*.

Friday, 26th, had a severe thunder storm. First day on the hunting ground that the weather has been other than most delightful weather.

Saturday, 27th, cold drizzling rain all day. Darling and Heath killed three buffalo between sun-down and dark. Two fell at the first fire with one bullet each. Walked eight miles into camp, ate supper enough to astonish the nation, went back with the ponies, light wagon and blankets, dressed our buffalo and slept by the meat.

Sunday, 28th, moved camp higher up Salt creek, and brought in our meat.

Monday, 29th, spent all day curing our meat. Beautiful day.

Tuesday, 30th, killed one buffalo.

Wednesday, 31st, killed three buffalos, but saved nothing but two tongues and one hide. They were run till the meat was heated before they were killed.

Thursday, Nov. 1, killed one buffalo. All right.

Friday, Nov. 2d, it snowed, rained and hailed all day.

Saturday, Nov. 3d, killed four buffalos, which finished the hunt.

Sunday, Nov. 4th, a beautiful day.

Monday, Nov. 5th, began packing up for return home.

Tuesday, 6th, finished packing, and all ready for an early start.

Wednesday, 7th, opened cold, wet and gloomy. Broke up camp towards night, and traveled two miles towards home.

Here we will drop the diary, having stated in the outset that our hunter friends got home safely, and subjoin some reflections by one of the party.

"This hunt we all will ever remember as one of the pleasantest episodes of our lives. We examined the country thoroughly, and it is our opinion that the bottom lands of the Solomon, Saline and Smoky Hill will support an immense population, for richer lands cannot be found. The country back is rolling and much of it very rough. It is not fit for cultivation, but will make a most excellent grazing country, and will fatten countless herds. Beautiful springs are abundant.

"On the whole the hunt was a complete success. Each one gained about twenty pounds. Let every one who wishes to smell God's pure air, enjoy the most perfect health, eat enough to frighten himself and his friends, and grow fat, go on just such a trip, and we will insure recovery from disease, and confusion to physicians."

POSTAGE STAMPS FOR CURRENCY

From the *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, October 18, 1862.

The following order has been issued to postmasters. It explains itself.

POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT, FINANCE OFFICE,

September 27, 1862.

Sir: Postmasters are instructed not to sell stamps knowingly for use for currency. The department is at present unable to supply one half the current demand, by reason of large sales by postmasters to the public to supply the want of small change. Respectfully yours,

A. N. ZEVELY,

Third Assistant P. M. General.

CHEYENNE SCALPS, TEN CENTS EACH

From the *Junction City Weekly Union*, December 28, 1867.

Our town has been full of Kaw Indians during the past week. They have abandoned their regular winter hunt on account of the hostility of the Cheyennes. When they came to town Stover was here, but instead of introducing them, as was his duty, he left town and has not been heard of since. The party brought in about twenty-five Cheyenne scalps, which they retailed out along the road in small bits at ten cents a piece, which was a business transaction. We believe this is the first time they have visited us since the locomotive came among us, and their gaping astonishment is indescribable.

STATE CAPITOL SQUARE IN 1875

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, April 3, 1875.

The law creating a board of state house commissioners has been repealed and the legislature has abandoned the capitol square to the cows. The secretary of state is the custodian of the miniature Sahara which encompasses the state house, and he has no appropriations in his hands to expend upon the grounds. He therefore solicits "aid" in rendering the grounds at least respectable in appearance. Citizens are invited to set out trees in the inclosure, and places will be assigned to those who wish to do so. The grounds ought to possess one or more specimens of every tree native to Kansas. Topeka is interested in seeing the public ground beautified. Ample pasturage for cows can be found elsewhere.

SNAKES

From the *Concordia Empire*, October 20, 1876.

On Saturday last we were asked by Mr. Jonathan Fulford if we had "heard about the snakes." We hadn't, and he proceeded to tell us a story that we at first thought incredible, but which we were at last fain to believe, and which

we now know to be true, having seen the horrid sight; and can vouch with sworn affidavit if necessary, as can others who may have visited the scene within the past two weeks, as to the truth of what we have to relate.

On the 2d inst., toward evening, a young son of Mr. A. Thompson, who lives about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles from town southward, was passing over a hill on the farm of Mr. Gibbs Myers, a neighbor, in quest of his father's cattle, when he accidentally stepped into a small hole, and drawing his leg out quickly, drew with it several serpents. The sight frightened the lad, and he ran home with all speed and reported his experience. He soon returned, however, with another lad, and found that the hill-top was the home of a community of crawling reptiles, and before they left the spot they had dispatched forty-six.

The matter was now reported among the neighbors, and on the following day, Messrs. J. Fulford, T. R. Graves, and B. Bessee went to the place indicated, and began a war upon the serpents, finding that the hole into which the boy had stepped was the resort of hundreds of the snakes, and that the hill-top was literally "alive" with them. They dug down to a crevice between two upright stones about two feet below the surface and then fought for hours, killing hundreds, and still apparently making not the least diminution in their numbers.

Day after day this work went on, until last Sunday the dead snakes were picked up and counted and placed in a pile near the mouth of the den. The number of 1,776 was counted! and still the work of killing goes on from day to day. We went to the place on Monday accompanied by L. H. Smyth, and the astounding sight of near 2,000 snakes in one pile met our gaze, with live ones still in apparently undiminished numbers upon the hill. We killed fifteen in as many minutes and had enough, while two little lads were all the time at work. And the work of killing has been going on ever since, until now we hear that about 3,000 have been dispatched, and there are hundreds, perhaps thousands left!

The snakes are of the species called the blue racer, with a sprinkling of adders, and vary in size from the thickness of a man's finger to that of his wrist and in length from a foot to four or five feet. They run with remarkable speed, and at first were cowardly, endeavoring to escape and not much disposed to show fight. They are now, however, becoming vicious, and show fight, and at times get startlingly aggressive.

A reasonable theory is that the hole leads to a cavern somewhere in the depths of the hill, where there are many thousands possibly of writhing serpents; and that they have gathered here from all directions for a winter residence. Some think they are poisonous; others that they are harmless, except the "hissing adders," which are doubtless venomous. At all events, Mr. Graves informs us that three horses that had grazed upon the hill during the "raid" have had severe spells of sickness.

The above statement is absolutely true, and the sight is worth a pilgrimage to see.

Now what is to be done? A work of extermination should be set about and carried to completion. A blast has been suggested; but something should be done to rid the neighborhood of such an ugly mass of possibly venomous reptiles. Let a plan be devised, a time set, and a snakekilling "bee" organized to see what may be hidden in the gloomy depths of that horrid hill.

Issue of October 27, 1876.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE SNAKES.—We understand that a number of our citizens were out to the snake den last Sunday, and that three hundred more of the serpents were killed; so that the number killed up to Sunday evening was stated to be 3,600!

It was proposed to unearth the reptiles this week by blasting. We would suggest, in this connection, that the pile of decaying snakes should be either buried deeply in the ground or covered with lime, or it will soon be dangerous to be in their vicinity.

Since writing the above paragraph we have received a note from Mr. T. R. Graves, saying that he and others visited the snake den on Monday, and killed two hundred more.

Judge Borton who was on the ground yesterday, says 350 were killed that day.

THE BONE BUSINESS

From the Dodge City *Times*, August 3, 1878.

A large number of teams came in from the range Wednesday loaded with bones, which were gathered for miles south. A regular business in gathering bones has long been established though not so profitable as formerly. Carcasses are not as numerous, the buffalo is becoming extinct and the long horn gives up his bones to the slaughter pen, being driven over the plains with less loss. There are thousands of buffalo and cattle that are killed and die annually; and the bones are gathered at all seasons of the year, thus affording constant employment to a large number of men and teams. The bones are shipped East by the carloads, where they are ground and used for fertilizing and manufactured into numerous useful articles. The bone business extends over a great portion of western Kansas.

NO QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

From the Belleville *Telescope*, June 12, 1879.

An emigrant passed through this place the other day with the following painted on the side of his wagon, from which we would infer that he was from Boston, and bound for Edwards county, Kansas, and did not wish to be bored with questions: "Boston, Mass.; through line west; read this and ask no questions; refreshment and sleeping car; take our advice and go west, or where you darned please, but don't keep stopping us."

TIMBER IN WESTERN KANSAS

From the *Republican Citizen*, Atwood, November 5, 1880.

People who are desirous of seeking homes on the frontier, or in the land of the "cow boys" and where coyotes visit the chicken pantry, are zealous in looking over the columns of our periodicals to see what there is in the shape of timber. Is it hazel brush, under-brush, jack-oaks, cottonwood, or is there any brush or wood of any description? I hazard the assertion that in all the great states of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota, in all this great domain of real-estate, not a solitary county exists but what contains timber of some kind,

let it be large or small, hard or soft; consequently Cheyenne is not an exception to the general rule. At present there are plenty of claims with good timber and splendid water, but six months hence such may not be the case. The majority of such may be found in the northern half of Cheyenne, while the southern has little or none of that *genera*, excepting a very little on the banks of the South Beaver which meanders through the southeast corner of the county. In the northeast part on Big Timber creek, there you will find big timber sure enough—trees so large that if cut into stove wood would be sufficient to last an ordinary stove one year. Now this may seem an exaggeration of a sane man's veracity, but it is nevertheless true and in a prairie country too. Timber is found for distance of ten miles on this stream from the source which heads near Kepferle post office. The South Fork affords some nice cottonwood along the banks for fifteen miles from its mouth, which is found on the north line of the county. It comes from the southwest out of Colorado, but after you pass the center of the county you find scarcely anything on the stream to burn except buffalo chips, which are in abundance and make the hottest fires when dry. Many a poor man has been and is compelled to resort to this kind of fuel, and finds it a very good substitute on the prairie, and cheap as dirt. Hackberry and Plum creeks in the northwest quarter of the county, have some excellent timber, both fruit trees and fire-wood. But very few claims are taken in that part of the county. One man and his better half have recently settled on the Hackberry, and are hard at work building a log house. Beside what has been mentioned, there is a vast amount of timber on the North Fork of the Republican, only fifteen miles from the center of the county. On Landsman creek just across in Colorado, you will find timber on the west side of this county. But one year hence timber will be replaced as fuel by coal, brought by the B. & M. Railroad from Denver. The cost of the coal will be six dollars a ton delivered here. This is encouraging surely to those who wish to locate in the "Garden of Eden," only 165 miles east of the golden city of Denver, the greatest and best market between St. Louis and San Francisco. Denver is the city of the fastest progress in population and wealth of any in the last decade in the United States. Whatever else may be said on the fuel question in this corner of Kansas we leave until another time.

"THROW OUT THE LIFE-LINE"

From *Session Laws, Kansas, 1903, Ch. 67, pp. 113, 114.*

REGULATING THE USE OF AUTOMOBILES

AN ACT in relation to automobiles and motor vehicles, regulating their speed and operation on the public highways in this state, providing for their proper equipment, and providing penalties for the violation thereof.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That the term "automobile" and "motor vehicle" as used in this act shall be construed to include all types and grades of motor vehicles propelled by electricity, steam, gasoline, or other source of energy, commonly known as automobiles, motor vehicles, or horseless carriages, using the public highways and not running on rails or tracks. Nothing in this section shall be construed as in any way preventing, obstructing, impeding, embarrassing or in any other manner or form infringing upon the prerogative of any political

chaffeur to run an automobilious band-wagon at any rate he sees fit compatible with the safety of the occupants thereof: *Provided, however,* That not less than ten nor more than twenty ropes be allowed at all times to trail behind this vehicle when in motion, in order to permit those who have been so fortunate as to escape with their political lives an opportunity to be dragged to death: *And provided further,* That whenever a mangled and bleeding political corpse implores for mercy, the driver of the vehicle shall, in accordance with the provisions of this bill, "Throw out the lifeline."

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SEC. 5. No automobile or other motor vehicle shall be run on any public highway outside the limits of the thickly settled or business part of any city or town at a speed exceeding twenty miles an hour, and no such vehicle shall be run on any public street or highway within the thickly settled or business part of any city or town at a speed exceeding ten miles an hour.

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Kansas History as Published in the Press

Five articles read by Mrs. Frank A. Hardesty before meetings of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society during 1935 and 1936 were printed in *The Suburban News*, of Merriam, as follows: "Wigwams," December 12, 1935; "Christmas at Shawnee Mission," December 26; "What Are We Doing to Preserve Kansas History for Our Posterity?" and a biographical sketch of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, January 30, 1936; "Old Pine Tree," March 5, and "The Kelly Glass Collection at Thomas Johnson Hall," May 28. Mrs. Hardesty is historian of the society.

Subjects of a historical nature discussed in the *Salina Journal* during the past year include: March 7, 1936, issue—Russian settlement in Russell county in 1876; April 7 and 11—reminiscences of early pioneer days in the Salemsborg community as told to Karolina Falk Miller by John Englund; April 9—W. A. Sharpe, "first white male child born in county"; April 29—Colorado, Lincoln county ghost town; June 11—dust storm of 1862; August 22—J. E. Putnam recalls the blizzard of 1886; December 5—St. John's Lutheran Church history; December 14—brief history *Salina Journal*; January 6, 1937—National Bank of America history; February 9—history of Social Hill schoolhouse, Osborne county; March 9—W. E. Brown's recollections of Salina printing offices fifty years ago; March 13—Grand Central hotel and Salina theater histories.

Dean Carver and Zack Phelps, of Oakley, have spent considerable time in recent years relocating the relay stations and forts along the old Butterfield stage route in northwest Kansas. Mr. Carver wrote of the investigations and of the history of this region for the *Oakley Graphic* in articles appearing under the following headings: "Relocates Remount Stations on Historic Butterfield Trail," March 13, 1936; "Judge Ruppenthal Comments on Old Trail Discoveries," March 20; "Camp Pond Creek Station Identified—Later Named Fort Wallace," April 3; "Reason for Decatur Massacre—Later Battle of Beaver Creek," April 10, and "Logan County Ghost Towns Existing Before the Railroad," May 1. The issue of April 3 also featured another historical article entitled "J. R. Gardner Recalls Fellows Murder at Oakley in 1885." The history of Oakley's Methodist Church, chartered in 1886, was sketched in the May 8 number.

Names of former teachers were featured in the history of Monroe school reviewed in *The Lincoln County News*, of Lincoln, April 16, 1936. The history of the old town of Abram was also briefly sketched in this issue, and in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican* for the same date.

"Before the Days of Russell," a story of Fossil station and an Indian raid in 1869 as told by Frank Stafford to Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in 1902, was reprinted in the *Russell Record*, April 23, 1936. The article was first published in the *Russell Reformer*, August 22, 1902.

The Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church, southeast of Inman, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its founding with special services held May 10 to 12, 1936. A brief history of the church by A. J. Dyck, pastor, was printed in the *Inman Review*, May 29.

Emmanuel Evangelical Church, of Abilene, observed its golden jubilee with special services held on July 5, 1936. Historical sketches of the church were published in the *Abilene Daily Reflector* and *Daily Chronicle* in issues contemporaneous with the anniversary observance.

The building of the first railroad, the Salina, Lincoln and Western Railway (now the Union Pacific), into Lincoln was discussed in a three-column article in *The Lincoln County News*, of Lincoln, July 9, 1936.

Special events for old-time Lane county residents were scheduled at the Lane County Fair held in Dighton, August 12 to 14, 1936, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the county's organization. The *Dighton Herald* published forty letters from pioneers in its issues of August 6 to 13. A newspaper history of the county by J. E. Lucas was featured in the August 6 number, a biographical sketch of Richard Deighton, town founder, was printed September 3, and a letter from Chester Evans, November 12.

Russell county rural school teachers for the 1936-1937 school term were named in the *Russell Record*, August 13, 1936.

Several articles of historical interest have appeared in the *Colby Free Press-Tribune* in recent months. A history of the city's Presbyterian Church which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on November 8, 1936, was briefly sketched in the November 4 issue. "Lore of the Great Plains," a series of articles by Jessie Kennedy Snell, was begun in the November 25 issue and continued in succeeding issues.

The history of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, January 2, 1937, was reviewed extensively in the December numbers.

George F. Cook, now living in Alfalfa county, Oklahoma, was mentioned as being the first white child born in Russell, in an article appearing in the *Russell Record*, November 26, 1936. Mr. Cook states he was born there on March 17, 1869.

In December, 1936, the Dodge City *Daily Globe* completed its twenty-fifth year as a daily. J. C. Denious, its publisher, was honored with a dinner, January 7, 1937, by Dodge City business men. The January 11 issue of the *Globe*, the anniversary number, featured the following stories: "Dodge City Has Had a *Globe* 59 Years," "Three Trails Across the State," "News Thrills of Quarter Century Carried in *Globe*," "How Carols on Air Originated in Dodge City," "First Issue [of the *Daily Globe*] Four Pages," and "Steam First Farm Power." In the January 12 issue the city's theater history was reviewed.

The plight of Lawrence settlers inspired Lincoln's "Lost Speech" Dr. Edward Bumgardner reported in an article in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 18, 1937. The speech, of which there is no copy, was given at Bloomington, Ill., in 1856.

Poll-book sheets of Winfield's first city election, held in March, 1873, were quoted in an article, "Coming Spring Election and Old Records Recall First City Voting Here," printed in the *Winfield Daily Courier*, January 20, 1937. A brief history of Winfield's First Presbyterian Church was another feature of this issue.

A letter from W. E. Lyon recalling the late Martin Johnson's boyhood days was published in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, January 21, 1937. Mr. Johnson, former Kansan and explorer, died January 13 following injuries received in an airliner crash in California.

"The History of Scott County," is the title of a paper prepared by Oliver S. Lawson which is running serially in *The News Chronicle*, of Scott City, beginning with the issue of January 21, 1937.

"Wichita In Its Infancy as It Is Remembered by Mr. Fred J. Cossitt Today," was the subject of Victor Murdock's column in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, January 22, 1937. Mr. Cossitt arrived in Wichita in April, 1871.

Lorene Squire, of Harper, was the subject of a feature sketch appearing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, January 24, 1937, under

the title "A Girl's Hobby Is Photographing Wild Fowl on the Kansas Prairies."

The first celebration of Kansas day was discussed in short articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 28, 1937, and the Topeka *State Journal*, January 29. L. G. A. Copley, patriotic educator of Paola, is said to have held the first Kansas day celebration in 1877.

Included in the historical articles which have appeared in *The Kansas Optimist*, of Jamestown, in recent months is "What Price Buffalo Valley?—A Chronicle of Northwestern Cloud County," by Gail French Peterson, which has been printed regularly since January 28, 1937. Gail Peterson also conducts a column in *The Kansan*, of Concordia, under the heading, "Along the Republican."

The reminiscences of Zachariah F. Dodge, Civil War veteran, as recorded by Miss Lillian Forrest in an interview on October 24, 1934, were published in the Beloit *Daily Call*, January 29, 1937. Mr. Dodge settled in Jewell county in 1870.

Episodes in the experiences of Cyrus K. Holliday, founder of the Santa Fé Railway Co., were recorded by J. F. Jarrell in an article under the title, "Dreaming a Railroad," in the February, 1937, issue of *The Earth*, of Topeka.

The story of the Coleman Lamp and Stove Company, of Wichita, an industry whose pay roll has expanded in the space of thirty-six years to include 750 persons, was told in *Progress in Kansas*, of Topeka, in its February, 1937, issue. W. C. Coleman, the founder, is president of the company.

Kiowa county history was briefly reviewed by Mrs. Wayne McCoy in an article in *The Kiowa County Signal*, of Greensburg, February 4, 1937.

A biographical sketch of the late J. C. Bedwell was printed in the Wellsville *Globe*, February 4, 1937. At the time of his death early this year the *Globe* reported him "the oldest continuous resident of Kansas."

St. John's history, as read by Mrs. Rosa Horstman Stewart before a recent meeting of the St. John Hesperian Club, was published in the St. John *News*, February 4, 1937.

The Horton Methodist Episcopal Church observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding at services held February 7, 1937. Histories of the organization were briefly sketched in the Horton *Headlight* and *The Tri-County News* in their February 4 issues.

Wichita's early threshermen associations and the start of present Tractor Row were discussed by Fred Wieland and recorded by Victor Murdock in his Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* front-page article in the issue of February 10, 1937.

A brief history of the Norton *Daily Telegram* was featured in its issue of February 11, 1937, the thirtieth anniversary of its founding.

Indian attacks in present Lincoln county in the 1860's were recalled by Cecil Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, February 13, 1937.

The history of journalism at Kansas University was extensively reviewed in the thirty-two page twenty-fifth anniversary edition of the *University Daily Kansan* issued February 14, 1937. The *Kansan* was not the first newspaper published by student groups on the Lawrence campus. It emerged, however, as the official student newspaper and began daily publication on January 16, 1912.

A history of woman's suffrage in Kansas was briefly sketched in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, February 15, 1937.

Early-day Towanda and a tornado visitation in 1892 were recalled by Joseph Mooney and published by Victor Murdock in his front-page article in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, February 17, 1937.

The Kiowa County Signal, of Greensburg, celebrated its fifty-first birthday, February 18, 1937, by republishing names of the city's business men as printed in the first issue of the *Signal* of February 19, 1886. The charter issued to the Greensburg Street Railway Co., in 1887, was also featured in the edition.

John B. Edwards' recollections of "Wild Bill" Hickok and early-day Abilene appeared in the Topeka *State Journal*, February 20, 1937.

Two views of Summit street, Arkansas City, photographed in 1873, were printed in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, February 20, 1937. Other early pictures appeared occasionally in succeeding issues of the *Traveler*.

A review of the activities of the Public Works Administration in Kansas was featured in a "PWA Illustrated Section" issued by the Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 28, 1937.

Santa Fé trail history was briefly reviewed by J. F. Jarrell in the March, 1937, issue of *The Earth*, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway publication of Topeka.

Histories of Cullison and Iuka were outlined in the Pratt *Daily Tribune's* forty-page third annual "Progress Edition" issued March 1, 1937. The edition presented the highlights in the progress and development of Pratt during the past twelve months.

Overbrook's history was briefly sketched by Elizabeth Oveson in the *Overbrook Citizen*, March 4, 1937.

The "Ames House," Wamego's "first real hotel," was razed early this spring. The history of the house, built by Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Ames in 1870, and notes from its early registers were printed in the *Wamego Reporter*, March 4, 1937.

Approximately eighty volumes of Kiowa county newspapers, bound recently by National Youth Administration project workers under the supervision of the Kiowa County Historical Society, have become the property of the Kiowa county society. Brief histories of some of these papers were outlined in an article in the *Mullinville News*, March 11, 1937.

The history of St. Patrick's church, of Lincoln, by Rev. D. B. Mulvihill, was sketched in *The Lincoln County News*, of Lincoln, March 11, 1937. Whether the town's name is "Lincoln" or "Lincoln Center" was discussed in an article in the March 18 issue. Either is "technically correct," the writer reported.

A history of the Oskaloosa First Presbyterian Church as written by Mrs. Elizabeth B. Slade for the special services held on March 14, 1937, at the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the organization, was printed in the *Oskaloosa Independent*, March 18.

The Smith automobile factory, Topeka's pioneer motor car builder, was recalled by Harry E. Ross in a *Topeka State Journal* feature article published March 20, 1937.

Pocket canyon battle in which Kansas buffalo hunters broke the war spirit of the Comanche Indians in the Panhandle country on March 18, 1877, was reviewed by Paul I. Wellman in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, March 21, 1937.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Caldwell News* was observed by the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, March 23, 1937, with the issuance of a 32-page illustrated historical supplement. Harold Hammond, publisher of the *Messenger*, purchased the *News* in 1928 and combined the two papers. Features of the edition included a letter from P. C. Simons, son of R. T. Simons the founder

of the *News*; the reminiscences of David Leahy, D. C. Dacy, and Joe Wiedeman, a cattle driver over the Chisholm trail; histories of the city and its newspapers, clubs, railroads, schools, churches, business houses; names of mayors and the years they served, and congratulatory letters from prominent citizens of Kansas and the nation. Titles of other articles were: "Harry Woods Tells Vividly of Early-Day Bull Fight," "Not All of Caldwell's Background Was 'Tough'," and "First Telephone Here in '81, Grant Harris Says." Additional historical notes appeared in several succeeding issues of the *Messenger*.

The Bank of Pleasanton held open house on March 19, 1937, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. A history of the organization was sketched in the Pleasanton *Observer-Enterprise*, March 25.

St. Theresa's origin and the Leoti-Coronado feud were recalled by B. H. Scheve in the Herndon *Nonpareil*, March 25, 1937.

Redoubts in Kansas on the Ft. Dodge-Camp Supply military road were discussed by Mrs. India H. Simmons in her "Southwest History Corner" column appearing in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, March 26 and 29, 1937.

"Military Protection of the Santa Fé Trail to 1843," was the title of an article by Henry Putney Beers in the April, 1937, issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, of Santa Fé.

Early days in La Crosse were recalled by W. M. "Billie" Goodwin, a settler of 1878, in the La Crosse *Republican*, April 1, 1937.

The history of Oak Lodge No. 287, A. F. & A. M., of Lebanon, chartered on March 26, 1887, was outlined in detail in the Lebanon *Times*, April 1, 1937.

Marquette history was briefly reviewed in the fiftieth anniversary edition of the Marquette *Tribune* issued April 1, 1937. The town-site was surveyed in March, 1874. The *Tribune* which was started in April, 1889, was preceded by the Marquette *Monitor*, first issued in March, 1887.

Kansas' first arbor day and the famous cottonwood tree on the south statehouse lawn were discussed by Dr. Edward Bumgardner, of Lawrence, in a letter published in the Holton *Recorder*, April 1, 1937. The Topeka *State Journal* reprinted the letter on April 6.

Wichita's early-day physicians as recalled by Dr. David W. Basham, and "Remains of Caddoan Indian Tribes Seen in This Area," by J. B. Thoburn, were feature articles of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 4, 1937.

A letter written by Floyd Allen in 1893 giving a detailed account of his "run" into the Cherokee outlet was sketched in the *Protection Post*, April 8, 1937.

Herington history was briefly reviewed in *The Advertiser*, of Herington, April 8, 1937, in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Herington as a city of the third class.

Abraham Lincoln's letter to Grace Bedell, in response to her request that he grow whiskers, was described in detail in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, April 8, 1937. The letter is now in the possession of H. D. Billings of Delphos. Additional notes on this exchange of letters appeared in the issues of April 29 and May 2.

The history of the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs was briefly sketched in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 11, 1937.

Sixty years' residence in Barber county were reviewed by Mrs. A. B. Wilkins, of Medicine Lodge, in *The Barber County Index*, April 15, 1937.

Jim Crossfield's recollections of the county-seat fight in Pratt county were recorded by Victor Murdock in his front-page article in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, April 20, 1937.

The Zion Evangelical Church, located north and west of St. Francis, celebrated on April 18, 1937, the golden anniversary of its founding. A history of the church, which was started by the Rev. J. G. Schwab, was printed in the *Saint Francis Herald*, April 22.

Picket Rock, located ten miles southeast of Cherryvale, was described in the *Cherryvale Republican*, April 22, 1937.

The history of the Yates Center *News* was outlined in its issue of April 22, 1937. The *News* was founded on June 8, 1877.

Eudora's history was briefly reviewed in the *Eudora Weekly News*, April 22, 1937. The city was eighty years old April 17.

The Burdett community school, District No. 18, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its organization at a meeting held April 23, 1937. The early history of the school, written by S. E. Notestine, was printed in *The Tiller and Toiler*, of Larned, April 22.

Newton's school history was briefly sketched in the *Evening Kansan-Republican*, April 23, 1937. Mary A. Boyd opened and taught the first school in the city on September 2, 1872.

Gun battles in early-day Newton were discussed by Paul I. Wellman in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 25, 1937.

The Battle of Beecher's Island was reviewed by Guy Murchie, Jr., in an illustrated article appearing in the Chicago (Ill.) *Sunday Tribune*, April 25, 1937.

Maplehill celebrated its fiftieth birthday, April 24, 1937. A brief history of the town, by Mrs. John Turnbull, was printed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 25, and the Eskridge *Independent*, April 29.

Operation of the old Wyandot ferry at the mouth of the Kansas river in the 1840's and 1850's was discussed by A. R. Sorrells in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 26, 1937.

The Bonner Springs *Chieftain*, founded forty-one years ago, reviewed its history in the issue of April 29, 1937.

Some memories of Turon and vicinity by E. F. Koontz, of Wichita, were published in an article in the April 29, 1937, issue of the Turon *Press*. Mr. Koontz, who formerly edited the *Press*, arrived in Turon in the spring of 1889.

A four-column history of the Cedarvale Methodist Church, contributed by the Rev. E. K. Resler, was printed in the Cedarvale *Messenger*, April 29, 1937. Although the church had its beginnings in 1869, the Cedarvale circuit of the Wichita district was not fully organized until April 20, 1872.

The alumni of Cuba High School, 1915-1936, were listed in a special "High School Seniors" edition of the Cuba *Tribune* on April 29, 1937.

Completion of Bushton's first fifty years was celebrated by the Bushton *News* with the issuance of a 72-page liberally illustrated historical edition on April 29, 1937. Histories of the town's business houses, clubs and churches were printed. The establishment of the first post office was noted. Titles and authors of feature articles were: "First Ten Years of the *News*," by L. D. Harding; "Early Happenings," by Bert Peterson; "A Voice From the Past," by C. W. Swartz; "Pioneer Reminiscences," by Mrs. Frank Shonyo; "The

World War," by Fred Boldt; "Early Community History," by Henry Roelfs; "Memories of Younger Days," by J. F. Peterson; "Civil War Veterans," by Harry West; "Bushton Grade School," by L. E. Timmons; "Bushton High School"; "A History of Bushton," by B. C. Shonyo; "Life on the Prairie," by Mrs. Sophia Castholm; "Mrs. [Fred] Roehr's Impressions of Early Kansas," as told to Paul Volkland; "Prosper, Ellsworth County, Kansas," and "The Old Trail [Fort Harker to Fort Zarah]," by George R. Sturn; "Rees History," by Mrs. Anna Rees Clair; "Farming From 1872," by M. L. Shonyo, and "Memories of Pioneer Days," by Richard Blaylock.

Kansas' early history was reviewed in *The Citizen-Patriot*, of Atwood, in its issues of April 29, May 6 and 13, 1937.

A history of Latham written by the eighth grade class of the Latham school under the supervision of Ralph O. Hammer, principal, is being published serially in the *Latham Leader* beginning April 29, 1937.

Naming of the Peters post office in Kingman county was discussed by A. M. Weinschenk in Victor Murdock's Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* column of April 30, 1937. Mr. Weinschenk's early home was on the stage route between Hutchinson and Medicine Lodge.

The history of the Union Church of Bancroft was briefly sketched by F. A. Cordon in the *Wetmore Spectator*, April 30, 1937.

A history of St. Anthony's Parish, first Catholic church in Wichita, was reviewed in *The Catholic Advance*, of Wichita, May 1, 1937. The church was dedicated in September, 1887.

The story of the capture of Addie German (now Mrs. Frank Andrews of Bern), and the massacre of the older members of the John German family in 1874, was retold by Mrs. Florence Miller Strauss in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 2, 1937.

The cornerstone for Westfall's new Presbyterian church was laid May 2, 1937. The church's history was briefly sketched in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, May 6.

A brief history of the Kansas Bankers Association, as published in *Bank News*, was reprinted in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, May 9, 1937. A meeting of sixty bankers in Topeka in February, 1887, was the start of the association.

The naming of Big and Little Islands, on the Neosho river south of St. Paul, was discussed by T. F. Morrison in the *St. Paul Journal*, May 13, 1937.

Some early Kansas banking history was reviewed by C. Q. Chandler in an address delivered before a meeting of the Kansas Bankers Association in Wichita, May 13, 1937. Excerpts from the speech were printed in the *Wichita Eagle*, May 15.

The Delahay and Hank families of northeast Kansas were relatives of Abraham Lincoln, George J. Remsburg reported in the *Leavenworth Times*, May 17, 1937.

Street transportation history in Topeka was mentioned in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 18, 1937. Horse cars were used in 1880 and seven years later electric cars were started.

A history of the Peoples bank of Pratt was reviewed in a supplement to the May 18, 1937, issue of the *Pratt Daily Tribune*. The bank was chartered on May 20, 1887.

The story of the attempted robbery of the Labette County State Bank at Altamont on July 13, 1933, was retold by Victor Murdock in an interview with Mrs. Colene McCarty, one of the bank's employees, published in his *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* front-page column on May 19, 1937.

Kinsley's Church of the Holy Nativity commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding at a special service held on May 16, 1937. The church was chartered in Lewis, May 14, 1887, and later moved to Kinsley. The history of the church was briefly sketched in the *Kinsley Graphic*, May 20. Another history compiled by Anne Thorne appeared in the May 20 issue of the *Kinsley Mercury*.

The story of the building of Lake Sheridan in Sheridan county was reviewed in *The Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, May 20, 1937. The lake was dedicated May 25.

Reminiscences of H. S. Lyman, who served in the militia detailed to run down an Indian war party in 1874, were printed in the *Hutchinson Herald*, May 21, 1937.

Menno community, which is about midway between Syracuse and Ulysses, was named for the Mennonite settlers who arrived in 1906, the *Syracuse Journal* reported in a history sketched in the May 21, 1937, issue.

Notes on the history of St. John's military school of Salina, founded fifty years ago, were published in *The Skirmisher*, official cadet newspaper, May 21, 1937.

The story of the discovery of the helium pocket at Dexter was retold in an article in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, May 23, 1937.

El Dorado's school history was extensively reviewed in a 34-page edition of the *El Dorado Times* on May 26, 1937, at the completion of the city's new high school and junior college building which was formally dedicated May 27. The first school opened in El Dorado on July 30, 1868, the first high school was organized in 1880, and the junior college was established on April 5, 1927, by an overwhelming vote of the patrons of the school district.

"State Executive Mansion Is Now In Fiftieth Year," was the title of an article by Paul Montgomery in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 30, 1937. The house was purchased by the state in 1901, and Gov. William E. Stanley was its first executive occupant.

Articles in the June, 1937, issue of the *Pony Express Courier*, Placerville, Calif., include: "Wikiup and Wakonda, Terse Tales of Tepee, Tomahawk and Tom-tom Time in the West," by George J. Remsburg, and "My Personal Contact With James Butler Hickok," by Fred E. Sutton.

St. Paul's Evangelical Church, seventeen miles northwest of Caldwell, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding, June 6, 1937. Its history was sketched in the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, June 3.

Tecumseh's early history was briefly outlined by Helen Adams Gillespie in the *Topeka State Journal*, June 4, 1937.

Kansas Historical Notes

Lincoln county citizens marked two of the county's historic sites during the past year. The Abram townsite marker was erected in April, 1936, near the site of the county's first courthouse, approximately one mile and a quarter south and two and one half miles east of the township corner in Lincoln. The marker is triangular, of black sandstone, about 55 inches in height, set on a concrete base. On an inlaid plate of marble is the inscription: "Abram townsite, located here April 11, 1871; vacated February 24, 1872. First county seat Lincoln county." The Moffitt massacre monument was set up in December, 1936, southeast of Lincoln, near the site of the killing of four men who were attacked by Indians in 1864. The monument is built of dark brown cobblestones set in concrete. It is block-shaped with a pyramid-shaped top. Attached to the side is a bronze plate which reads: "First settlers of Lincoln county, Kansas, J. L. Moffitt, Thomas Moffitt, James Tyler, J. W. Houston, were attacked by Indians while hunting buffalo, took refuge here, and were massacred August 6, 1864."

Horton's First Presbyterian Church observed its golden anniversary at an all-day celebration held January 10, 1937. W. R. Honnell, of Kansas City, gave the dedicatory address for the stone marker located on the site of the old Kickapoo Indian mission building, which was the forerunner of Presbyterianism in the Horton district. The mission opened to the Indians on December 1, 1856. The Horton church was organized on January 8, 1887. Brief histories appeared in Horton newspapers contemporaneous with the celebration. A 66-page historical pamphlet, written by George Wilbur Nelson, the pastor, and published by *The Tri-County News*, also was issued.

The 1937 regular session of the Kansas legislature designated the western meadow lark as the official state bird and the cottonwood as the official state tree through the passage of House bills Nos. 49 and 113, which were approved by Gov. Walter A. Huxman on March 23, 1937. Through the courtesy of A. W. Relihan, representative from Smith county who sponsored the bills, the Kansas State Historical Society has received official signed copies of the acts.

The Kansas History Teachers Association held its annual meeting at the University of Wichita, April 17, 1937. At the morning session under the general theme "Neutrality," the following program was

presented: "Can America be Neutral?" E. L. Harshbarger, Bethel College, Newton; "Neutrality and Public Opinion," K. R. Galle, Arkansas City Junior College; "Bugle on the Plains," Kenneth W. Porter, Southwestern College, Winfield; "A Round Table Discussion of Recent Works on History and Allied Subjects," R. R. Price, Kansas State College, Manhattan. Papers presented at the afternoon meeting under the general theme "The Social Studies in the New Curriculum" were: "On the Junior High School Level," H. H. Scott, Newton Senior High School; "On the Senior High School Level," Marian Nelson, Hutchinson Senior High School; "On the Junior College level," Arley Riggs, Parsons Junior College. Officers elected for the new year are: Fred L. Parrish, Kansas State College, Manhattan, president; James C. Malin, Kansas University, Lawrence, vice-president, and Della Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer. Other members on the executive committee are: H. A. Shumway, El Dorado Junior College; Ernest Mahan, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; E. L. Harshbarger, and Arley Riggs.

What Price White Rock? A Chronicle of Northwestern Jewell County, by Harry E. Ross, was issued in April, 1937, by *The Herald Press*, of Burr Oak. The attractive and neatly printed 152-page paper-covered book is a revised compilation of the series of articles Mr. Ross prepared and published in the weekly *Herald* commencing with the issue of June 25, 1936.

At the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society held in Abilene on May 25, 1937, the following officers were elected: W. A. Stacey, president; Mrs. A. B. Seelye, first vice-president; W. C. Bocher, of Solomon, second vice-president; Walter Wilkins, of Chapman, treasurer, and Mrs. H. M. Howard, secretary.

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Contributors

PAUL WALLACE GATES is assistant professor of American history at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

LELA BARNES is curator of manuscripts of the Kansas State Historical Society.

EUGENE FITCH WARE, Kansas author and lawyer, died in 1911. A biographical sketch appears on page 295.

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

A Fragment of Kansas Land History:

The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract*

PAUL WALLACE GATES

THE key to much of the early history of Kansas is to be found in the competition of squatters, speculators and railroads for ownership of its fertile acres and in the land policies established by the federal government for that territory. In Kansas, land disposal was not so completely determined by what are generally known as "public land policies" as it was in many other states, since much of the land in eastern and southern Kansas never became part of the public domain and therefore was never subject to such land policies as preëmption and homestead. In this part of the state lay the Indian lands which, when ceded by their original owners, were transferred directly to individuals or to companies rather than to the United States, or were ceded to the United States in trust to be sold for the benefit of the Indians under conditions differing from those applicable to the sale of public land, or were allotted in severalty to individual Indians. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the struggle for possession of the Christian Indian tract, a struggle which serves to illustrate on a small scale the many land controversies of this period of Kansas history.

The Indian intercourse act of 1834 was designed to create a definite Indian territory in which unlawful settlement was proscribed by heavy penalties (section 11) and any attempt to acquire by "purchase, grant, lease or other conveyance of lands, or of any title or claim thereto, from any Indian nation or tribe of Indians," save by properly constituted public officials was strictly forbidden (section 12).¹ The present area of Kansas was included in the Indian territory and the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska act did not suspend the operation of the intercourse act within the Indian reservations in Kansas.² Unfortunately for the Indians, the opening of Kansas territory, from which settlers had hitherto been excluded, was like opening the flood gates of an angry river; hordes of land seekers

* The gathering of material for this article was made possible, in part, by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council. If it were customary and proper the writer would dedicate this article to the memory of Frank Heywood Hodder whose famous article on "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (*Proceedings, Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1912*, pp. 69-86) provided a more intelligent approach to the history of the pre-Civil War decade. Mrs. Lela Barnes and especially Miss Martha Caldwell of the Kansas State Historical Society were of great assistance in searching for material in the rich archives of the Society.

1. 4 U. S. Stat., 730.

2. 10 U. S. Stat., 277 *passim*.

poured across the Missouri river in their search for homesteads and speculative opportunities. These people, completely disregarding the intercourse act and the warnings of Indian agents, penetrated into the Indian reservations, squatted upon their choice lands, stole their timber and seduced the Indians into signing away their lands. Efforts to enforce the intercourse act by expelling the intruders and punishing those violating section 12 of the act were largely fruitless.³ The prevailing contempt for the law was the result in no small degree of the violation of section 12 by practically all of the territorial officials and military officers stationed at Fort Leavenworth.⁴

The lands of the Christian or Munsee tribe of Indians consisted of 2,571 acres, located two miles from the town of Leavenworth.⁵ These Indians⁶ had been moved from frontier to frontier by a government which was endeavoring, most unsuccessfully, to keep the Redmen away from the demoralizing influence of white civilization. A small band of these Indians eventually settled on the Delaware reservation in Kansas and in 1854 they were authorized to purchase from the Delawares four sections of land near Leavenworth, which included the small improvements they had made.⁷

By the same treaty in which the Christian Indians acquired their tract, the Delaware Indians also surrendered their lands about Leavenworth and retired to a tract more remote from settlement,

3. The correspondence of the officials of the office of Indian affairs contains frequent allusions to efforts to oust the squatters. The commissioner of Indian affairs in a letter of October 8, 1855 (Pratt MSS., Kansas State Historical Society) said the President had decided to order the troops to cooperate with the Indian agents in removing intruders. Public notice was to be given and then a written or printed notice was to be served on each intruder. After a reasonable time the troops were to be called in to evict those who refused to leave voluntarily. George W. Clarke, agent to the Pottawatomie Indians, relates the difficulties in removing squatters from the Kansas half-breed lands in a letter to B. F. Robinson, August 6, 1856, Pratt MSS. When driven off by the troops the squatters moved to the adjacent Delaware reservation and camped there until the troops were withdrawn. Then they returned to the half-breed lands. See, also, letter of B. F. Robinson, Delaware agency, September 29, 1857, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, and J. W. Denver, commissioner of Indian affairs, Westport, Mo., October 3, 1857, to B. F. Robinson, Pratt MSS.; Lawrence *Republican*, November 8, 1860, quoting *Mound City Report*. Robinson warned the squatters off the Delaware lands by an advertisement in the Leavenworth *Weekly Kansas Herald*, January 8, 1859.

4. Reeder, Lecompte, Isaacs (spelled variously, "Isaacs," "Isacks," "Isaacks"), Elmore, and Johnston of the territorial officials, Majors Macklin and Ogden of Fort Leavenworth, and Pomeroy and Robinson of the Emigrant Aid Company all were guilty of violating the intercourse act.

5. The location of the tract is shown on map No. 27, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-1897, Part 2 (Washington, 1899). The land office description of the tract as recalled by M. Mills (letter to J. A. Halderman, November 23, 1862, Halderman MSS., Kansas State Historical Society) was as follows: E $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 1, T. 9 S., R. 22 E., of the 6th p. m., 275.10 acres; E $\frac{1}{2}$ and E $\frac{1}{2}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 12, T. 9 S., R. 22 E., 480 acres; E $\frac{1}{2}$ and E $\frac{1}{2}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 13, T. 9 S., R. 22 E., 480 acres; fractional secs. 6 and 7, T. 9 S., R. 23 E., 598.10 acres; fractional sec. 17 and sec. 18, T. 9 S., R. 23 E., 738.37 acres, the total being 2,571.57 acres. Miss Annie Heloise Abel in her admirable study: "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinction of Their Title," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII (1904), pp. 72-109, especially 86, only mentions the sale of the Christian Indian tract.

6. Joseph Romig, "The Chippewa and Munsee (or Christian) Indians of Franklin County, Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XI (1910), pp. 314-323.

7. Article 13, treaty of July 17, 1854, 10 U. S. Stat., 1051. It is interesting to note that the framers of the treaty feared strong opposition would be shown to article 13 because it left the Christian Indians in possession of a tract of great value. Article 17 was therefore included which stated that "should the senate of the United States reject the thirteenth article hereof, such rejection shall in no wise affect the validity of the other articles."

leaving the Christian Indians quite surrounded by the hordes of immigrants who poured into the Delaware lands after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska act. Despite the removal of the more powerful Delawares from their neighborhood and the opening to settlement of land surrounding their now isolated reservation, Indian Commissioner George W. Manypenny was optimistic that the Christian Indians would succeed upon their reserve which was "well adapted to agricultural uses."⁸ Manypenny believed that the reduced reservations into which the Indians in Kansas were being crowded by a series of treaties, adopted principally in 1854, must be regarded as "their permanent homes. They cannot again be removed. They must meet their fate upon their present reservations . . . and there be made a civilized people, or crushed and blotted out."⁹

The Christian Indian tract being adjacent to the Missouri river was certain of squatter penetration, the more so as it was for a number of reasons especially desirable. It was close to Leavenworth, for long the most rapidly growing community in Kansas; the chief commercial route into the interior of Kansas passed through the center of it; part of it was fertile and suitable for farming and had the advantage of being close to a growing market; and finally, in a territory where timber was scarce and consequently highly prized, this tract, being heavily forested, was certain to be coveted.

The attack upon the Christian Indian tract began with the opening of the territory. In May, 1855, the resident Indian agent warned the squatters to cease their intrusions, only to "excite against Commissioner Manypenny and myself angry threats."¹⁰ Warnings and orders had no effect; the intruders remained upon the tract, steadily despoiling it of its commercially valuable timber. The use of troops to expel the intruders was sought but was not granted, the administration contenting itself with issuing orders and tacking up notices directed against violations of the Indian intercourse act. By 1857 at least fifteen families were squatting upon the tract.¹¹ Many of the early Kansas squatters were speculators, bent on establishing claims to resell to others. One of the more fortunate squatters sold

8. Report of Commissioner Manypenny for 1856, *House Executive Documents*, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 1856-1857, v. 1, part 1, p. 560.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 573. Manypenny's sympathy with the Indians and disgust with the squatters and speculators who were violating the treaties and the reservations is brought out clearly in his correspondence with his superior, R. W. McClelland, Secretary of the Interior. See, especially, Manypenny to McClelland, September 22, 1855, "Old Files," office of Indian affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. (Hereafter cited as I. O.)

10. Letter of B. F. Robinson, May 11, 1855, Pratt MSS.

11. Petition of T. Y. Chevalier and others, Leavenworth, Kansas territory, July 29, 1857, "Delaware File," I. O.

his claim to the chief justice of the territory, Samuel D. Lecompte, for the extraordinary price of \$1,900 for 160 acres.¹² This was for a mere squatter's claim, the government title or Indian title not being included and, in the light of subsequent developments, it was a hazardous investment. At the time, however, it was thought that squatters on the Christian Indian lands would be treated in the same way as squatters on the surrounding Delaware lands, who hoped that preëemption privileges would be conceded to them either at the government minimum of \$1.25 per acre or at appraised valuations, regardless of improvements of squatters. Two other purchases of 160 acre claims were made for \$1,500 and \$1,000 respectively.¹³ Such prices were calculated to whet the appetites of larger speculators who now began to look upon the tract with much interest.

The chief income of the Christian Indians, meager as it was, came, after the white invasion, from the sale of the timber on their lands.¹⁴ Probably but a small proportion of the timber taken was actually paid for, but nevertheless it did provide a small source of income. This easy money and the continued demoralization resulting from contact with whites, so lugubriously pictured by the Indians' missionary friend, Gottlieb Oehler,¹⁵ made them ready listeners to white men's schemes for purchasing the entire tract. The Indians soon became aware of the value of their tract and it took little urging to induce them to part with it in return for the money which, they hoped, would give them immediate pleasures and permanent freedom from the drudgery of work.

When, therefore, the Christian Indians were approached by Dr. Charles Robinson, one-time agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and of its land investing affiliate the Kansas Land Trust,¹⁶ and by Samuel C. Pomeroy, also an agent of the New England interests in Kansas, they were in an agreeable mood for action. Robinson had previously shown little regard for the Indian intercourse act which he had openly flouted in a contract made with cer-

12. Samuel D. Lecompte, Leavenworth, February 13, 1857, to Doctor Eddy, commissioner for the sale of the Delaware lands; petition of Lecompte and six others, dated February 24, 1857, demanding the right to purchase the government title to their claims; Lecompte to Jacob Thompson, May 23, 1857, "Delaware File," I. O.

13. Lecompte to Jacob Thompson, May 23, 1857, I. O.

14. The Christian Indian annuity was a paltry \$400 per year. Act of August 18, 1856, 11 *U. S. Stat.*, 69.

15. Undirected letter of Gottlieb Oehler, Moravian mission, Kansas, February 18, 1857; same to James W. Denver, commissioner of Indian affairs, June 20, 1857; John C. Jacobson, Bethlehem, Pa., March 9, 1857, to Geo. W. Manypenny; same to James W. Denver, June 9, 1857, I. O.

16. Russell K. Hickman's admirable article on the "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company" (*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August, 1935, v. IV, pp. 235-267), is a mine of valuable information.

tain Delaware Indians for the purchase of logs.¹⁷ Furthermore, Robinson had sought to purchase for the Emigrant Aid Company 1,280 acres of the extremely desirable Kansas half-breed lands located across the Kansas river from Topeka adjacent to the tracts fraudulently purchased by Gov. Andrew Reeder.¹⁸ When legal difficulties prevented him from carrying out his scheme, which was also in violation of the intercourse act, he denounced the Missouri Proslavery party for raising such obstacles in order that they might monopolize the half-breed lands.¹⁹ Pomeroy, although a New Englander, had quickly acquired the frontiersman's disregard for laws and treaties affecting the Indians and had been associated with Robinson in the above-mentioned enterprise. These were the men who offered the Christian Indians \$37,000 for their entire tract, a sum calculated to take away the breath of the owners, who accepted with alacrity.²⁰

News of the sale was quickly spread about and came to the ears of Benjamin F. Robinson, government Indian agent to the Delawares. Agent Robinson had the interests of the Indians sincerely at heart and raised immediate objections to the sale. It was contrary to the intercourse act; it did not adequately compensate the Indians for their land; and it created a new problem as to the future policy to be followed towards the Christian Indians.²¹ Furthermore, though this may have mattered little to Agent Robinson, Dr. Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy were of the despised "abolitionist" school of politicians and the choice speculative plums were not for them.

George W. Manypenny, Indian commissioner and a man who really sought to do his best for the Kansas Indians, agreed that the sale was illegal and declared that the participants in this attempt to violate the law should be prosecuted.²² He further stated that the Christian Indians could not sell their lands except in accordance with the provisions of the treaty with the Delawares and then only

17. Thomas H. Webb, Boston, December 21, 1854, to Dr. Chas. Robinson, Emigrant Aid Co., "Letter Book," I; "Records of the Executive Committee," Emigrant Aid Co., January 13, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society. Webb remarked that the 25 cents a cord for standing timber which Robinson has agreed to pay "seems hardly credible" in view of the great scarcity of timber in Kansas.

18. "Records," Executive Committee, March 17, 1855.

19. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1855.

20. Benjamin F. Robinson, Delaware agency, January 23, 1857, to George W. Manypenny, I. O.

21. *Ibid.*

22. George W. Manypenny, February 7, 1857, to Benj. F. Robinson, v. 56, I. O. Roy F. Nichols, who has studied most intensively the Pierce administration, is convinced that the Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, and Manypenny were honest and well meaning in their management of the Indians. See his *Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 274, 319, 407, etc.

to the United States.²³ Mere violators of Indian rights, despised political opponents though they might be, were not, however, to be punished, except that the sale was not recognized as legal. Robinson and Pomeroy were for the time being on the wrong side politically and had to wait for a number of years before their share of governmental favors was handed out.

The same day that Manypenny sent his refusal to Robinson and Pomeroy, a second group consisting of Leavenworth magnates at the head of which was William H. Russell, submitted a bid of \$20 per acre for the tract, or \$51,200.²⁴ Russell was one of the most prominent business men in Kansas, being a member of the firm of Russell, Waddell and Majors which in 1856 secured from a friendly administration the lucrative freighting contract for the transportation of government supplies across the plains. He had strong financial as well as political support through his connection with Luke Lea²⁵ and one would suppose that the bid offered by a syndicate headed by Russell would receive serious consideration. Nevertheless, it also was refused.

In quick succession, three more offers were made for the purchase of the tract. James W. Hughes, of St. Louis, on April 23, 1857, offered a straight \$50,000;²⁶ Ben Holladay offered \$50,000 for the land, \$1,500 for improvements thereon, and \$4,000 for the chiefs;²⁷ and, finally, a group of associates headed by A. Titlow, M. S. Reyburn and Lucy Powers offered \$55,000.²⁸ Titlow and his associates were claim owners residing on the tract who had purchased their claims for substantial sums. Ben Holladay made a special trip to Washington to negotiate the sale but to no avail. The acting Indian commissioner stated to him that the "Secretary of the Interior has declined to entertain any proposition in regard to the sale of the lands. . . ." ²⁹

Still another communication concerning the Christian Indian tract was received by the Indian office. This was the petition of T. Y. Chevalier and fourteen other heads of families squatting upon

23. C. Robinson to Amos Lawrence, January 23, 1857, Lawrence MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

24. The other members were Fred Emory, E. C. McCarty, George W. Ward, Simon Scruggs and John H. Day. See letter of Russell and others, Leavenworth, February 7, 1857, to B. F. Robinson, I. O.

25. There is a mass of information on the financial relations of Russell with Luke Lea and others in *House Reports*, 36th Cong., 2d sess., No. 78, "Abstracted Indian Trust Bonds," pp. 49 and elsewhere.

26. James W. Hughes to James W. Denver, April 22, 1857, I. O.

27. Ben Holladay, Washington, May 6, 1857, to Jacob Thompson, I. O.

28. Titlow, Reyburn and Powers, Leavenworth, May 25, 1857, to Jacob Thompson, I. O.

29. Charles E. Mix, June 15, 1857, to Benjamin Holladay, "Letter Book," 57, I. O.

the tract who demanded the right to buy their farms at a fair appraisal,³⁰ a privilege which the settlers on the Delaware lands had in effect extorted from the government. They pointed out that there were fifty-four persons in their families, that they had been on the tract from one to four years and had made improvements to the aggregate value of \$7,200. All these offers were refused with equal firmness and it seemed that the department had the fullest intention of safeguarding the homes of the Indians against white encroachment.

While Russell, Hughes, Holladay, the combination of claim purchasers, and the squatters were endeavoring to purchase the Christian Indian tract through negotiations with the Indian office, another Kansas politician determined to make an effort to buy the tract directly from the Indians. This man was Andrew Jackson Isaacs, formerly of Louisiana, who, in 1854, had been appointed by President Pierce attorney general for Kansas territory. Like most of the early Kansas politicians, Isaacs had his eye out for the main chance and was more interested, apparently, in his land speculations than in his political preferment. He was an incorporator of the Proslavery town of Tecumseh,³¹ once promoted as the territorial capital of Kansas, and he coöperated with other territorial officials in an attempt to purchase, illegally, 2,300 acres of Kansas half-breed lands located on the north bank of the Kansas river.³² He was also a member of the Pawnee association which sought to establish the territorial capital on a military reservation at Pawnee.³³ President Pierce refused to confirm the Kansas half-breed sale, branding it as a violation of the intercourse act, and the territorial legislature refused to remain at Pawnee, but adjourned to Shawnee mission.³⁴ For their participation in these obviously fraudulent activities Governor Reeder and Judges Elmore and Johnston were dismissed by the President, but Isaacs retained his position. As subsequent events were to prove, Isaac's ill-success in these early deals was not to deter him from similar illegal efforts later. It is not unfair to state that the illegal Kansas half-breed sale was used by the Pierce ad-

30. Petition of Chevalier and others, Leavenworth, July 29, 1857, I. O. The petitioners claimed that they had settled upon the tract at the invitation of the Indians.

31. *Statutes of Kansas Territory*, 1855, p. 818.

32. The Indian agents who were seeking to expel squatters from the Kansas half-breed lands found that Isaacs, then attorney general, was actually opposing their efforts by advising the squatters to remain on the tracts, and maintaining that they had a right to settle upon the lands.—Geo. W. Clarke, Indian agent, Pottawatomie agency, August 6, 1856, to B. F. Robinson, Pratt MSS.

33. A. J. Isaacs to J. A. Halderman, March 1, 1856, Halderman MSS.

34. For these episodes see *House Executive Documents*, 33d Cong., 2d sess., Doc. 50. It is interesting to note that Isaacs concurred in a decision of Judge Lecompte which held that the territorial legislature's action in removing from Pawnee to Shawnee mission was valid.

ministration as a pretext to drop Governor Reeder whose antislavery views were unacceptable to it. Isaacs need not feel then, that another sale in which only administration supporters were involved would be so treated.

Isaacs was intimately associated in a business way with the most important group of capitalists in Kansas: William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, Amos Rees and Hugh Boyle Ewing. Russell and Majors were in the freighting business; Rees and Russell had been active in organizing the city of Leavenworth and in the squatter association which dominated the public sale of the Delaware trust lands in 1856 and 1857. Russell, Rees, Isaacs and others organized the Leavenworth Fire and Marine Insurance Co., with a capital of \$50,000, the Kansas Valley Bank, and were participants in promoting the towns of Tecumseh, Louisiana, and Wewoka.³⁵ More important, this group organized the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad which was projected as a possible transcontinental road and which, it was hoped, might receive a generous subsidy from congress. This railroad, later known as the Union Pacific, Eastern division, and still later as the Kansas Pacific, was to receive from the federal government during the years 1860 to 1865 the most generous treatment of all the railroads seeking bounties at its hands. The road was chartered in 1855 by the Kansas legislature³⁶ but was not organized until December, 1856. It then elected Hugh Boyle Ewing, son of former Sen. Thomas Ewing of Ohio, president, and instructed him to proceed to Washington, there to lobby for a grant of public land.³⁷ Isaacs and Ewing were in Washington at the same time and were probably mutually helpful in their efforts to secure the concessions they sought. It appears that the Christian Indian tract was desired by Isaacs' friends for the railroad they were promoting, and it is quite probable that their opponents, Robinson and Pomeroy, also wanted to obtain the tract for the Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Railroad or some other of the railroad schemes in which they were already deeply involved.³⁸

35. *Statutes of Kansas Territory*, 1855, *passim*.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 914.

37. H. Ewing, Leavenworth, December 26, 1856, and January 5, 1857, to his father, Hon. Thomas Ewing, Ewing MSS., Library of Congress.

38. Robinson and Pomeroy were promoting the town of Quindaro on the Missouri river south of Leavenworth and in this town they had invested a part of the funds of the New England Emigrant Aid Company entrusted to their charge. Robinson was a director of the Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Railroad which was projected as a rival of the L. P. & W. and in the years 1857 to 1860 he was bending all efforts toward getting government aid for the line. He was especially concerned with the rich lands of the Delawares and Christian Indians and sought to win the right of purchasing them, as did also the L. P. & W. Robinson's correspondence in the Pratt MSS. and in his own collection in the Kansas Historical Society and his letters in the Lawrence MSS. are full of reports on his efforts to secure these lands. Indeed, judging by them one would almost conclude that he was more interested in his railroad and land ventures than in the slavery question.

Isaacs went to Washington in March, 1857, where he submitted his resignation as attorney general for Kansas and then set out to secure confirmation of a sale he had previously negotiated with the Christian Indians for the purchase of their lands.³⁹ But before seeking confirmation of the sale, he thought it advisable to put his proposed purchase in a better legal position than that of Robinson and Pomeroy. Consequently, steps were taken to have the title to the four sections vested in the Indians, and this was done on May 21, 1857.⁴⁰ Article 13 of the treaty of 1854 with the Delawares stated that the four sections "shall be confirmed by patent to the said Christian Indians, subject to such restrictions as congress may provide . . ." As no restrictions were imposed, it would appear that the Indians, now having the patent to their tract, might dispose of it if they so wished, and that section 12 of the intercourse act would no longer be applicable to it. True, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, subsequently implied in a letter of April, 1858, that the Indians could not dispose of the tract without the consent of congress,⁴¹ but Isaacs could at least feel that he was on stronger ground than others who had previously sought to purchase it. Eight days after the patent was issued, Isaacs concluded a new contract with the Christian Indians for the purchase of their 2,571 acres for \$43,-400.⁴² Gottlieb Oehler, Moravian missionary to this tribe, tells how Isaacs secured the consent of the Indians to this sale; he got them drunk, debauched them, bribed three of the leaders and induced them to sign his document when they were not in a state to know what they were doing.⁴³

One further step was necessary to pave the way for favorable

39. The sale to Isaacs is described in a letter of G. F. Oehler, Moravian mission, February 18, 1857, unaddressed, I. O. This was just eleven days after Manypenny, incensed at the efforts of Doctor Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy to buy the Christian Indian tract, instructed Benjamin F. Robinson, Indian agent, to get all possible information on their negotiations as grounds for prosecution under the intercourse act.—Manypenny to Benjamin F. Robinson, February 7, 1857, Pratt MSS. No mention of prosecuting Isaacs for his violation of the act was found in any of the numerous letters dealing with the business.

40. There is considerable correspondence in the Indian office from Joseph Kilbuck and other representatives of the Christian Indians, concerning the title to their lands. Kilbuck had earlier opposed the sale of the tract, maintaining that to return to dwelling with the Delawares, which the sale of their tract would necessitate, would be a "return to heathenism."—Kilbuck, January 8, 1857, to George W. Manypenny. Kilbuck was an uneducated Indian who was easily influenced. Probably his earlier attitude better reflected his real feelings although the hand of Oehler is apparent. Kilbuck received \$100 from Isaacs and two other Indians received \$50 each for their part in making possible Isaacs' purchase. B. F. Robinson on June 2, 1857, said that Kilbuck now repudiated his signature to the sale contract, claiming that he was drunk at the time and therefore unaware of what he was signing. Congressional action to give legality to the same may have been prompted by the repudiation of Kilbuck and others.

41. To A. B. Greenwood, chairman, committee on Indian affairs, house of representatives, I. O.

42. See act of June 8, 1858, 11 *U. S. Stat.*, 312. Oehler reported on February 18, 1857, that the sale price was \$48,000.—Unaddressed letter, I. O.

43. Oehler to James W. Denver, June 20, 1857; B. F. Johnson to Col. A. Cummins, June 2, 1857; John C. Jacobson, Bethlehem, Pa., March 9, 1857, to James W. Denver, and Jacobson to Geo. W. Manypenny, June 9, 1857, I. O.

action by congress, and this was to prevent ratification of a treaty then before the senate which provided for the sale of 120 acres of the Christian Indian tract to the Church of the United Brethren. This treaty⁴⁴ was drawn up on December 16, 1856, by Benjamin F. Robinson, representing the United States, three chiefs of the Christian Indians—including Joseph Kilbuck—and Gottlieb Oehler representing the United Brethren. The treaty authorized the sale of 120 acres "now occupied by the agents" of the church "and embracing their improvements" for the sum of \$1,440. It had been sent to the senate early in 1857 with the approval of Commissioner Manypenny, but was permitted to slumber in committee for more than a year. To clear the records for Isaac's purchase, it was advisable to dispose of the treaty and on March 30, 1858, Senator Sebastian reported it back to the senate adversely. On April 7 the treaty failed⁴⁵ of ratification and the way was now clear for Isaacs to press his claims.

Before the news of the methods employed by Isaacs in dealing with the Indians reached Washington, Isaacs besieged the officials of the general land office and the Indian office to get them to confirm the sale. J. W. Whitfield, Kansas delegate to congress, was induced to support the sale, and in a letter to the Indian office of April 1, 1857, he stated that \$40,000 was a fair price for the land and that Isaacs' offer should be accepted. Somewhat earlier, Norman Eddy, chosen by the government to administer the sale of the Delaware trust lands in Kansas, had stated to Isaacs that the lands were worth \$16 per acre or a total of \$40,960.⁴⁶ This statement was now passed on to the proper officials. Gen. James W. Denver, recently appointed commissioner of Indian affairs and later territorial governor of Kansas, was favorable to Isaacs' purchase of the tract, so much so, indeed, that he misrepresented to the Secretary of the Interior the views of Gottlieb Oehler.⁴⁷ Denver's support is better understood in the light of a letter of Madison Mills to J. A. Halderman,⁴⁸

44. Because the treaty was not ratified it was not made public at the time. The senate ordered it "printed in confidence for the use of the senate."—*Confidential Executive Document No. 7, 34th Cong., 3d sess.* The Department of State furnished the writer a photostat copy of this treaty from 44 *Regular Confidential Documents*.

45. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, v. X, 1855-1858, pp. 354, 357; *National Intelligencer*, Washington, April 8, 1858.

46. Norman Eddy, Washington, March 15, 1857, to Col. A. J. Isaacs, I. O.

47. J. W. Denver, May 11, 1857, to Jacob Thompson, "Report Book," No. 10, I. O. Oehler in a letter of February 18, 1857, had told how Isaacs had debauched the Indians to get them to sign the sale papers. Then, when informed that Kilbuck, a leader of the Christian Indians on whom he relied in his work, had consented to the sale, Oehler wrote on February 23, that although he felt the sale unwise and unfair, "since" Joseph Kilbuck now favored it he would no longer raise objections. When Oehler learned that Kilbuck had been bribed to favor the sale and later repudiated his action, he resumed his denunciation of it. In the meantime, however, Denver had distorted the meaning of his letter of February 18 in such a way that the Secretary of the Interior was given to understand that Oehler favored the sale to Isaacs.

48. Halderman MSS.

prominent Leavenworth attorney and townsite promoter, dated November 23, 1862, wherein it appears that General Denver owned a share in the tract he aided Isaacs in purchasing.

When news of Isaacs' purchase became known, the Department of the Interior was deluged with letters from local Indian agents, missionaries, some of the Christian Indians, the squatters and claim owners on the tract and other persons seeking to acquire the lands, all protesting against confirmation of the sale. The purport of the letters was that Isaacs had debauched the Indians to secure their consent to the sale, that he had made the sale at distinctly less than the market value of the tract, and that the Indians actually did not wish to move from their tract, but preferred to have it allotted in severalty. In his annual report for 1857, which was published in the *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, Benjamin F. Robinson condemned the sale to Isaacs without mentioning the latter's name. "Under bad council," he said, a few of the Indians had been induced to sell the tract against the wishes "and to the prejudice of the larger portion of these people," and he recommended that legislation be adopted to keep the lands from "the grasp of the speculator."⁴⁹ Elsewhere Robinson pointed out the Indians themselves wished to have the lands allotted in severalty as did the intruders on the tract who could then acquire them from the Indians, but he seemed to feel that a sale to the highest bidder should be made.⁵⁰

Before Isaacs' purchase was confirmed Gottlieb Oehler made yet another suggestion for the disposal of the tract. He proposed that Judge Lecompte and other claim owners on the tract be permitted to purchase their 835 acres for \$26,000 and that the remainder of the tract be put up at auction from which at least \$80,000 should be expected.⁵¹ Such prices reflect the high value commonly placed on this land.

Isaacs was not easily deterred by the clamor raised against his purchase. He denied that there was any illegality in it, contended that the intercourse act did not apply in this case, stated that he had actually paid \$40,000 of the purchase price to the Indians and claimed that the title received from them was good. He further stated that the opposition to and criticism of the sale came from "selfish grasping people" who hoped themselves to have a share in the lands.⁵²

49. *Senate Executive Documents*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1857-1858, v. I, p. 454.

50. B. F. Robinson, January 29, 1858, to Mix, I. O.

51. Gottlieb Oehler, Washington, D. C., March 15, 1858, to Charles Mix, I. O.

52. A. J. Isaacs to Charles Mix, March 31, 1858, I. O.

Isaacs' purchase could have no validity until it was recognized by the Department of the Interior and, on the face of things, it seemed that its consent would not be forthcoming. Commissioner Many-penny had earlier committed himself by denouncing the sale to Robinson and Pomeroy as being a violation of the intercourse act and it was difficult to see how the bureau could reverse itself now that a loyal Democrat was the violator instead of Republican abolitionists. The Secretary of the Interior had likewise declined to consider the sale of the lands.⁵³ Also, Commissioner Mix on April 31, 1858, inferred that *no* sale of the tract need be recognized by the government.⁵⁴ On April 12, 1858, the Secretary of the Interior expressed the view that congressional action was necessary to validate the sale.⁵⁵ This gave the friends of Isaacs their opportunity, and three weeks later Congressman Greenwood of Arkansas reported out a bill⁵⁶ to give validity to Isaacs' purchase and a similar measure was introduced into the senate by Sebastian.⁵⁷

The senate measure was slipped through without any consideration, but subsequently a move to reconsider was made by Preston King, Republican of New York. King had been impressed by the widespread participation in land speculation by the territorial officials which Pierce and Buchanan had sent into Kansas and he was curious enough to look into Isaacs' land venture. The fact that he went to Marcus J. Parrott, Free Soil representative from Kansas, for information suggests that he was not loath to unearth unsavory information damaging to his Democratic colleagues, but this does not vitiate the value of the information he presented, which was in harmony with the letters the Indian office was receiving from Kansas. Senator King argued that haste was unnecessary and that it would be well to look into the matter before confirming what, on its face, was obviously an illegal sale. He pointed out that Parrott was opposed, that the Indians themselves were opposed, as were the people in the vicinity of the lands, that the price was distinctly less than the market value of the lands, and that the Indians wished to retain their lands. It also troubled King that "personages intrusted with the charge of these matters" should be speculating "in the property of the Indians, who are, in some extent, under their care." In conclusion, he said, "The more I have seen of it, and the more I have heard of it, the more I have come to the belief that it is one of those

53. Mix to Benjamin Holladay, "Letter Book," 57, I. O.

54. Mix to Jacob Thompson, April 30, 1858, "Report Book," No. 10, I. O.

55. Jacob Thompson to A. B. Greenwood, I. O.

56. *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1857-1858, p. 1943.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 2016.

land speculations in the neighborhood of Leavenworth that are not entitled to the sanction or consideration of congress.”⁵⁸

When Senator Sebastian rose to defend the measure, Stephen A. Douglas, a friend of Isaacs, confident that the latter’s supporters had a safe majority, impatiently urged Sebastian to give no further explanation, saying “I take it for granted that the senate will vote down the motion for reconsideration without further explanation.”⁵⁹ Such arrogant treatment of the opposition to a measure so patently questionable was too much for old Sam Houston, of Texas, who entered into a rambling discourse on the matter to justify his support of the sale. He made no attempt to meet the objections of Senator King, but was mainly concerned with the opposition, a “Moravian missionary”—doubtless Gottlieb Oehler—who, he said, had demanded compensation to the amount of \$2,300 for improvements put upon the lands by his church. Houston infers that all such opposition ceased when Isaacs agreed to pay this compensation. This ended the debate; the vote to reconsider was not agreed to and two days later the house accepted the senate bill without opposition,⁶⁰ and it was signed by the President on June 8.⁶¹ The measure recited that Isaacs had agreed to purchase the lands for \$43,400, “which sum was a fair consideration . . .” and the sale was confirmed. The sum was paid by Isaacs within the ninety-day time limit prescribed by the law and the lands then passed into his hands.⁶²

Meantime criticism of the sale did not diminish. Oehler remained opposed though he recognized that the action of congress in confirming the sale, “arbitrary” as it was, must end the matter.⁶³ The squatters on the tract kept up their opposition⁶⁴ and, indeed, so vociferous did the clamor become that James W. Denver, now governor of Kansas territory, to quiet fears in Washington, induced Job Samuel, one of the Christian Indians, to sign a statement dated October 13, 1858, in which he declared his approval of the sale to Isaacs and maintained that the opposition to the same among the Indians came from members whose lives were threatened unless they expressed their opposition. As witnesses of this remarkable paper, appear the names of Oehler and Governor Denver, the latter protesting

58. *Ibid.*, p. 2628.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 2628.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 2714.

61. 11 *U. S. Stat.*, 312.

62. Mix to Isaacs, September 2, 1858, v. 59, I. O.

63. Oehler to Mix, August 18, 1858, I. O.

64. Wm. Kimberland, Leavenworth, November 18, 1858, to Charles Mix, I. O.

that the Indian signatures were made voluntarily and that he himself prepared the statement!⁶⁵

The later history of the Christian Indian tract is beyond the bounds of this story.⁶⁶ Its importance is not so much in the ultimate ownership or use of the tract but rather in the way in which the tract was sold. The sale to Isaacs was the first instance of the transfer of an important tract of Indian land directly to an individual or group. It marked the end of the Manypenny influence in the Indian office, an influence which may have been inopportune, but was certainly sympathetic to the Indian problems, and the substitution therefore of forces more friendly to the "Indian Ring," so-called. The sale also opened up a new avenue for speculators and railroad promoters to get control of Indian lands before they became a part of the public domain, an avenue which was used liberally between 1860 and 1868 and by means of which some of the best Kansas lands passed directly to influential groups without becoming a part of the public domain. The precedent bade fair to break down the entire land system until brought to a halt by the land reformers.

65. Indian office.

66. A little over a year later Isaacs and M. Mills of Leavenworth were advertising the 2,571 acre tract for sale in lots to suit purchasers.—Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, March 3, 1860. The tract remained undivided at least until November, 1862, at which time proposals were made for its division among the four owners, one of whom was General Denver. Isaacs' name does not then appear among the owners.—M. Mills, St. Louis, Mo., November 23, 1862, to J. A. Halderman, Halderman MSS.

Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859

EDITED BY LELA BARNES

I. INTRODUCTION

CYRUS KURTZ HOLLIDAY,¹ the writer of the letters here reproduced, is nationally known as the original promoter and first president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway, but he played a considerable part, as well, in the territorial history of Kansas, particularly in the founding of the city of Topeka. While the railroad, following generally the route of the old Santa Fé trail into New Mexico, was built upon his conception and as a result of his persistent efforts, he threw himself with equal determination into the territorial struggle for a free state. He was one of the organizers of the Topeka town company, assisting in laying out the town; and at the sacrifice of his personal political ambitions was largely instrumental in having it made the state capital.

Holliday came to the territory in the autumn of 1854, at the age of twenty-eight, leaving behind him his young wife, to whom these letters were addressed. He had some capital, realized from work in the organization of a railroad in Pennsylvania, and a determination to build a business career on the frontier. Within four weeks after his arrival he was engaged in founding the town *up the river*, looking with clear vision beyond the immediate time, and planning with the acumen that marked his entire business life.

These letters, covering only the period 1854-1859, form part of a collection given to the Society by Lillie Holliday Kellam, Holliday's daughter. They are published with no changes beyond the deletion of a few personal passages.

II. THE LETTERS

Chicago, Illinois²
Nov. 1st 1854

My Dear Mary—

.
We arrived safe in Cleveland on the evening we left you at Erie. . . . I retired early being quite unwell—but the next morning I found myself much better and at 3 o'clock (Tuesday) we left Cleve-

1. Cyrus Kurtz Holliday was born near Carlisle, Pa., April 3, 1826. He was a graduate of Meadville College, Allegheny, Pa., and practiced law for a time before coming to Kansas.

2. This slight joke suggests Holliday's impression of Chicago.

land and arrived here today at one. We will leave here for St. Louis tonight at 10 o'clock and expect to reach St. Louis tomorrow at noon when we are in hopes of getting immediate passage to Kansas. I will *try* and write you again from St. Louis.

Mr. Brigdon could not make his arrangements so as to go along with us which we very much regret as he would have made a good travelling companion.

There is scarcely a stone left standing of the New England Hotel where we stopped last summer when in Cleveland. It together with two or three entire blocks are entirely consumed.

Everything as yet looks encouraging for us. About ten days ago some two hundred persons passed this way to Kansas—and since then another party of 51 from Oberlin near Cleveland have also gone. We find, however, that a great many of those aboard the cars are [going] to other parts of the West—chiefly Iowa.

You had better have your silk dress made this winter for should we select a home in the West you will have no chance to wear it among your Meadville friends.

I think of nothing further about which to write—especially as we are both writing upon a nasty dirty washstand with our lead pencils. And as you will have trouble enough deciphering what is already written I will close. . . . In all I do, Mary, I have your welfare fondly at heart.

Believe me your loving Husband. My love to all the family.

C. K. HOLLIDAY

We cant tell you yet where our address will be—

Missouri River

Steamer F. X. Aubrey³

Monday Morning Nov. 6, 1854

My Dear Mary—

. . . I will try and write you a line but you will perceive by the scrawly appearance that it is no easy work to write aboard a steamboat.

We are now about 320 miles up the Missouri River above St. Louis—quite a little trip to make in one week! for you will remember it is just one week since we left home. We are now within 120 miles of Kansas, and hope if all goes well to reach there by tomorrow morning. We did expect to have reached our destination early

3. The steamer *F. X. Aubrey*, named for the famous freighter and rider, Francois Xavier Aubrey, plied the Missouri river during the years 1853-1860. She bore on her hurricane roof the figure of a man riding at full speed on horseback. The boat sank in 1860 near Hermann, Mo.

this morning—but we have been running aground continually ever since we left St. Louis the River being very low and our Boat being very large. We have had, as a general thing, a very pleasant journey thus far.

I wrote you a line while in Chicago—well we left Chicago at 10 o'clock Wednesday night and at 3 o'clock the next day were in St. Louis. We immediately went aboard the F. X. Aubrey which was advertised to leave on that evening and at 6 o'clock Thursday evening started for Kansas. I suppose we are on the best Boat in the River in proof of which Ingram will send you a bill of fare. Everything that is upon the bill we had upon the table.⁴ I am afraid there will be a great contrast between our bill of fare for dinner today and the dinners we expect to get in a week or two from now. We have about 200 or 250 passengers aboard the Boat many of whom are emigrants and chiefly bound for Kansas. We have formed acquaintance with most on board and find among them very many *true* gentlemen. At St. Louis I met the agt. for the Emigrant companies who was very anxious to have us wait until the Crawford County Emigrants arrived.⁵ I am afraid they will have some difficulty getting along the water is so very low. We shall wait for them a day or two at Kansas, Missouri, but if they do not come soon we shall go on. I have defined no definite course of action yet—nor will not, perhaps until I shall have looked considerably through the territory. But I think I shall enter my claim and then turn my attention to merchandizing at some good point along the River. But I can tell you more of this hereafter. . . . The game is immense. I have seen *acres* of wild geese rise from the sand bars and form three soldier like lines in the sky—a sight of truly the sublimest magnificence. Storks, cranes, geese, swans, ducks—and every kind of water fowl abound in the greatest quantities. My health has not been as good as I could wish since I have been gone. On the train from Chicago I was attacked with dysentery & vomiting every evening; and again last night was more severely attacked. I feel better this morning but am not well yet. I do not yet know

4. The excellence of the food served on river boats was so noteworthy that Redpath & Hinton, in their *Hand-Book to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains' Gold Region* (New York, J. H. Colton, 1859) included the following in rule 13 for travelers: "The fare on the river boats is generally as good as in first-class hotels, and the manifold temptations to gormandize are frequently indulged in to a dangerous extent, especially by travelers unaccustomed, during their trip, to so many and such delicious luxuries. Hence, a medical authority tells us, 'the only prudent, as well as the safest course, is to select the plainest food cooked in the simplest manner.'"

5. A company known as the Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company was organized at Conneautville, Crawford county, Pa., on September 16, 1854. Members left Pennsylvania for Kansas on October 27, arriving in the territory November 9. Many of them went at once to Osage county but their settlement in that section, Eureka, was short-lived. The company scattered to various points in the territory and Missouri.

where my post office address will be—but if anything of great importance should arise you might address me at Kansas, Missouri, at a venture, as I will perhaps get it from there quicker than from any other point. . . . I will not write more now but will write you again in a day or two—or soon after I get to Kansas. Remember me to all . . .

C. K. HOLLIDAY

City of Lawrence K. T.

Nov. 18, 54

My Dear Mary—

Through the politeness of the City Magistrate I am favored with materials to pen you a single line just previous to Mr. Ingram's departure. Had it not been for his kindness you could not have heard from me except by word of mouth. Mr. Ingram will fully explain all the inconveniences of our situation and the trials through which we have passed. I design remaining here for some time—how long I don't know—in order to effect some business arrangements. I would not have gone here for anything just now but at the same time will expect to have you come with me here hereafter. I am perfectly delighted with the Country. You may tell those who inquire that my idea of the country is simply this—that God might have made a better country than Kansas but so far as my knowledge extends he certainly never did. I am bound to make it my home if I can at all succeed in making suitable business arrangements. The site of this new city I think is most beautiful—and I know you would be delighted with it. But of all those matters Mr. Ingram will fully tell you. It may be that I will be home in a week or ten days after Ingram's arrival but you must not look for me at that time as I may not come until near spring. . . . If I conclude to stay here for a while I will make arrangements for putting up a building early in the spring—and [if] I succeed in making suitable arrangements we will try and come out in the spring.

Ingram will tell you how to address me and I will hope to hear from you often—much oftener than you can hear from me. There has been a good deal of suffering among some of the Emigrants, in consequence of not properly understanding their business. The Penna. company arrived the day after we did and were very illy prepared for the journey. There was a good deal of disaffection among them. Where they have gone I can't find out—but some of them I believe are here and some at Council Grove about 100 miles south of this. But I will write no more. . . .

A letter from you will do me much good—

Yours affectionately

HOLLIDAY

City of Lawrence
Kansas Territory

Dec. 3, 54

My Dear Mary—This Sunday evening I avail myself of the generous offer of a friend to pen you again a very few lines. You will see by this that I have got no place to call my home. But I hope ere long to have you with me and then I feel that I will *truly have a home*.

I should not have written this evening were it not for the consideration that tomorrow I again start for the up country—to be gone I know not how long—perhaps 3 or 4 days—perhaps a couple of weeks. Hence I thought I had better write to you this evening as I might not get a chance to write to you again for some time to come. I am going about 40 miles up the Kansas River to assist in laying out a new town. I do wish you were here, Mary, I should never go back again to Meadville—except merely to visit and scarcely that. I have found the very best of people in Kansas. I am becoming more and more pleased with them every day, and I know you would like them and the place were you here. Last Thursday I was invited and attended a “thanksgiving dinner.” Several gentlemen and ladies were present and we had a good time generally.

The gentleman who favors me with the privilege of writing this note says if you will come out he will immediately surrender all right and title to his mansion. It is one of the best in the place. I will describe it. In shape it is exactly like the roof of an ordinary house—about 14 ft. long. The floor is earth—such as the Creator made. Next the frame work of the building—which are rough poles stuck together—is a layer of brush—next a layer of sod or turf—and next a covering of prairie grass. If you would like the accommodations let me know—and yet I have seen beautiful and refined and educated women occupy just such mansions. . . . None in the city have any better. Even Mrs. Nichols the great lecturer on women’s rights and editor of a newspaper has been living here a long time in just such a house.⁶

I don’t know yet when I shall be home—perhaps soon. Maybe not till spring. I can tell you more in my next letter—I hope.

Tell Drew I will try and write to him as soon as I can find a place to write in or upon. Tell him the country pleases me much—that it far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. Give my love to all. Address to “Lawrence Kansas Territory.”

HOLLIDAY

6. See *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 94, for biographical sketch of Clarinda Irene Howard Nichols.

"Up the River" K. T.

Dec. 10, 1854

My Dear Mary—I have thought that I could not spend this Sabbath morning in a more appropriate manner than in addressing another letter to you. Consequently I now find myself at 11 o'clock A. M. seated on the end of a trunk and writing upon the end of a half band keg—a little better fixture than when I wrote to Ingram for then I had nothing better than the bottom of a pewter platter upon which I had just eaten my breakfast. This will give you some idea of life in a new Territory.

I believe I addressed you last from Lawrence. I am now thirty miles above Lawrence on the Kansas River assisting in starting a new town. We are just about in the central portion of the *settled* territory and with perhaps the best landing and the most eligible site for a city in the entire country. Governor Reeder⁷ passed through our place day before yesterday and spoke very encouragingly of our enterprise. We hope all will go well.

You can't tell, Mary, how glad I am that you are not with me. What we have to endure is almost beyond belief and you never could have gone through it. It is a long time since I have seen anything in the shape of a bed. I have a Buffalo Robe and two blankets in which I roll myself and lay down to rest upon the bare ground with boots, hat, overcoat and all on. Our food is mush, molasses and bacon, mixed plentifully with dirt three times each day. Thus we live in Kansas. Yet notwithstanding all this I have never had better health in my life—growing fatter and heartier each day.

A more lovely country I certainly never saw—and yet it looks worse now than at any other season. I am told by those who know that in the spring and early summer when the grass and shrubbery and flowers appear it is beautiful beyond conception. So I think it must be. And in a few years when civilization by its magic influence shall have transformed this glorious country from what it now is to the brilliant destiny awaiting it, the sun in all his course will visit no land more truly lovely and desirable than this. Here, Mary, with God's kind permission, we will make our home. . . . I do not know when I will return home, as yet. As soon as things are so as not to require my attention here I will go back—but I find that it will be greatly to my advantage to be on the ground.

I have not had any letter from you yet. I hope, Mary, you will remember me often in writing. You would appreciate the matter better if you could see how anxiously our men inquire for letters

7. Andrew H. Reeder, first territorial governor of Kansas.

whenever a wagon approaches our cabin. Among others I inquire every time but as yet have had no favorable response. Please remember this. My love to all. Your loving husband wishes you much health and happiness.

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka, K. T.⁸

Dec. 17, 1854

My Dear Mary—

. . . Having warmed up a little I have concluded to sit down again and write you but a single line.

I am still living (*no! stopping*) at the place from which I wrote you last. I am enduring almost every thing that it is possible for a man to endure! Yet notwithstanding this I enjoy it all well. My health still continues good except for the past few days I have been a little unwell but nothing serious. This is certainly a most delightful country. I doubt whether even sunny and far famed Italy can favorably compare with this. I will try and make arrangements to have you come out in early spring but cannot say definitely.

. . . Perhaps, as usual I will some of these times start off at a tangent and be at home before you will know it, but you must not be encouraged by this for I may not take such a start for some time to come. I find it necessary to be upon the ground in order to watch out for chances and I have some things here working which I find it necessary to be on hand to see to. I may know more in a few days how things will go.

HOLLIDAY

Lawrence K. T.

Dec. 24, 1854

My Dear Mary—As you will perceive by my heading I am again in Lawrence—having returned here on last Wednesday for the purpose of attending to some business for the Association in our new City and also for personal business. Notwithstanding we have a very beautiful site for a town above where I have been operating for the past three weeks yet I must confess I was much pleased to get

8. Fry W. Giles, in his *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, Geo. W. Crane & Co., 1886) states that the founders of the new settlement met on the evening of January 1, 1855, to consider names. No decision was reached and another meeting was held the next evening when *Topeka* was offered and accepted. Giles adds: "Holloway, in his *History of Kansas*, says that the name was first suggested by Mr. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, but this is entirely wrong. The writer first heard the word spoken by the Rev. S. Y. Lum, in a conversation with him at Topeka, on the second day of January, 1855; and when he presented it for adoption as the name of the embryo town, no one present had ever heard it before." Holliday's letter of this date indicates that the name had been given before January 2, 1855.

back again to Lawrence. Here I can find a chair to sit upon, a table to eat from and a bed to lie upon. At our town above I can obtain neither, it having neither chair, table nor bed in the entire limits. Something of a city that. Yet we hope for something better—and we think we have good reason for our hope. Our city site is without doubt the prettiest in the Territory—the country round is more extensive and better for agricultural purposes than any other I have ever seen and the right kind of men have taken hold of it. I want to, if I possibly can, put up a building for us this winter in order that we may have some place to move into in the spring. . . . Yet I cannot say definitely whether that home will be at this place—Lawrence—or at Topeka our new town. At Topeka I have a city interest and have taken a farm claim—both of which I hope to hold. But if I succeed in holding the claim it will be necessary for me to live upon it—hence I think I will put a house upon it—and we will live there when you come on to the Territory.

I am much gratified by the favorable reception I am meeting with in the Territory—it proves what I have often said to you—that I could do nothing at Meadville but let me get off and try my hand among a new people and under different influences and I could pursue a different course of action. This has proven true. For instance in our own town I have acted as their President from our earliest commencement to the present time and last Monday I was *unanimously*, by *ballot*, elected as their first constitutional President to serve until the first Monday of July 1855. I have also received the appointment of temporary agent for the Emigrant Aid Co. of New England. I merely mention these facts to show you that I hold a respectable position before the people among whom I live.

[MS. mutilated: part of page is missing.]

When you want to write you can sit down to your task in a good warm room with paper, table, chairs, pen and ink all at your hand. While I am obliged to sit down upon the ground and write with such and upon such things as I can command. Sitting upon the ground and writing upon a trunk are generally the best accommodations I can find for writing. Today I am better provided than usual—sitting upon a *chair* and writing upon the top of a pine box.

[MS. mutilated: remainder of letter is missing.]

Topeka K. T.

Dec. 31, 1854

My Dear Mary—The second service of today having just been concluded I know of no better way to spend the remaining hour than to employ it in addressing you. . . .

. . . If you knew the inconveniences under which I write you would *almost* excuse me from writing at all. I am now better situated for writing than I have been on perhaps, any other occasion; and I am now sitting upon a trunk with a box . . . before me as my desk. At this moment the Minister who has just preached for us—and who is lying upon my bed, which consists of a handful of hay and a Buffalo Robe—by accident has almost kicked my desk over and while writing the last line I have removed twice—once to get out of our cook's way, and once to get nearer the door for light, our cabin having no windows in it. You will see from what I have said in the last few lines that writing is in no sense desirable occupation. . . .

. . . I am President of our city association and acting agent for the Mass. Emigrant Aid Co. These together with my own business give me as much as I can well attend to.

My health keeps good. In fact I weigh more than I ever weighed in my life before and 15 pounds more than when I left home. Our living is very homely indeed, but no doubt is very healthy—at least I hope so.

You Pennsylvania people would be greatly surprised could you have a view of us as we find ourselves situated in this new Territory. In our new city—where I now am—we number about 30 inhabitants all told—among whom there are no women or children. Our washing we get done as we can. For myself I am wearing today a shirt that I put on two weeks ago and scarcely know when I will get a clean one. But this is all right. I would not exchange Kansas and its dirty shirt for Penna. with all its elegance & refinement. Clean shirts & good living will come after awhile and then our territory will far eclipse anything you can find in the East. For instance take our weather. . . . Today there is not one particle of ice in our River or any of the creeks! And with a few days exception we have had no ice this winter. For the past 10 days it has been almost as pleasant as September—and this entire week we have gone about our work without our overcoats and most of the time in shirt sleeves. Except to cook our victuals scarcely requiring fire. Thus it is in Kansas. Tis true we occasionally have a pretty severe wind but it

does no more damage than to blow the dust a little around which makes us very dirty.

I cannot say yet when I will come home. I am trying to effect something that will be of some moment here before I come.

I cannot tell you what it is upon paper as it would take too long, but it will be all right if I can effect it and you will be the better pleased . . . [MS. mutilated: two lines are missing] turn yet from the position I occupy in our city association.

We are likely to have some trouble with some Missourians and it is necessary to stick together until all difficulty may be removed. We are in hopes of getting our saw mill agoing soon—then we will get better houses—then I can write you better letters. I am hurrying through this as it is getting dark and Revd. Lum⁹ by whose hands it will go leaves us before day tomorrow. . . .

Direct to Lawrence, via Kansas City as usual. Love to all. From
your loving husband

HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kansas Territory

Jan. 7, 1855

My Dear Mary—I find myself as usual this Sunday morning engaged in attempting to pen you a few lines—and I am thankful to a kind and all merciful Providence that I am thus permitted, weekly, to send my thoughts . . . they are an inconstant quantity and the product of the times and the circumstances under which I am surrounded. Therefore, you are entitled to them . . . as rapidly as they may suggest themselves to my own mind.

Well, then, to begin. I think there is no such a country in the world as Kansas. It is certainly more beautiful and desirable than any country I ever saw. And truly glad, indeed, am I, that I ever conceived the thought of coming here. I think again, Mary, that if you will yield to my wishes in this matter, that this delightful country will be our future home. And I think, again, that after you shall have seen this country as I have seen it and tried it as I have tried it (though I pray God you may never have to endure what I have endured) you will be equally delighted with it and will be well reconciled also, to make this, with me, your future home. The climate here is most cheering. For the past week, it is true, we have had weather a little rough, but today again is bright and glorious.

9. The Rev. Samuel Y. Lum, of Middleton, N. Y., was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society in 1854 to labor as a Congregational missionary in Kansas territory. He arrived in September of that year and began his work at once, preaching his first sermon in Lawrence on October 1. During the winter of 1854-1855 he preached at intervals to the colony at Topeka.

Since I have been in the Territory there has been but *one day* that the sun was not visible.

I venture to say that you have had many days in Meadville since I left, that you could not see the sun. I fear it may be a little too warm *for me* in Summer as you know I suffered a good deal last Summer—in fact this is the only dread I have of the Territory but I even think this will all be right inasmuch as we have no dead levels—no towering mountains—but the whole country is gently undulating and rolling like the waves of the sea. For this reason (and I am told it is true) there will be a steady, constant, breeze which will very much relieve the heat which would otherwise be oppressive.

I had a letter from my Brother—the Minister—a few days ago in which he expresses a strong desire to come out to the Territory and make it his home. I have advised him to do so and to come to this place. . . .

Mr. Thomas Willson sent me a letter a few days since in which he wants to obtain information concerning Kansas with the expectation of coming out here to live. And thus it is they are coming from all parts of the country and Kansas will truly be over-flooded with intelligent and enterprising emigrants in the spring.

My health, as I informed you in my last, has never been better than it has been since I have been here. From this I take great hopes—from the fact that our way of living is such that a man would not be likely to grow *fat* over it.

I have often thought that I would like to give you a description of our living and modes of life. But the thing is too tedious and would tend, perhaps, a little to discourage you.

Suffice it to say that today I am in the principal house and *hotel* in Topeka. It is 12 x 14 ft.—of logs chinked with turf or sod and roofed with sod. I have known *twenty-four* persons to *sleep* in this house at one time.

I am now writing this sitting on a trunk and writing upon the end board of a wagon which I am holding in my lap. We have no windows. Our door is of 6¼ ct cotton cloth. Our house is full of boxes, trunks—logs of wood, tools of different tradesmen, guns, and the floor is strewn with chips, shavings, stones, earth, coals, ashes and prairie grass—a handful of the latter in one corner together with two buffalo robes and two blankets serves as the bed of a Mr. Giles¹⁰ a

10. Fry W. Giles, a native of New Hampshire, came to Kansas territory in November, 1854. He was one of the founders of Topeka and served as treasurer of the Topeka Association. He held various public offices and in 1864 opened the first bank in Topeka. He was the author of *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, 1886).

fine gentleman from Chicago—and myself. Each evening we turn into our humble couch with as much good feeling and peace of mind and conscience, and sleep as soundly and dream as pleasant dreams, as though we were resting our limbs on beds of down in marble halls; and beside our wives as Mr. Giles has just been cruel enough to suggest. We have both agreed to take back that last sentence.

In this Hotel, or Hall, or Church or whatever it may be we hold our public meetings, discuss the affairs of the Territory and country and world at large—sing glees and choruses and other innocent amusements and every other Sabbath (and will soon every Sabbath) have preaching twice a day.¹¹ Last Sabbath our Preacher while speaking pretty near fell down by stumbling over our cook pots and pans which were directly behind him. Enough of this. For I must stop . . .

From your loving husband

HOLLIDAY

Lawrence K. T.

Feb. 11, 1855

My Dear Wife—As you will see by my heading I am again in Lawrence and have just begged a sheet of paper from a friend to write you my usual quantum of Sunday talk. I should be at church at this time instead of writing, but I had to walk some four miles from the Country where I was stopping last night with Mr. Waterman—a friend to Mr. Ingram and myself—and I got in too late for service. The Methodists are holding their Quarterly Meeting¹² today and the “Elder” is just preaching.

11. The Rev. William H. Goode (see following footnote) made a tour of the Wakarusa mission circuit early in 1854 and stopped at Topeka enroute to Lawrence to attend the February quarterly meeting. Of his visit to Topeka he wrote in his *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, Poe & Hitchcock, 1864), p. 329: “We traveled through the Pottawatomie Reserve . . . and took up at the newly-laid-off town of Topeka, since famous for free-state Constitutions, Conventions, and Legislatures, then consisting of a solitary frame shanty occupied as a hotel, with a cabin dormitory hard by, and a few claim structures in the suburbs. . . . At Topeka we found a company of intelligent, enterprising men, mostly at that time from Pennsylvania, full of hope as to their town; laboring hard, and living on rough fare. We were kindly received, found a place to stake out our animals, and a little prairie hay to place before them. Our plain evening repast over, the men assembled in the cabin room. . . . They were willing hearers, and enlivened the exercises by excellent singing from a well-trained choir. At bedtime I found that I was to be exempted from a lot in the crowded, floorless, common dormitory, and honored with a *superior* position in the main building. Ascending by the aid of a ladder to a high bunk, I stowed myself away, and slept securely. The main article of diet for our evening and morning meal was ‘hasty pudding,’ or, in Western parlance, ‘corn-mush,’ without any of the accompaniments usually considered appropriate. But our hosts were kind and generous, and our appetite good; we ate freely, and I trust with grateful hearts. Three years afterward the session of Kansas and Nebraska conference was held in this place.”

12. An exploration of the area then designated *Nebraska*, to determine possibilities for mission work, was planned by the Methodist Episcopal church in the spring of 1854 while the Kansas-Nebraska bill was still pending in Congress. The Rev. William H. Goode was sent to the field and as a result of his survey the Kansas-Nebraska mission district was organized. This comprised territory extending from the eastern limits of Kansas and Nebraska to the Rocky Mountains and from the Arkansas river to the Canadian line. One of the subdivisions within this district was the Wakarusa mission circuit comprising all the Kansas valley from the mouth of the river to Fort Riley. James S. Griffing was placed in charge of this circuit and the meeting here referred to was the second quarterly meeting held at Lawrence under the direction of Mr. Goode, presiding elder.

I am [in] Lawrence today on my way to the Shawnee Mission again to see Governor Reeder. I will start tomorrow for the Mission and will try and return to Topeka next Thursday, Friday or Saturday.

Everything has gone well with our people since I wrote you last, and the best of feeling is prevailing among them. There is but one thing wanting to make Topeka the first place in the Territory and that one thing I am now on my way to see the Governor about, in order, if possible, to accomplish it.¹³ Our Society at Topeka is very superior what we have. There are as yet but four or five families in the immediate town but two thirds of our men are married & have families and will bring their families to our place as soon as navigation opens in the spring.

No place can be more healthy than ours has been. What it may be in the future time alone will determine. But for two and a half months we have had an average population of at least fifty persons among us and out of that entire number but one has been sick. Such a good report cannot be given of this place, Lawrence, although it is very healthy here. G. W. Brown, Editor Herald of Freedom, has been lying dangerously ill for some time but is now improving. A Mr. Litchfield, Hotel Keeper,¹⁴ died last night and will be buried today.

Still there are many more inhabitants in Lawrence than in Topeka—there being some 400 or 500 in Lawrence while there are not over 80 or 100 in Topeka.

I have had no letter from you since I wrote you last—nor I think since I wrote you two letters. This perhaps is not attributable to you so much as to the mails. I understand today that the mails between Chicago and St. Louis have been blocked by snow and ice for some ten days or more. Hence I expect when a mail does come I will receive a whole package from you. I hope so indeed.

13. This is probably a reference to the great need of timber for the building of the settlement. Governor Reeder at this time was endeavoring to buy timbered land on the north side of the Kansas river from the Kansas half-breed Indians, and the settlers at Topeka were hoping for the consummation of the purchase, inasmuch as they had been assured of lumber if the contracts were approved at Washington. Indian Commissioner Manypenny, however, disapproved the contracts as being in violation of the treaty of 1825 with the Kansas Indians, and the attempted purchase of the lands by Reeder was later used as one of the reasons for his removal from office.

14. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis T. Litchfield of Massachusetts opened a hotel on the bottom lands in September of 1854. It was a rude structure of poles, thatched with prairie grass. J. Savage, in his "Recollections of 1854," Lawrence *Western Home Journal*, September 8, 1870, writes: "The pioneer boarding house or hotel was kept by Mr. and Mrs. Litchfield. . . . Elegant lodgings and well-prepared food were out of the question in their house. The bread was raised in a large wash-tub which stood behind the stove to keep it warm, and was baked in a large stone oven. It was never light for want of time to rise. This, with boiled and fried beef, was their staple food; plenty of molasses, vinegar and mustard were always on the table, as well as sauce made of dried apples and peaches; and for a substitute for butter we used the drippings from the beef, salted. In the large open tent, the November mornings were cold and chilly without a fire, so that we generally ate wearing our hats and overcoats."

The weather since I wrote you last has again moderated. The past week has been almost as mild as summer. Today is very pleasant but very windy. I do not think we will have much cold weather this year, at least not of long continuance.

I think now that I will be enabled to let you know when I will come home after I have seen Reeder, or especially soon after the election. Though of this you must not flatter yourself. I will come just as soon as I possibly can. My business here has shaped itself two or three times in different attitudes and I am desirous of having it become somewhat fixed before I leave for home.

It is hard to tell how I will succeed in money matters out here. I know pretty well how I have succeeded—that is—I know that I have expended all the money I brought with me and will be obliged to borrow some 20\$ to 50\$ to pay off a debt I contracted yesterday. I wish it were so that I could have you send me fifty or one hundred dollars for I will need it greatly in getting home. But I may be able to borrow for that purpose also. If, however, you and Ingram can raise fifty or one hundred dollars I would be glad if you would purchase a draft with it upon some good house in New York and send it to me. Let Ingram or some one who understands it attend to it so there may be no error as a hundred dollars is too much for me to lose at this time. If Ingram thinks it cannot be sent with safety do not send it. But a great deal of money is sent to persons in the Territory in that way—and I hope you will send it if you can conveniently.

I have made investments at Lawrence and Topeka, and if I had money to spare I would like to make investments at other towns in the Territory—such as Leavenworth, Pawnee, &c., &c. But if I can't do as I would I must do as I can, and I earnestly hope that what I have done will come out right. The great trouble is the insecurity of titles. If it were not for this a man could not help but do well.

. . . Direct as usual to Lawrence via Kansas City Missouri.

Your loving husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

My Dear Wife—

Topeka K. T. Feb. 18, 1855

When I have begun several of my last letters to you I always commenced by saying that I would pen you "but a single line" or "a few lines" or some such remark and then go on and fill up eight or ten pages. This time, however, I will try and be as good as my word and really only write you a "few lines." I have two reasons

for saying so—first it is late in the evening and second I have no kind of disposition to write.

When I wrote you last I was at Lawrence. Since then I have been to Kansas City and Westport in Mo. and at the Methodist Mission in the Shawnee Reservation where Gov. Reeder is now stopping. I learned while down at Kansas [City] the causes that have prevented me from receiving any letters from you for so long a time as it has been, and I suppose the same causes prevent you from receiving any letters from me. The causes are simply these, that a tremendous snow storm has blocked up the Chicago & Mississippi R. R. so that no mails have passed for some four weeks. As soon as a mail gets through I hope to have a good time in reading at least a half dozen letters from you. I wish I had them now to cheer me up; for I must confess I have the "blues" a little this evening. I am satisfied they arise only from the fact that I am somewhat *homesick*. . . .

There has nothing new transpired among us since I wrote you last. We have our Mill almost erected.¹⁵ It will be done in about two or three weeks; then we will go to cutting boards and building houses and I trust make something as a show for a town. I was in hopes that my trip to the Governor would enable me [to] know when I might think of starting home—but it has not done so *definitely*. I can say this, however, that unless something arises to change my intention I will leave for Meadville the week after the election. I have an engagement that I must meet on the Wednesday following the election. I know now of nothing else to prevent my coming at that time. But when will the election be? I hear you ask. Well, Mary, I don't know. But this I do know that it will take place sometime between *now and the middle of March*. I wrote in my last for you to send me one hundred dollars—getting what portion you have not from Ingram. From what I have said you see you will have to send it soon or it will not reach here in time. My love to all the family. From your loving & true husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

15. This mill was given by the Emigrant Aid Company in return for a portion of the town property. (See Samuel A. Johnson's "The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 434-435, for a brief statement of the policy of the Aid Company in establishing mills in the territory.) In January, 1855, Holliday and M. C. Dickey went to Kansas City to get the engine and boiler which had been purchased in Rochester by the Aid Company for the new settlement. Transportation to Topeka was attended with great difficulty. Samuel C. Pomeroy, financial agent of the company in the territory, reported to the executive committee that Mr. Dickey, who had contracted to transport the mill and get it in running order for \$1,000, claimed a loss of \$700 by the transaction. Pomeroy asked for instructions from the committee and was advised to do whatever equity dictated in the case.—Minutes of the executive committee, Emigrant Aid Company, May 19, 1855, in Kansas State Historical Society, division of MSS. Pomeroy's financial records are incomplete and the terms of the settlement with Dickey are not known.

Topeka Kansas Ter.

March 18, 1855

My Dear Wife—

I believe I mentioned in my last that I *have* after a delay of near two months, received a letter from you. It was dated January—no February—15th. . . . If I receive the money from you and Ingram for which I have written *I will leave for home on or before the middle of April*. You must however, My Dear Mary, take this statement as you have had to take many others and that is: as being subject to many exceptions. For something may arise between now and that time that may wholly thwart my purpose. Let nothing that I have said in any of my former letters deter Ingram from making his arrangements of coming to Kansas. My opinion of the Territory is unchanged; and I have seen it in its worst possible aspects. And I do think if, after enduring what I have endured this Winter, I am still in love with the Territory I shall certainly love it always.

But mark! I do not urge upon Ingram to come. He knows for himself concerning the Territory & if he is satisfied from what I have from time to time written to you concerning it, and from what he knows personally concerning it, that Kansas is *the* place for his home, then would I indeed be glad to have him come out here and make it his home. But he must understand it well that investing property in Kansas is like buying tickets in a lottery. He may “draw” a “capital prize.” He may “draw” nothing—“a blank.” But he knows this as well as I, and much better; therefore he must use his own judgment; at the same time assuring him that I could not be better pleased with any country than I am with Kansas, and that I think it possesses all the advantages for making money and getting a home that we *both* thought it did last fall.

We are again having cold weather. I think day before yesterday was the most stormy day we have had. The snow was about six inches deep. For two or three days it had been snowing gradually; and on Friday afternoon it came down with great force. At noon I left my house and returned to it after supper in the evening. I found the snow everywhere throughout my house. I measured it on a board and found it three inches deep inside. My bed was also covered with snow three inches deep and I took my washbowl and with a sweep or two of the hand piled it heaping full and thawed it, or melted it for wash water in the morning, having to economize as I have to carry my water *one mile*. The balance of the snow I

shook off upon the floor. I then took a hoe that some of the boys dug from an Indian grave a few days before, and with it scraped a pathway from the door to the stove. I believe you generally use snow scrapers *outside* of the house in Penna. Remember that in Kansas we use them for the *inside*.

I then turned into bed, slept soundly, if not "sweetly" as the poets say—woke up the next morning finding my bed again well covered with snow. This, my dear wife, is life in Kansas. Do you think you can endure it. I hear you answer no! Well! Well! don't say no too quick for I certainly hope and pray that neither you nor I nor any persons will be obliged to live in such houses as we have lived in here this Winter. Yet many intelligent refined and even very beautiful ladies have lived the kind of life and endured the hardships above described in this Territory this winter. But few of them, however, have been in Topeka though for the past two months we have had a few families with us—but quite a number of families have lived as I have described in the *City* of Lawrence. Things, however, will we all trust soon be better.

Write immediately

Yours truly

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka K. T.

April 1, 1855

My Dear Wife—

Today even I ought to be giving my attention to the care and comfort of some one hundred emigrants who have just arrived from the East; but I could not let the day pass without scribbling you a line and letting you know that I am still living and in the enjoyment of good health and spirits.

Enclosed you will find a circular by which you will learn that my name was used as a candidate for Representative for the Third District. When we went to the polls the Missourians had charge of the grounds—had driven off the Judges of the election and [had] taken the matter into their own hands. We therefore did not vote at all but left the grounds peaceably and have protested against the legality of the whole election. Had the citizens alone been permitted to vote I could have been elected by a respectable majority. Our District numbers, by the Census, one hundred and one votes. There could not have been less than 400 or 500 Missourians on the ground; hence we took the course we did. What the final result of

all this will be I know not. I was very fearful that there would be much violence and bloodshed on the day of election at Lawrence and other points; but so far as I have heard every thing went off peaceably. This one thing, however. I do know *that Kansas will be a free state. The friends in the East may fully rely upon this.*

Our city is looking up considerable since the warm and pleasant weather has set in, and I am also satisfied that we must become one of the most considerable points in the Territory. Buildings are going up rapidly and every day adds some new improvement to the place.

I am now fearful that I cannot leave here as soon as I wrote you in my last. I will, perhaps, know this week—but being president of the Association my attention and time are very much required at this place. So that if I do not come as soon as you might wish you must attribute it to the fact that necessity will oblige me to remain here and not to any neglect. . . .

. . . It is a couple of weeks since I have had any word from you and Oh! how long the time does seem. I know not why my letters do not come more regularly. You ought to just see how ragged I am. My clothes are all worn out. They don't even stick together any more and what is worst I have no money even to buy more with—but I will try and raise some at Lawrence this week. Give my love to all the family & tell everybody that I like Kansas better & better every day

Your lov'g Husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Winona M. T.¹⁶

Wednesday, July 11, 1855

My Dear Wife—

As you will perceive I am still at Winona.

Yesterday Mr. Drew and I started for a tour of a few days into the Territory but just as we had got fairly started—some fifteen miles from Town, a span of runaway horses ran over us & broke our axletree right off. Hence we were obliged to give up the trip and return to Winona.

Neither of us were hurt the least. I regret very much that this happened inasmuch as I am very favorably impressed with what I have seen of Minnesota and wished much to look at it further. I am so favorably impressed indeed that if things don't move right after my return to Kansas I may shape my course this way.

16. The Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, April 21, 1855, recorded the presence of Holliday in that city on April 18, en route to Pennsylvania. The letters resume while he is in Minnesota territory, on his way back to Kansas.

I will start down the river at the first opportunity and make as much headway as possible on my tour to Kansas. I ought to be there before now.

Winona is one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful town site I ever saw, has a good back country to sustain it and must make a place of very considerable importance. I like it much. I will try & write you again from some point in Iowa, although I may not have an opportunity.

There is nothing new or stirring here nor have I heard of anything of importance since I arrived here. It is too far beyond civilization for news.

Kiss the babe "Little Lillie"¹⁷ for me once, twice, thrice, yes a dozen or more times—I love it much. . . . C. K. HOLLIDAY

Iowa City Iowa
Saturday July 14, 1855

My Dear Wife—

I embrace this occasion to pen you another line. I arrived here today at 2 o'clock (it is now 7) and I fear will be obliged to remain over until Monday. I regret this—not that I *want* to travel on Sunday, but that I ought to be in the Territory and dislike to remain still when I once get started on a journey.

I have nothing new to communicate today. My health continues singularly good for which, of course, I am profoundly grateful to the Giver of all good and perfect gifts.

I left Winona, M. T. on Thursday morning last—arriving at Dubuque Iowa the same evening at 12 o'clock. Friday morning I left Dubuque arriving here, as above stated, today.

When I again get started from here I will be some four days in going to Council Bluffs city. If I can get a steamer down the Missouri River I can arrive at Kansas City in two days more, so I shall expect to get there the close of next week, or beginning of the week after.

I am much pleased with the appearance of the lands & settlements through Iowa. The "lay of the land" is beautiful—while all the towns have a thrifty and healthy appearance. Hence my trip through this country may be turned to a profitable account; for if things don't go right in Kansas I will have some idea of where else to turn my steps.

17. Lillie Holliday Kellam, only daughter of Cyrus K. Holliday, was born March 18, 1855, at Meadville, Pa.

I have learned nothing from the Territory since I left you of any consequence. Nor do I suppose I will until I arrive in the Territory.

The place where I am now writing is the Capital of Iowa—a pleasant & pretty place and in the midst of a fine farming country. And all the lands between Dubuque & this point are very excellent indeed.

They want me to come to Winona and live—and in fact I feel very much like doing so, from this one consideration alone; that I never felt more at home in a strange place than I did at Winona. Still Kansas is better if we can only get rid of our difficulties here.

I will try & write you again at Fort Des Moines or Council Bluffs although I may not until I get into the Territory.

I have a miserable pen and can scratch no more.

Kiss little "Lillie" for me. . . . Your loving husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Kansas City

July 24, 1855

My Dear Wife—

My love to you and "little Lillie."

I arrived here yesterday at 10 A. M. but have delayed writing until today.

My health still continues remarkably good. In fact, since I left Cleveland I have scarcely had an unwell hour. This is the more remarkable when considered in connection with the fact that all through Iowa I was obliged to drink the meanest kind of water—from cisterns or drains or sloughs or something of that kind. Today, however, we have had green corn & water melons and I must now look out for a change.

After having travelled over Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Nebraska & Missouri, I am prepared to say that Kansas exceeds them all in point of true excellence. The lay of the land in Kansas is much similar to that of Iowa and Western Illinois; but there is a greater depth to the soil & more richness.

I have not been here long enough to ascertain how the political movements stand; but I understand that Gov. Reeder pays no kind of attention to any bill the Legislative Assembly passes, but vetoes everything. They of course immediately pass it over his head.

Those elected at the supplementary election were rejected from

their seats.¹⁸ This was as I expected it would be. Consequently it did not matter much my not being here on the 1st Monday of this Month. It is the unanimous disposition of the settlers to resist any, every, and all laws that the present Assembly may pass. What the result will be, God knows, I do not. They think here, however, that everything will go off peaceably. I earnestly hope so for if difficulties once commence there is no telling where they will end.

I will leave for Topeka tomorrow—passing via Lawrence.

The crops are good out this way—much better than I expected.

My books arrived here on the 17th inst., a week in advance of me.

I had a hard trip down the Mo. River from Council Bluffs. We were 3½ days in coming three hundred & fifty miles. . . . I became acquainted while in Omaha city with Gov. Izard¹⁹ & other prominent gentlemen of Iowa & Nebraska.

I can state nothing definite concerning the future—nor can I until sometime after I arrive at Topeka. The free state men of this place are confident that Kansas will be a free state & that without fighting. I hope so. I am sure so fair a country is worthy of something better than slavery. . . . Kiss Lillie for me. . . . Write often, my dear Mary, to your affectionate husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Lawrence Kan. Tery.

July 29, 1855

My Dear Wife—

I arrived in Lawrence last evening and after having returned from the service of the Rev. Mr. Lum, conclude that I will resume my old established custom of writing to you upon the Sabbath day.

Day before yesterday (Friday) I spent at the Shawnee Mission with the Governor and in visiting the pseudo-Territorial Legislature. The Governor and the Assembly are at perfect loggerheads. The Gov. does not recognize them as a legal body, vetoes all their bills, and pays no respect whatever to them.²⁰ Where this will all end I

18. An election was called by Governor Reeder on May 22 to fill vacancies in the territorial legislature, the elections of March 30 in six out of eighteen districts having been set aside by him as fraudulent. Free-State voters alone participated in the election of May 22, but members elected by them were unseated by Proslavery members.

19. Mark W. Izard, of Arkansas, second regularly appointed governor of Nebraska territory.

20. The first territorial legislature met at Pawnee on July 2, 1855, but passed an act on July 6, over Governor Reeder's veto, to remove the seat of government to the Shawnee manual labor school, and adjourned to meet there on July 16. Upon Reeder's refusal to sanction any of its acts while in session at the labor school, the legislature memorialized the President to remove him from office, eagerly using as one of its charges the fact of Reeder's pecuniary interest in the town of Pawnee which he had selected for the territorial capital. Reeder's removal was officially announced on July 31.

or no other man can dare to predict. The Governor says that when he left his family he told his wife just how things stood and that it was probable she might never see him again. That will give some idea of how he regards things. You must not argue from this that there is any immediate danger. I think not in fact—and things have now assumed such a shape that they will attack Reeder before they do the citizens. I find the crops here remarkably good. Corn is 12 to 16 feet high on an average and must sell for about 25 cents per bushel. Lawrence has improved somewhat since I left, in fact is rapidly beginning to assume the appearance of an old settled place. Topeka I understand is also improving; but I will know more of that in a few days as I will leave for Topeka tomorrow if I can arrange my business here so as to do so. The weather is quite warm; though nothing like what it was in Penna. last year. You remember how hot it was there at Lownys Hotel. I shd. like the country much if it were not for the political difficulties—though they must all work out right in course of time. . . .

Your loving & faithful husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kans. Tery.

Aug. 4, 1855

My Dear Wife—

. . . I arrived at Topeka from Lawrence last Monday & found things moving on as well as I could expect. Our town has increased more in proportion to its stage of advancement when I left than any other town in the Territory. In fact it is the largest place in either Kansas or Nebraska except Lawrence and Leavenworth city—and I am not certain but that we shall soon exceed them. A newspaper has been partially started here since I left.²¹ As soon as it gets thoroughly under way I will send it to you. Two new stores have also been started & quite a number of new, but small, buildings have gone up.

I was much gratified at the very cordial reception with which I

21. The first issue of the *Kansas Freeman*, published at Topeka by Edward C. K. Garvey & Co., appeared on July 4, 1855. The policy of the paper was set forth in a prospectus, *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, June 9, 1855, and subsequent issues: "The Freeman will make no promises at the commencement of its career, but will endeavor to stand on its own merits and the soundness of its principles on the momentous questions which agitate the public mind not only in this Territory but over the whole extent of our glorious Union. . . . The conductors of the *Freeman* have determined to hold themselves independent and at liberty to discuss the various questions of the day, free and untrammelled by party ligatures. It shall be always found on the side of Temperance and religious morality and shall continue to advocate the most extensive system of Public Free Schools and Colleges, with freedom of conscience to all men seeking a home within our borders. . . . No advertisement or article, calculated to offend the most delicate, shall be permitted to enter the columns of the *Freeman*."

met at the hands of the citizens of this place. Every person seemed glad to see me—even those who never saw me before. I am about engaging in an enterprise or two that I think will pay. One is the navigation of the Kansas River²²—the other the erection of new buildings. In either I think I can make something. Besides these I have about concluded that I will get hold of a piece of land and do some farming.

Business as a general thing is dull in the Territory with the prospect of brightening as soon as fall immigration sets in.

Your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Lawrence K. T.

Aug. 12, 1855

My Dear Wife—

I am again at Lawrence and quite well. I am on my way to Kansas City in order to see if [I] can procure a Wyandotte land warrant in order to make our city property more secure.²³ I design remaining in this place until Wednesday and will take part in the great free-state Convention to be held here on Tuesday the fourteenth inst.²⁴ I will send you two papers tomorrow, one with my letter from Cleveland signed "Public Opinion" the other from Topeka signed "H."²⁵ You may show them to the neighbors.

22. Navigation of the Kansas river was considered entirely feasible by the founders of Topeka and had been a determining factor in the selection of the townsite. A levee was constructed at a point near the foot of Quincy street in the spring of 1855 and three or four boats reached the settlement that year, one proceeding as far as Manhattan. Boats continued to ascend the river to Topeka until 1861. In 1864 the state legislature declared the Kansas river not a navigable stream and gave any duly incorporated railroad company the right to bridge or dam it. For a detailed account of the navigation of the Kansas river see *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 317-358.

23. Thirty-five individuals of the Wyandot nation of Indians were given the right, by the terms of a treaty at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, March 17, 1842 (modified January 31, 1855), to select, each, a section of public land in territory west of Missouri and Iowa. Certificates issued to them were known as *land floats*, and each grantee, upon making his selection, was given a patent. Title to land during this period was secured more quickly by the use of *floats* than by any other means and they were sought by town founders. The Topeka association purchased *float* No. 20 of the series issued to the Wyandots from Isaiah Walker, paying him \$1,200. The association located all of S. 31, T. 11, R. 16 E. under the *float*. A patent was issued February 14, 1859, and on July 1 of that year, Isaiah Walker and his wife, Mary, executed a warranty deed conveying the land to the Topeka association. Fry W. Giles, *op. cit.*, gives a detailed account of the acquisition of title to the townsite, pp. 61-66.

24. First convention of Free-State men made up of adherents of various political parties. This convention issued the call for the Big Springs meeting of September 5 which effected organization of the Free-State party.

25. The letter signed "Public Opinion," here referred to, was published in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, July 28, 1855. It was dated at Cleveland, Ohio, July 4, and was addressed to the paper as if written by a nonresident, "to give you and your readers," Holliday wrote, "an inkling of the disposition of the public mind growing out of the recent unparalleled outrage upon the elective franchise in your Territory, and the probable issue that awaits the Kansas question . . . I am safe in saying that an overwhelming majority of the people of the entire North rather than see Kansas a slave state of this Union would prefer to see the Union itself shivered into ten thousand atoms. They say they love the Union; but when it becomes impotent to secure to the citizens of the republic the highest and dearest rights of a freeman, it is no longer worthy of preservation." A severe condemnation of President

.
After my return from Kansas I can write you something more definite of what I am doing and what I intend to do.

I cannot form any opinion of how our political difficulties will end here. Some are sanguine there will be fighting—others again think differently. Two months or less, I think, will determine the matter. Then I will be prepared to answer you better about your coming out to Kansas. I certainly wish you were here—and I hope to have you here. But I believe Mary you are better off where you are than to be here now. But there will be a large emigration from the North this fall and as I before said the difficulties will assume a distinctive feature in the course of two months. Then I can give you more definite information.

It has been raining almost continually for two days with very heavy thunder & lightning. . . . The crops look fine and Kansas will raise enough corn, beef & pork for her consumption this year—pretty well for beginners.

I am offered a claim near Topeka with a good house upon it. I may buy it upon my return to Topeka and go to farming. I have rented my house that I have in Topeka. You remember I told you last winter that it cost me some 35 or 40 dollars. I rent it for six dollars per month, or at the rate of 75 dollars per year. Pretty good investment.

At Ft. Riley 75 miles above Topeka on the Kansas River the cholera broke out last week in a very aggravated form. It is variously estimated that from 40 to 170 have died.²⁶ It is now healthy there—the epidemic has entirely abated. Topeka is healthy, so is Lawrence, so is the Territory generally. . . .

Yr. aff. husband C. K. HOLLIDAY

Pierce for his attitude towards Governor Reeder followed, and he then concluded, "It is astonishing to see the very great change that has been wrought, politically, in the public mind of the northern states, since the Kansas election has forever sealed the doom of slavery. You may rely upon this. It is utterly impossible that Kansas, Nebraska, or any other territory, can ever be admitted into the Union as a slave state. The people have decreed it."

The letter signed H, published in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, August 11, 1855, was dated Topeka, August 6. It was mainly a comparison of Kansas with the western states and territories through which Holliday traveled on his return from the East for the purpose of examining the merits of each and satisfying himself of the superiority of Kansas. The letter also denounced those emigrants who, finding life in the territory too rigorous, reported unfavorably upon their return to the East.

26. Percival G. Lowe, in his "Recollections of Fort Riley," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 110, states that the dead numbered not less than 75 nor probably more than 100.

Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 20 [1855]

My Dear Wife—

My love to you and our dear little girl. Yesterday I did not get an opportunity to write you owing to the fact that I was anxious to see Governor Reeder before leaving here and had no other opportunity to see him than yesterday. Therefore I spent yesterday with him. Today I will scribble a line to you.

I am still in the enjoyment of most excellent health as I trust you and Lillie also are.

I am at Kansas attending to some business for the Topeka Association and will return today by the Steamer "Financier." I am laboring to secure for our town a better title than we now have; and have great hopes of success.²⁷ If I can do so it will then give me more liberty to look after other matters.

We had a great political convention at Lawrence last week.²⁸ What is a little unusual at political conventions with public men, I made more friends than I lost. That of which I spoke to you concerning congress really seems to be brightening from day to day. But I shall make no effort for this object but leave things take their course and abide the consequences. But I have no time to write today and will let you know more of this matter soon.

Tell me what success you have had in the lottery business. Did you draw the 5,000\$ prize? I hope so.

Remember me to all the friends.

I will send you some papers upon my return to Lawrence.

Yours very affectionately and truly

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kan. Ter.

Aug. 27, 1855

My Dear Wife—

Yesterday I was unable to write to you as usual, therefore I take the first moment after my breakfast this morning to let you know that as yet all things go well. I arrived in Topeka last Friday from Kansas City and Lawrence and will remain here until about the middle of next week when I again expect to go to Kansas City. My next visit there will fully arrange my business there and then I will try and become more settled.

I have been offered, since I wrote you last, a chance of equal partnership in the best and largest Mercantile House in Kansas. I have also been invited to take charge of the "Kansas Freeman"

27. See footnote 23.

28. See footnote 24.

newspaper. I am after something more desirable to me than either and will be able to know this week, I think, how things will ultimate, perhaps not till next week. . . .

You are anxious to know . . . when you can come out. I can't tell you yet, my Dear Mary. But after I arrange the business hinted of in the foregoing part of this letter, then I can answer you more definitely upon this point.

I have been very busy since my return trying to secure something permanent for us and as soon as I succeed in doing so, I will then be able to look farther.

Yesterday I was at Sunday School and Church and then at Class Meeting in the evening—a regular old fashioned Methodist class meeting. I will try and keep up this good disposition.

. . . My love to all—

Your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka K. T. Sept. 10, 1855

My Dear Wife—

As our mail goes out regularly on Tuesdays & Saturdays I don't know but that I will have to change my day of correspondence to correspond with the mail. I received two letters from you while in attendance at the Big Springs Convention of the 5th inst. One of date 16th, the other 23d August. You may rest assured I was most glad to learn that you & the babe were still in the enjoyment of good health—and I trust this will find you so.

For myself my health still continues not only good, but it has never been better. But this is not so with others and may not continue so with me. We have a number of sick in our town and neighborhood at the present time; but this is nothing more than I expected would occur at this season of the year. The disease is generally of a bilious kind—fever & ague bilious, intermittent, remittent, and in some instances typhoid fevers. But few deaths, however, have as yet occurred, and I earnestly hope may not occur.

With respect to your earnest request to come to Kansas, I have only to say that it is as earnestly my desire as it can be yours to have you here; and from the way things are now going I think I will either send for you, or go for you myself, before long. I do *not* want to go for you, for it will cost me quite two hundred dollars directly out of pocket, but at the same time I will want more money and may for this reason be obliged to go east. If not I will trust to your ability to financier and have you employ Mr. Lenhart to go

[to] the city for you and raise the money; but of this I will write more fully again.

I think it is now probable that I will take charge of the Paper at this place. I have been solicited so to do; and if I can agree with Mr. Garvey upon terms I will accept. My next principal object will be to secure a good farm claim and then have you here. But be not impatient my dear Mary, all things will I am satisfied ultimate in good. If you can learn of any one coming out to the Territory let me know and I will try and make it so as to have you come with them.

At the Free State convention, Gov. Reeder was nominated as the Delegate to Congress. We small fry all had to stand back for his Excellency. But it is all well. He is much the strongest man and will have by far the most influence at Washington of any man that could have been nominated.²⁹ Had Reeder not have run my chance stood next best in the Convention.

Our town is still improving—and we will very soon have a pretty little place. . . . We will issue a paper from this office this week and I will send you a copy.

. . . Write often.

Your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka K. T.

Sep. 16, 1855

My Dear Wife—

. . . As I wrote you in my last we have many sick in our neighborhood generally with ague & fever, or slight bilious attacks which are incident to all new countries. There was one death in the place this last week. A young man, named Brown. He had no relative or particular friend or associate in the Territory. Rather a lonely and sorrowful sight to see a funeral under such circumstances.

Things move along here in much their accustomed manner. That matter of which I was hoping to secure for the city and thereby secure to us a good farm claim & home in the immediate neighborhood of the city I have not yet been enabled to effect. I hope to hear of it this week.

If an opportunity occurs by which you can send, by a *reliable man* to New York one of those Bonds and sell it, you may do so. And

²⁹. Congress refused to seat either Reeder or John W. Whitfield, delegate of the Pro-slavery party.

thus if I should want you to come out here after a while you would not have to delay on that account. . . .

You need not urge the sale too strongly. Sell if a *good opportunity* occurs. I may return this fall, but do not want to unless it is absolutely necessary. It will cost so much. I think now without doubt I shall want you to come out this fall, and will either go myself or send for you. Now mark. If you get an opportunity to come out with any reliable person do so. Fix up your things there and come right along. I have no house properly prepared for you yet; but it will not take very long to get one prepared and in the meantime we can board with some of the neighbors. I am sick & tired of the kind of life we have been living; you there and I here. I want we should get together once more, and live as man and wife should live. With respect to our difficulties they are not yet settled, nor perhaps wont be for some time—although things look more peaceful than formerly. In two weeks from today the Missourians will come into the Territory to vote for delegate—there may be difficulty on that day. We shall see. . . . Yours aff. & truly

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kan. Ter.

Spt. 26, 1855

My Dear Wife—

Since I wrote you last I have a letter from you which contained the good news that you are still well and that our babe was growing both large & pretty. I hope this will find you in the enjoyment of equally good health.

I want to write you today chiefly on business. I find that it will be next to impossible for me to go East—or to Meadville—this fall again owing to the way things are shaping themselves here. But I am very anxious that you should be here and as time is passing away rapidly you will have to come soon or travelling will be so that you will be unable to come. You will remember we talked this matter over; and you were of the opinion that if I could not go for you, you could come out yourself. Now, Mary, if you think you can travel alone I would be most happy, indeed, to have you come; and with what experience you have had in travelling you must make up your own mind upon this subject. You will no where encounter anything worse in travelling than we have already encountered at such places as Cleveland, Alliance &c. Now under the supposition that you will come, I wish to offer a few suggestions in respect to business and travel.

I want you (if you have not done so already, for I wrote you somewhat touching this matter in my last) to employ Mr. I. H. Lenhart to go to New York and sell *one* of the remaining Bonds in the same way as he sold for me this Spring—and if he can sell for anything near what is right let him sell *both*. I see, by accounts from New York that the same kind of Bonds have recently sold for 85 and 87½ cents on the dollar. *If he can obtain in the neighborhood of 80 cents, let him sell both bonds.*

Now I think the above is clear and explicit and if you will show it to Mr. Lenhart he will thoroughly understand it. Pay Mr. Lenhart anything that is right and proper for his trouble; and I know he will ask nothing but what is right and proper. I would prefer to have the proceeds of the Bonds in gold; but as you will find it too inconvenient as well as dangerous to carry gold you had better have him (Lenhart) procure it in 50\$ and 100\$ dollar bills on the Bank that he may regard as the safest and most secure; bills of the "*State Bank of Missouri*" are *here* regarded as the best paper money in use and can readily be converted into gold without discount. Therefore he had better get bills of the "*State Bank of Missouri*" if possible. He might think that "*drafts*" on New York would be preferable to bills; upon this he must use his judgment, as he is much better posted in money matters than I am. If he should conclude that "*drafts*" are best, let him get small ones, as it is difficult to exchange or sell a draft here of a large amount. Read this also to Mr. Lenhart and he will doubtless do for me better than I could do for myself. I speak particularly of your having Mr. Lenhart transact this business as he is perfectly honest, and will doubtless have business to see to at New York this fall and can transact this at the same time. But you must insist upon his taking ample remuneration for his trouble.

Now a word with respect to yourself. Be sure and secure the money in such a manner about your person that you cannot lose it, or that it cannot be taken from you by thieves and pickpockets. Your ingenuity will contrive some plan to carry it *under* your outside garments. You ought *not* to carry it next your person either, for the moisture from your body might deface the appearance of the bills or drafts—particularly might destroy the President's & Cashier's signatures. At Erie, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago and St. Louis you will be most liable to have your pockets picked or cut open—therefore you will want to be most on your guard at those places. But these are not the only places where they may be found; but frequently the smooth

faced gentleman or *lady* that will make your acquaintance in the cars, and Hotel, and more especially on the steamboats, is of that profession and by his, or her, insinuating address is only desirous of ascertaining how much money you have got, where you carry it, and what the chances are to rob you. So be on your guard, Mary, at all times and against all classes of persons.

A word now concerning your route of travel. You can procure a ticket at Erie clear through to Saint Louis for about \$20.00—or from Cleveland to St. Louis for \$17.00. At St. Louis you can again [get] ticket for Kansas City for \$10 or \$12. Your route will be by way of Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, Alton, St. Louis and Kansas City. At Cleveland you take the Cleveland & Toledo Rail Road. At Toledo you take the Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan R. R. At Chicago you take the Chicago Alton & St. Louis R. R.—this last named road was formerly called the Chicago & Mississippi R. R. This last road will take you to Alton. At Alton you will find a Steamboat in waiting to take you to St. Louis. At St. Louis you will take Steamboat for Kansas City. When you get on the boat there will be no further trouble. You will have to change cars at Cleveland, at Toledo and at Chicago—at Alton you change cars for Boat—and at St. Louis you change Boat for Boat. So you will only have *five* changes to make in all.

You can “check” your *baggage* through from Erie to Chicago, I think; certainly from Cleveland to Chicago (and perhaps from Erie or Cleveland to St. Louis; but of this I am not sure). At Chicago you can again check to St. Louis; and at St. Louis get your baggage in your “state room” and it will of course, go with you. When you get a check for your baggage to a certain place, you need pay no attention to it until you arrive at that place; then you must see to it and have it checked again to the next farthest place on the line of your travel. After you get your baggage on the Cars there are but two places where you need give it much attention to wit—at Chicago & St. Louis; and perhaps a little at Alton.

Now, Mary, I have strung this letter of cautions and advice until it is enough to frighten an ordinary person; but you will find after you have gone through the journey that, like a long bill of fare, it is not near so formidable as you might reckon. I have enumerated these many particulars in order that you might be well posted.

Carry enough of money in your usual way to pay your expenses through—say fifty or sixty Dollars—the rest, as before said, conceal or secure about your person.

Now one word more. Mr. F. R. Foster³⁰ of Spring Corners, Crawford County, Pennsylvania, is expected to start soon for this place. He is a reliable young man. I advise you to send some person out to Spring Corners in order to see if he is still there, and try and make arrangements to come with him. A Mr. Slaton of the same place is also coming out. Of him I know nothing, but you would doubtless be perfectly safe in coming with him. Mr. Foster I know would be glad to bring you out and you had better send some person out to see him. If you don't feel like risking the journey alone, hire somebody at Meadville . . . to bring you as far as Chicago or St. Louis. I had rather pay the expenses of a guide clear here than that anything should go wrong.

Buy such articles of dress and clothing generally as you may want this winter and for some time to come, and such other things as you may want.

You had better not attempt to bring more than one trunk in your charge. Have it well marked, with your name in full, and "Meadville Pa." or "Topeka K. T." either or both of the places. The balance of your baggage, together with my trunk, clothes, books &c. have packed in another box or boxes and delivered to the "Express Co." Mark the boxes & trunks sent by the "Express Company" as follows:

(C. K. Holliday

(Topeka, Kansas Territory

(Care of B. Slater, St. Louis, Mo.

(Care of Riddlesbarger & Co., Kansas City, Mo.

I have another suggestion to offer. If you fear to travel alone, or can get no one to travel with you, you can consign *yourself* to the care of the "Express Company" and it, through its agents, will see you safely delivered on board the boat at St. Louis. This perhaps would be your better plan. It will cost a little more; but then you will have care and protection the whole way to St. Louis and will have yourself safely placed aboard the Boat at St. Louis. The "Express Company" does not extend its operations beyond St. Louis, toward the West.

When you arrive at Kansas City go to the "American Hotel"³¹

30. Freeman R. Foster, a native of Crawford county, Pennsylvania, first arrived in the territory in 1854 with a party of emigrants. Illness necessitated his return to the East for a short time. He assisted in platting the town of Topeka where he resided during the remainder of his life.

31. The Emigrant Aid Company, through its financial agent Samuel C. Pomeroy, purchased the Union hotel in Kansas City in September, 1854, for the accommodation of emigrants proceeding to Kansas under its direction. It was renamed the American house. Shalor W. Eldridge leased the building from the company for a time, then purchased it. Eldridge later leased the Free-State hotel in Lawrence, also owned by the Emigrant Aid Company, and upon its destruction in 1856 purchased the property and built the Eldridge house on the site.

and tell the Proprietor, Mr. Eldridge, who you are and that you want a good room. He will furnish it to you. If I should not be there, you will, of course, write me immediately, and I will go down to Kansas City for you.

Try and send me word when you will expect to start from Meadville, and then I will try and be at Kansas City in order to meet you upon your arrival there. It will take you from six to nine days to reach Kansas City.

At St. Louis you can go from the one Steamboat to the other, I think; inasmuch as there is a boat leaving every day for Kansas City. But if there is no boat about to leave you can go to a hotel. The best Boats on the Missouri, are the "Polar Star," "F. X. Aubrey," "Martha Jewett," "Sam Cloon," "New Lucy," "James H. Lucas," "Admiral," "Genoa," &c. If you find either of these on your landing at St. Louis, go right aboard [one] of them and engage your room and passage up the River.

The more I think of your consigning yourself into the hands of the "Express Co." the more favorably the project strikes my mind. If you should do so the agt. of the Co. will see to your baggage, point out your cars, wait upon you to meals, &c., &c.

As I said before it will cost something more, but that is nothing when your safety & comfort is considered. In case you should conclude to come *by Express* you must remember that you will pay for no tickets or anything of the kind. Simply make a bargain with the agent at Erie to see you and your baggage safely delivered aboard some good Boat at St. Louis, and take his receipt for the same. If you can't get some responsible person to travel with you I certainly think you had better come by Express. This may seem novel to you. It is certainly not common yet it is frequently done, and I think you had better do so. It will insure you more safety, more speed, more comfort, less annoyance, less fear, less trouble of all kind than if you should come alone, or even with another. In case you come by Express you will not have to look after your baggage at all, the agt. will look after it; and inasmuch as I have directed you to send my books, &c., by Express, perhaps it would be best to include *yourself* and all come by Express together. Your fare alone from Erie to St. Louis would be about \$20. You can judge from this whether the agent for the Express Co. would be inclined to charge an exorbitant price; but don't quibble with him for five or ten dollars, but if he asks you any reasonable fare, pay it to him, take his receipt and come by Express.

P. S. It is now the last day of Sept. I had no opportunity to send this letter before. If you conclude to come, you will have to come as soon as possible as it is getting late and cold. I will write you in a day or two again, such other matters as I may have forgotten in this.

Yours as ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka, K. T.

Oct. 7, 1855

My Dear Wife—

I again take up my pen to address you a line. It will prove I fear *only* a "line" from the fact that I do not feel in a mood to lengthen out to any great extent today; and secondly from the fact that a few days ago—by the last mail—I wrote you a good long letter of some twelve crowded pages. In that letter, which I trust you will readily receive—I requested you, if you deemed it expedient, to make your arrangements and start for Kansas. I mentioned among other things that a Mr. Foster of Spring, Crawford Co., Pa., was coming to the Territory this fall and that you could perhaps make arrangements to come with him. I have since learned that Foster is now on his way; so that you will be cut off from the opportunity of travelling with him. I would therefore renew the suggestions I offered in my last, that if you conclude to come & cannot get some reliable person to travel with that you had better, by all means, consign yourself into the care of the "Express Company" and have them place you on board some good boat at St. Louis for Kansas City. I am satisfied this will be your *safest* way to travel, and while it will cost you somewhat more than it would if you travelled on your own responsibility, yet when the over charges and "gouging" to which you will be subjected when travelling alone, are taken into consideration it may prove quite as cheap.

I mentioned in my last that the way things were shaping themselves here prevented my going after you. What I then had reference to, but did not fully express, is this: A Convention to frame a Constitution for Kansas is to be holden at this place on the fourth Tuesday of this month, and it was suggested by many that my name would be used as one of the Delegates to that Convention. Yesterday a Convention met to put in nomination a ticket for this district, and I recd. the unanimous vote of the Convention as one of

the Delegates. Next Tuesday the election will take place, and if the Missourians do not trouble us (and I don't think they will) I will be elected by an almost unanimous vote.³² This is a very distinguished and responsible trust and honor, and I know you will rejoice with me that the people have so much confidence in me as to confide it to me. And I know too that this and other business matters that I need not represent at present, will be ample excuse for my not coming for you myself.

I sent you the Kansas Freeman of last week. All the inside matter was prepared by me. I did have hopes of becoming Editor of the Freeman but some circumstances have since arisen that will probably prevent my acting as such. I will, however, effect such an arrangement if I can. I am not building as yet, but will commence soon. It may be we will have to board a short time after you come out, but not long, as I can soon build a pretty good house. But even if we have to board some time we may as well board here together as to be boarding apart as we are now doing.

I will leave for Lawrence and Kansas City on Tuesday next and will either write you the result of the election or send you a paper or both. . . .

You had better *not* bring any girl with you, as girls can be obtained here I think. . . .

Your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka, Kansas Territory

Nov. 27, 1855

My Dear Wife—

In the same mail in which this letter will go out, there will one go out that I wrote to you yesterday.

Since writing yesterdays letter, I recd. two from you, the mail having come in last night.

When I opened the one, I was rejoiced to learn that you were almost here; but when I read the other I almost wept to learn that you were obliged to abandon your coming.³³ I still however have faith that you will be here this fall.

32. Holliday was elected a delegate to the Topeka constitutional convention.

33. Mary Holliday's letters to her husband at this time indicate that she abandoned her plan to join him in the territory upon the advice of friends, and because of ill health.

I am now in session with the Ex. Com. of Kansas³⁴ & cannot write more. Earnestly hope that you will still be here.

My love to all

Yours as ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

The selling of the *one* Bond is right. You had better send all the money except what you will want for yourself.

Head Quarters

Dec. 6, 1855

My Dear Wife—

Major Shanklund is just leaving for the states and I have only opportunity to write a line. My last informed you that we are in the midst of difficulties. This informs you that, as yet, they have not ceased. We are now hourly expecting an attack—1000 troops are now assembled in Lawrence on our side—400 of the enemy are 4 miles south of us and 500 eight miles west of us. There is now no kind of question but that there will be the biggest kind of a fight. I am doing all I can to prevent it. But if the enemy attack us they will catch — and no mistake.

Kiss Lillie for me. I may never see you or her again; but if not remember I fall honorably as I trust I have lived. As ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Head Quarters

Army of Defence

Lawrence Kansas

Dec. 13, 1855

My Dear Wife—

The War is over for the time being and all is safe.³⁵ I think the last battle has been fought that will ever be fought in Kansas growing of this much vexed question of making our Territory a slave state.

Things looked very alarming here for the ten days just passed. The City is full of fortifications & breastworks of defence—1800 to 2000 armed men paraded each day; while the enemy who were encamped some five miles from us numbered as many, or more than we & were well provided with artillery.

34. "The Executive Committee of the Territory of Kansas, as appointed at the Topeka Convention, on the 19th of September, and endorsed by the Constitutional Convention, consists of, J. H. Lane, president, J. K. Goodin, secretary, G. W. Smith, G. W. Brown, M. J. Parrott, P. C. Schuyler, C. K. Holliday.

"In the absence of any other legally constituted authority, this committee has been invested by the people, with all the powers that may be necessary for setting the wheels of government in motion under the new [Topeka] Constitution; and as such they hold stated meetings once in two weeks at the office of the Committee in Topeka."—Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, December 1, 1855.

35. On December 8, Governor Shannon made a treaty with the Free-State leaders.

I pray God I may never again witness such scenes as have transpired here within the past few days.

I was honored with the command of the Second Regiment of Kansas Troops by the title of Colonel. But I will send you papers conveying more information than I could write in a week; besides the mail is going and I must hand this to the driver.

Your letter containing the draft for 50\$ was recd. You had better, if you have not already done so send the remainder (except what you want for yourself) on immediately as I want to build a house & make other improvements upon my property.

The Bond sold as well as I expected & Mr. Lenhart has my thanks for his services.

As ever yours

C. K. HOLLIDAY

The weather is very fine. The Boats are still running. . . .

Topeka Kansas

Jan. 7, 1856

My Dear Wife—

A happy New Year to you and little Lillie.

Before the mail goes out this morning I must pen you a single line. By the last mail I recd. two letters from you, one enclosing a draft for 40\$. I received a few days ago your other draft for 50\$.

I hope you have sent ere this the remainder of the funds (except such an amount as you may need for yourself).

Things are going strangely with us in Kansas. What the end will be God only knows.

I am nominated on the Free State ticket for Secretary of State. It is doubtful about my election.³⁶ But will know in a few days—as one week from tomorrow is the election.

The Ex. Com. have appointed me to go to Washington. I may go after the election; but hardly think I will go. Should I go I will pass by home.

It is well for you and our child that you are in Penna. It is very cold in Kansas & has been for ten weeks; and there is a great deal of suffering. Last night was the most stormy night I ever saw. Today opens up fine again. I will write more fully in a day or two.

Yours as ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

36. Holliday was defeated by Philip C. Schuyler of Council City in this election.

3 o'clock P. M.

Jan. 19, 1856

Dear Wife—

I open my letter to announce to you that a courier has just arrived having ridden all night who states that day before yesterday at the election at Easton—a town about 25 miles from Leavenworth—the free state & pro slavery men came in collision—I know not from what cause—and two pro slavery men were killed and a number of both parties wounded.

I hope there will be no further difficulty but I greatly fear the results. As ever Your aff. husband, C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kansas

Feb. 4, 1856

My Dear Wife—

Having a moments leisure I embrace it for the purpose of writing you a line.

I am still well, but feel lonely without you. Oh, how I do wish you were here. And yet can hardly make so cruel a wish, for the weather has been most intensely cold for more than six weeks; and with our poor houses & poor clothing it is very cold indeed, and what you & Lillie would do I scarcely know. But it will be warm weather soon & then you can come.

I wrote to you a few days ago suggesting the propriety of your coming with Mrs. Nichols. I then stated that you had better leave there the middle of March or first of April. I now think that neither you nor Mrs. Nichols had better start until you are satisfied the difficulties are not to be resumed here in the spring.

It is our general impression here that the Missourians will make another invasion on the 4th of March, the day the general Assembly convenes at this place. Should they do so they will be apt to attack Topeka, from the fact that here the session convenes.

You had, therefore, better remain long enough in the spring before starting to hear whether the Missourians have invaded Kansas or not.

I have had no letter from you for some two or three weeks.

I understand the mails are again interrupted owing to the depth of the snows, cold weather &c. I suppose this is the cause of my receiving no letters.

I send you papers weekly—which give you much more general information than I can write.

I wish you would send me papers occasionally from there.

I am writing with the last ink there is [in] town & it is so bad that you will not be able to read what I have written, therefore I will stop. Write often. Kiss Lillie. Love to all—

As ever yours aff. C. K. HOLLIDAY

Lawrence Kansas

Feb. 24, 1856

My Dear Wife

I wrote you a few days since that I expected to leave in a day or two for the States, and would then see you.

When I came to Lawrence last Monday I found things in such a condition as to render my leaving at this time highly impracticable. I am a member of the Provisional Government of Kansas, & should I leave there will not be a quorum left; and owing to the apprehensions of another difficulty it is necessary that the Government should continue in full force during the interregnum between now and the inauguration of the new government.

The threat of the Missourians now is that they will attack the Gen. Assembly at Topeka on the 4th of March, and inasmuch as many of our influential citizens have been sent from Kansas to present the cause of Kansas to the States, it is therefore necessary that the remainder of our prominent citizens should remain until after the sitting of the Gen. Assembly.

I now expect to start for Penna. about the 10th of March, but you must place no particular reliance upon this statement, from the fact that something may arise tomorrow or any day, *compelling* me to go, or to remain. Such is Kansas.

I will continue of course, to keep you advised of the current events, and you will make all your arrangements to start for Kansas at any time. But as I wrote to you some time ago you must not come until you hear that everything is quiet here. But there is but little doubt but that I will be at Meadville this spring; or I will be there if possible.

Our winter which has been very long and severe, is now breaking up. Today is mild and spring like. The frost is coming out of the ground. The ice is leaving the streams, the snow is rapidly melting from the prairies, the birds are singing, and everything gives evidence of approaching good weather.

The mud is very deep, and surprises everybody but it will dry up rapidly and soon our plowing, planting, sowing will begin.

I think if we do not have difficulty on the 4th of March that we will not have any more trouble in Kansas. And I am greatly desirous of using all my influence to prevent difficulty then. I have recently made arrangements by which I will do tolerably well in a pecuniary sense. So much so that I will save myself and with certain contingencies resulting in my favor, will make me well off. I will write you again soon.

Kiss Lillie for me & write often.

Your aff. husband
C. K. HOLLIDAY

Lawrence Kansas
Feb. 26, 1856

My Dear Wife—

All is peace. How long it will last, I know not. The late Message, and particularly the proclamation, of the President,³⁷ are interpreted as being more in favor of the people of Kansas, than against them; and it is thought by many that the Missourians will not attempt to invade us again. Others say that they will certainly be at Topeka on the 4th of March, and that writs of arrest for *high treason* will be issued against the general assembly and state government. I hardly think they will undertake it; but there is no telling, as the "Border Ruffians" are capable to do any act of villainy.

I have nothing further to advise with respect to my coming home than I wrote you in my last. I can inform you more fully in a week or ten days from now but I still think it probable that I will be in Meadville this spring.

Be a good girl and if the difficulties in Kansas do not continue too fiercely, I will either soon see you there, or you will see me here, providence permitting.

Kiss Lillie for me. Give my love to all the friends. Think of me often and pray for me often, and all will ultimately go well.

No more now. Your aff. husband, C. K. HOLLIDAY

. . . I have just been commissioned as Brigadier General in the service of the people of Kansas. During the "last war" I held the commission of Colonel of the 2nd Regiment.

37. In a special message to congress on January 24, President Pierce endorsed the so-called bogus legislature and declared the formation of the Topeka government revolutionary and an act of rebellion. He asked for the passage of a bill authorizing the people of Kansas to frame a constitution. In the proclamation of February 11 he commanded "all persons engaged in unlawful combinations against the constituted authority of the Territory of Kansas, or of the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes."

Topeka Kansas
Mch. 30, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I wrote you six pages by the last mail. Will write you but a line by this.

We are having a thunder storm while I write. And, as I doubt not but that ordinarily the lightning is very severe in this Country, I want you to go, or send, to A. B. Richmond and obtain from him two of his *lightning rod points*. I mean the polished silver top for the lightning rod. But he will know what I have reference to. Please do not forget this. You can pack them in your trunk, or mine, or almost anywhere among your things, as they do not weigh more than half a pound.

When I commenced this letter I said there was a thunder storm raging. It is *now raining, hailing, snowing, blowing, thundering, & lightning* all at the same time. A great Country.

Continue to make your arrangements to come to Kansas about the first of May.

I had a letter from Mr. Randolph of Meadville a few days ago, in which he speaks of coming to Kansas, and of your coming with him. This would be a very good arrangement. If this Randolph is the young man I think he is, he would be perfectly safe to travel with. Or if Thickstun should come as far as St. Louis you could come with him. If you cannot [come] with either then I don't see any better plan than for you to come with Mrs. Nichols. I know it will be difficult for you to come alone, or by Express, as I suggested, from the fact that Lillie must be getting very heavy and troublesome. I *may* be east yet this spring but think it very doubtful. If I do I will be in Meadville before the First day of May. If I am not there by that time you will be safe in coming.

As I before wrote have Lenhart sell the Bond, and take good care of the money. But tell Lenhart not to have it drawn on Derickson. It is difficult to sell his drafts here, as he is only a private Banker and is not known. I have to become personally responsible for all his drafts. This I do not like. You had better get the proceeds in Gold, or in sound bankable bills—say "Easton Bank" or "State Bank of Missouri."

Your aff. husband, C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kansas
May 15, 1856

My Dear Wife—

Mr. Nichols will start tomorrow morning for Penna. and will upon his return, bring you with him. This will be the better plan.

I almost, however, regret to have you come now, as we are having difficulties of the severest kind again, and there is no telling when things will end. Still I want you here, and I presume that long before you get to Kansas, or even will be prepared to start, that our difficulties will have assumed some definite form.

Mr. Nichols judgment will be good upon matters and if he says come you may come with safety.

There are 1000 to 1500 Border Ruffians in the neighborhood of Lawrence again threatening destruction to the people and Town. I am greatly in hopes that the thing will be amicably arranged but I sometimes fear the days of our Union are numbered.

I have not time to write more Yours as ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Mr. Nichols has started before I could send this to him therefore I enclose it with the other. Nothing new this morning from the seat of war. But I still fear there will be difficulty.

Topeka Kansas
May 15, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I have just written you a note by hands of Mr. Nichols. He starts tomorrow. You of course will come with him.

We are having difficulty here again of the hardest kind. I know not when it will end. I expect there will be fighting tomorrow at Lawrence or Franklin—as there are 1000 to 1500 men around Lawrence threatening to destroy the town and murder the inhabitants.

I had hoped the difficulties were over, but it seems not. But I am inclined to think that this is the last struggle of the slave power in Kansas.

If anything should happen to me you must remember that I am engaged in my duty defending my principles, my property and life, and those of my brethern in Kansas. I have hitherto sent you a schedule of my property. You can retain it all as the title to all is good. Upon share 55 of the Topeka Association which was bought in your name and traded to Col. M. C. Dickey for a house and lot

in Topeka upon *that* share I owe about \$80—Eighty Dollars—to E. S. Dexter of *Newtonville, Massachusetts*.

Should anything happen to me you will of course pay this indebtedness in order to secure the property. I have one share recently obtained in Centropolis³⁸ upon which I have paid the tax of 10\$.

As ever

But I must not write more. . . .

Your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kansas

June 1, 1856

My Dear Wife—

. . . The draft of 100\$ came in time. I needed it very much. You ask whether I want more. I hardly know what to say. If I had about 50\$ or 100\$ more I could get along for the present.

In my last I requested you to start just as early as possible for Kansas and so urged Mr. Nichols in a note to your care.

Now listen what I say. Do not start for Kansas until you hear from me again. The state of things in Kansas at the present time is perfectly awful; and where it will end God only knows. Men are being killed or driven from their homes or imprisoned almost daily, and unless a change soon takes place civil strife must ensue.³⁹ My mail matter generally comes through but it may be unsafe to send much more now so you had better withhold sending more for the present, or until you hear from me again.

Write immediately.

Yours as ever

C. K. HOLLIDAY

P. S. I cannot explain *now* why I write you not to come at this time. I know you will think it very singular, as you have often charged me with being very changeable. But Dear Mary there seems to be a necessity for *this* time, else I *think* I would not so write for you know I want you here greatly.

You shall hear from me soon again.

H.

38. In Franklin county. The Centropolis town company was organized in 1856.—Andreas' *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 603.

39. On the afternoon of May 21, Sheriff Jones led a band of armed Proslavery men into Lawrence, and claiming to be acting under orders from the first district court of Douglas county, destroyed the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State*, and the Free-State hotel. Stores were broken open and pillaged and the home of Charles Robinson was burned. This overt act was followed on May 24 by the murder of five Proslavery men living on Pottawatomie creek, in Franklin county, by a band led by John Brown.

Topeka Kansas
June 9, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I have waited until the very last moment before the departure of the mail in order to give you the latest advices.

Everything is confusion & strife in the districts East of Topeka.⁴⁰ As yet we have peace here—but the Courts sit today and tomorrow the difficulties may be extended to this district. I earnestly hope not—but that Topeka may continue to have peace & prosperity.

Gen. Whitfield is 40 miles from here with about 300 to 400 men. Some 200 or 300 Free State men are also in the vicinity. It is expected there will be a fight between them soon, unless Col. Sumner with his command can succeed in dispersing them which he is now laboring to do.⁴¹ I am greatly in hopes that the difficulties are over—at least for the present—but cannot tell. I wrote to you last week *not* to start for Kansas until I sent you word to that effect. I now repeat. Do not start (nor Mr. Nichols either) until I say come. I understand this thing better than you do, and however anxious I may be to have you come yet I regard your coming *now* as imprudent & dangerous.

As ever

You shall hear from me soon again.

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Kansas
June 16, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I wrote you last on last Sunday. While many things have transpired during the past week yet they have been of such a public and notorious character that you will obtain a better account of them through the public prints than I could possibly write them. The Papers you most want to examine to ascertain our difficulties are the *N. Y. Times* and *N. Y. Tribune*. Almost any person in Meadville will lend them to you. I can send you no papers from Kansas. We have two published here and they never get through Missouri.

I wrote to you on the 1st day of June *not* to come to Kansas until you could hear from me again. Since then I wrote to you twice, I think, repeating the same, and I now repeat again. You & Mr. Nichols must not start until I tell you to come. I think mat-

40. The two weeks preceding the date of this letter were marked by the capture of John Brown, Jr., and Jason Brown, and their subsequent imprisonment at Leecompton, the battle of Black Jack, the Free-State attack on Franklin and the sack of Osawatimie.

41. John W. Whitfield was a leader of the Proslavery forces in Kansas. Col. Edwin Vose Sumner was stationed at this time at Fort Leavenworth. For a brief biographical sketch of the latter see *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 393.

ters will take a more favorable turn in a few days, weeks at most. Yesterday—Sunday—the Ft. Riley Troops—Cannon and all—passed through this place on their way to the scene of strife. The Ft. Leavenworth troops have been in the field for some time. We are hourly expecting word of a sanguinary battle between the U. S. Troops and the Border Ruffians. There will be about 1000 on a side—with Cannon, Dragoons, Infantry, &c., &c. upon each side and it will be a desperate battle. Look out for the news of the result. Should there be a fight there is no telling when the thing will end. Gen. Whitfield commands the Missouri forces, so I understand, and Col. Sumner the regulars.

I have got 35 acres of corn and beans planted and tolerably well fenced. My house that blew down is pretty near done and will make a right pleasant place to live.

I have recd. the 398\$ spoken of in your last, all right. It will be enough to meet my present demands.

We get accounts from the States that everything is there on fire. I think it is time. But the people of the States can have & do have no kind of idea the amount of suffering and outrage to which our people are subjected. A man must be here and go through the trials to appreciate them.

But everything will come right in the morning. And Kansas will yet be not only a free state but the best state in the Union. Mark that. And if anybody in Meadville wants a home they can find no better country for a home than Kansas. I certainly can conceive of nothing better than Kansas has been all this spring.

You shall hear from me again soon. In the mean time do *not* start for Kansas until I tell you to come.

Love to all.

As ever your aff. husband, C. K. HOLLIDAY

Of course you will tell Mr. Nichols the contents of this note—advising him also, not to start.

Topeka Kansas
June 22, 1856

My Dear Wife—

Yours of June 9th came to hand on Thursday last. It seems from your letter that you had not as yet received mine advising you not to come at the present or until you would hear from me again.

You have doubtless recd. it before now. For the past few days things have been comparatively quiet. Col. Sumner drove the in-

vaders from Kansas and is now encamped with his troops on the border of Missouri. Eight proslavery ruffians were killed near Osawatomie this week by two Wisconsin men—and Gov. Shannon's resignation (so reported) are the latest items for this week. We have escaped arrests and indictments at this place for the present. How long we can remain thus I know not. But not long. On the 2d & 3d of July there will be a large mass convention at this place and on the 4th the Gen. Assembly will convene. This may be considered a pretext for the renewal of trouble but I hope not. You & Mr. Nichols must not think of coming until after the fourth. In the meantime you will hear from me, or as I before wrote you, do not start until I tell you to come. My crops look very well. . . . I certainly never saw—neither could I dream of a better country than Kansas. . . .

Keep writing often. Love to all.

Your aff. & faithful husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka July 2, 1856

My Dear Wife

I have only time to write a line to you in answer to yours of June 15th recd. yesterday.

I am equally sorry with you that things are as they are and that your arrangements of coming out here were so suddenly thwarted by my letter of the 1st of June. While our difficulties have to a certain extent subsided, yet they [are] not over I fear. While I write men are crowding into Topeka by hundreds to be present at a Mass Convention tomorrow, and at the convening of the session of the Gen. Assembly on the day after. Within one half mile of town, on the one side is a detachment from Ft. Leavenworth of some 200 U. S. Dragoons and one mile & a half on the other side a detachment from Ft. Riley of 200 to 300 Dragoons and batteries of cannon. Their united force will consist tomorrow of about 800 to 1200 Dragoons besides several batteries of artillery. It is greatly feared there will be difficulty.

The Gen. Ass. is determined to meet but will not take any aggressive movement.⁴²

So far as the present would seem to indicate it is just as well you are not here—and a little better although for myself I would greatly desire you to be with me.

42. The Free-State legislature met at Topeka on July 4, but was dispersed by federal troops under Colonel Sumner.

I will try and drop you a note again by Fridays mail.

Recently two companies from the states—Illinois of 69, Ohio of 80—have been disarmed and sent back on the Mo. River. This far transcends any other outrage to which we have been subjected. Whether the people of the states will stand this remains to be seen but I suppose the most they can do is to pass a few silly resolutions as usual. It has got to be perfectly intolerable when citizens from Ohio, Ills. or Pa. dare not emigrate to Kansas.

Kiss baby Lillie for me and remember me to all friends.

As ever your aff. husband

C. K. HOLLIDAY

St. Lawrence Hotel

Philadelphia, July 30/56

My Dear Wife—

A pressure of business has prevented me addressing you until today.⁴³

I left Meadville, as you will remember, on Wednesday morn. Reached Pittsburgh Thursday morning & Harrisburgh Thursday evening at about the time I expected. Found Gov. Roberts⁴⁴ awaiting me. The State Ex. Com. being chiefly at Philadelphia we concluded to come on here and accordingly left H—h at 1 P. M. Friday arriving here at 7 P. M. same day. Next day saw the Committee except Charles Gibbons Esq.⁴⁵ who was visiting at Cape May.

The Committee telegraphed to Gibbons, but he could not return before Monday. Saturday evening both Roberts & I spoke before the Central Fremont club at Head Quarters. Sunday we spent with a most excellent gentleman, Wm. Morris Davis Esq., a member of the Committee, at his residence seven miles in the country. In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Davis family & ourselves met quite a number of gentlemen & ladies at a brothers of Mr. Davis at tea. They were mostly Quakers. Among the guests was Hon. Chas. Sumner, senator from Mass., who was so brutally beaten by Brooks of S. C.

43. On July 7, Holliday went to Pennsylvania to visit his family and arrange for their removal to the territory. Almost immediately upon his arrival he was pressed into service in the campaign in that state of John C. Fremont for the presidency on the Republican ticket.

On January 20, 1891, Holliday delivered an address before the Kansas State Historical Society on the presidential campaign of 1856 with particular reference to the Fremont campaign in which he participated. This address has been published in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 5, pp. 48-60.

44. William Y. Roberts, a native of Pennsylvania, located at Big Springs, Douglas county, in the summer of 1855 and took an active part in territorial affairs of the succeeding years. He was elected lieutenant-governor under the Topeka constitution. Holliday has referred to him as his running mate throughout the entire Fremont campaign.

45. Charles Gibbons, a Quaker, was chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican state committee in 1856.

Monday evening we met the Committee to make arrangements for stumping the state. Last evening we went to Westchester, 30 miles in the country, & spoke afternoon & evening to large & enthusiastic audiences. The four succeeding evenings this week we were announced to speak in this city. It is then our intention to try & make a move for western counties commencing at Erie on the 5th day Aug. This will bring us to Meadville about next Wednesday.

We have not concluded our arrangements yet with the committee but they are exceedingly anxious to have us canvass the state. If you should write me here address me at "St. Lawrence Hotel," Philadelphia. As ever

Your aff. husband C. K. HOLLIDAY

Monongahela House Pittsburgh

Oct. 17, 1856

Dear Wife—

I beg your pardon for neglecting you so long. But I have not had one moment of time to write for the past two weeks except the last day or two and then I felt little like writing to anybody.

Since writing I have been down through Fayette & Green & Washington counties speaking twice nearly every day.

The election is over. The result disappoints me. From all I could learn I was in hopes of carrying Penna. by 20,000 maj. As it is the result is very doubtful though the latest advices this morning lead us to hope & believe that the Republicans have carried the state by a small maj.—say 500 to 2000. I care not now how small the maj. may be. If we only *have* a maj. it will enable us to carry the state in Nov. for Fremont.⁴⁶ I expect to leave for Phila. soon—perhaps tonight—will see you in a couple of weeks at farthest.

At present it looks very much *against* your going to Kansas this fall owing to the very unsettled condition of things there.

If the people endorse this system of Border Ruffianism at the ballot box, I don't know what will become of our Kansas people.

May God direct the hearts & minds of the people to do right in the coming contest should be the prayer of every honest man & woman in the country.

But we must "labor & wait." I found Gov. Roberts' sister to be a very fine woman & very fine people generally in that section of country.

46. The Democrats carried the state of Pennsylvania in the October election, but their victory was not conceded by the opposition for nearly a week. Holliday, "The Presidential Campaign of 1856—the Fremont Campaign," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 5, p. 54.

I hope your visit proved very pleasant in Ohio. . . .

Write me immediately at Philadelphia, care of the "St. Lawrence Hotel" but you need *not* send any of my letters. You can extract from them as before. It may be possible that I will return immediately from Phila. and confine my labors the balance of the campaign to Crawford, Warren & adjoining counties.

Your aff. husband C. K. HOLLIDAY

Monongahela House
Pittsburgh Pa.

Oct. 19, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I am still at Pittsburgh and quite well. I expect to leave for Philadelphia tomorrow taking the counties as I go so that I will not, *perhaps*, arrive there for some days. Judge Church, D. A. Finney, J. W. Farrelly, and others from your section of country are now here. None of them knew whether you had got home or not.

I hope you and the baby are well. I am very anxious to hear from you, and yesterday thought I would try and go to Crawford and speak there the balance of the campaign, but have finally concluded we had better go East. There is little probability of your going to Kansas this fall—owing to the lamentable condition of things there. I scarcely now see any hopes of avoiding civil war, growing out [of] the course pursued in Kansas by the Administration at Washington.

Penna. has gone against us by a majority of about 1000 out of 400,000 votes. This is not defeat—and I shall certainly hope that Fremont will carry the state in November. If he don't may God have mercy on us.

Be of good cheer Mary. I will be with you in a couple of weeks now. Kiss Lillie for me. And give my love to all the folks.

Write me at "St. Lawrence Hotel," Philadelphia, Pa.

Your aff. & faithful husband
C. K. HOLLIDAY

Howard Hotel New York
Oct. 23, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I arrived in this city yesterday morning. Will leave again this evening for Phila. Everything looks well for the Fremont ticket—particularly in Penna.

I am well—will write to you again from Phila. In the meantime keep in good cheer for all will go well. I have just called upon “Jessie” Fremont—John C. not at home.

Yours as ever
C. K. HOLLIDAY

Girard House
Phila. Penna.
Oct. 26, 1856

My Dear Wife—

I wrote you from the Howard Hotel New York, last Thursday I believe. On Friday night I returned to this city and am stopping at the Girard instead of at the St. Lawrence—as I had suggested I would stop. I have been to the St. Lawrence but found no letters from you as I had hoped. I don't know how long I will remain here. I may leave tomorrow, perhaps not until after the election. If I were at Meadville I would be very glad, but we have made arrangements for a Kansas meeting at Boston on the 5th day of Nov. and it will be cheaper to remain here & then go on to Boston, than to return to Meadville & go from there. We have spoken but little since the 14th election and we will not speak much more. The time for speaking is past—and for action, private action, arrived.

Things look mixed in Penna. but I am still in hopes that Fremont will carry the state. The union that was effected at Harrisburg on last Wednesday would seem to indicate such a result.⁴⁷ I pray God it may be true, for I cannot tolerate the idea that the great state of Penna. will deliberately endorse this infamous Administration and all the crimes that are known to civil society. But we shall see. We shall know all on the 4th of Nov. Until then I shall hope for the best—believing that truth must prevail.

I have not yet been able to ascertain what I shall realize from the Committee. I will try and learn tomorrow. I am afraid I have got about all I shall get. I hope not.

I will be here in all probability for some days. Hence you can address me at this place—“Girard House,” Phila.—or I will be at Boston on the 5th of Nov. and you can address me at that time there—at the “Marlboro’ House,” Boston, Mass.

Kiss Lillie. My love to all.

Your aff. & faithful husband
C. K. HOLLIDAY

47. The union here referred to was a somewhat intricate plan devised by the Republican and American parties of Pennsylvania, acting together, by which they hoped to defeat Buchanan in that state. Buchanan, however, won a sweeping victory.—Holliday, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Council Chamber
Lawrence Jan. 30, 1859⁴⁸

Dear Mary—

Your letter of the 17th inst. came to hand a day or two since; and you may rest assured that I was very glad to hear from you and of your safe arrival at home; I was also glad to learn of the good health of all your friends.

Your expenses have not much exceeded what I supposed they would be, but I certainly do not like the way G—— acted in borrowing the money from you which I had just borrowed from him. He has been down two or three times since he returned from Leavenworth but he said nothing about it to me. But let that pass for the present.

I am still at Lawrence. The Legislature will close its session in two weeks from yesterday unless we should get an extension of time from Congress. We have petitioned for twenty days more, and I see a bill was introduced into the Senate to that effect. But it is very doubtful about its passage.

The Legislature is working very hard; and as a general thing very acceptably. I succeeded in carrying through four very important measures—one electing a Board of Commissioners to codify the Laws, another annexing all that part of Nebraska which lies south of the Platte River to Kansas,⁴⁹ another calling a new Constitutional Convention, and the other locating *permanently* the County Seat of Shawnee County at Topeka.⁵⁰ The Topeka boys fired off their cannon, held a public meeting, and had a good time generally upon the passage of this latter bill. The Tecumseh people of course were very angry, and fought the bill from day to day in the Legislature and before the Governor, but it did not succeed. I argued the question for half a day before the Governor, against Judge Hoogland and others, and finally obtained the Governor's signature to the bill.

48. No record has been found of the exact date of Mary Holliday's removal to the territory, but since Holliday went to Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1856 to bring his family back, it is quite possible that she came in that year. There are no letters addressed to her after October, 1856, until January 30, 1859, when she was visiting her former home at Meadville. Holliday was at that time a member of the territorial legislature of 1859.

49. G. W. Martin, in his "The Boundary Lines of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 68, points out the anomaly of this Free-State legislature petitioning for the annexation of southern Nebraska, while the Free-State members in the Wyandotte constitutional convention bitterly opposed it. The vote of the constitutional convention on the measure was 29 against, 19 for.

50. The first territorial legislature designated Tecumseh the county seat of Shawnee county. The people of the county, however, with the exception of residents of Tecumseh, were generally opposed to that selection. The question of location was submitted to popular vote on October 4, 1858, and the poll books were returnable to the office of the probate judge, held at that time by Edward Hoogland, a resident of Tecumseh. The election had been clearly in favor of Topeka but Hoogland withheld publication of the vote until December and then declared the election illegal and fraudulent. The act of the legislature, referred to by Holliday, settled the dispute in favor of Topeka.

Hoogland is trying all he can to upset the arrangement; but he wont succeed.

There is much trouble in the Southern part of the Territory. There was a battle fought a few days since in Lynn Co.⁵¹ in which it is reported that ten or twelve men were killed; but I think this will be found to be exaggerated.

The emigration is already beginning to set in for Pikes Peak. It will reach a full hundred thousand.

I have not been at Topeka since I came down on the 2nd inst. I had intended to have gone up today but could not get time.

I think I am not losing any friends here this winter. I have the entire confidence of the Council and to a great extent of the House of Rep.

I have bought me a new frock coat and the finest military overcoat you ever saw. I was obliged to do this, as there is much more fine dressing here than last winter. The Eldridge House is fully open⁵²—and is very splendid, and elegantly furnished. It is as good a house as any in Cleveland and as large as all the Hotels in Meadville put together. It cost \$76,000.

The weather has been very fine all this winter—excepting a day or two it has been as mild as in September, and today is as bright and beautiful as a May day.

Mrs. Smith & Mrs. Morrow made many inquiries about you; and offered many regrets that you were not going to spend the winter in Lawrence. I have not spoken to another lady in Lawrence since I have been here than the two above. Yes, I forgot Mrs. O'Donnell. She inquired about you and says she is going to Pikes Peak in the spring. I expect she will as her husband is going. He was out all summer and just returned a week or so ago.

I send you the Daily Republican and hope you regularly receive it. I wish you would send me some Meadville papers. We had better subscribe for one and after you read it send it to me.

They are rebuilding the Topeka bridge.⁵³

Now I think I have given you all the news. . . .

Yours as ever C. K. HOLLIDAY

51. Probably a reference to skirmishes in Linn county between a posse composed mainly of Missourians, acting under Marshal Russell, and Free-State men. The posse had been organized to capture Free-State invaders of Missouri. There were no fatalities.—*Lawrence Republican*, February 3, 1859.

52. A "grand opening ball" was held at the Eldridge House on December 31, 1858. Holliday was a member of the committee on arrangements. Music was furnished by the Lawrence brass band.

53. A bridge across the Kansas river at Topeka had been opened to traffic on May 1, 1858. On July 17 of the same year, floodwaters lifted the structure from its piers and carried it downstream. An unsuccessful attempt to rebuild the bridge was made in 1859.

Council Chamber
Sunday Feb. 6, 1859

Dear Mary—

Your second letter came to hand a day or two since. I have had no time to answer it until today. I was glad to learn that you and Lillie were well and enjoying yourselves so much.

My own health is pretty good, although I am suffering somewhat from a cold, damp rooms and hard work. We have done a vast deal of labor this session; more, I venture to say, than ever a similar body performed in the same length of time.

We are about completing up our work; and it is well that it is so for next Friday the Assembly adjourns by limitations. You had consequently better address me hereafter at Topeka. I still send you daily the Lawrence Republican, and hope you regularly receive it; as it will give you a full report of the proceedings of the Legislature, as well as matters and things in general.

Last night there was a grand festival at the Eldridge House. Speeches, talks &c. I was not present although one of the Committee of arrangements. The reason I was not present is because you were not there. There has been more trouble since I wrote you last, almost wholly in the negro line, and amounts to little or nothing. John Doy & son of this place were going to Nebraska with 15 runaway slaves, and were overtaken and carried into Missouri, and are now at Weston awaiting their trial.⁵⁴ "Old John Brown" was also running off with some 15 or 20 more when Dr. Woods of Lecompton and a number of others took after him, but failed to catch him.⁵⁵ The troubles in the south part of the Territory seem to have ceased. At Leavenworth a negro named "Charley Fisher" was stolen and taken into Mo.⁵⁶ He afterwards escaped, and returned to Leavenworth. He was then arrested as a fugitive slave and while guarded as such the door of his room was broken open, his keepers knocked down, and he carried off to Nebraska or elsewhere as no word has been received concerning him since.

I have not been up to Topeka since I came down. But I hear from there frequently, and learn that everything is going off well.

Oh, I almost forgot to mention that yesterday in half a minutes

54. For accounts of the subsequent rescue of Doctor Doy, see "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," by James B. Abbott, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, pp. 312-323; and "The Doy Rescue," by Theodore Gardner, *ibid.*, v. 17, pp. 851-855.

55. This trip out of the territory with eleven slaves, captured in Missouri, was actually Brown's farewell to Kansas. A. P. Wood led a posse from Atchison in an attempt to intercept the band on its way north, but Brown successfully eluded his pursuers.

56. Charley Fisher, an alleged fugitive slave from Louisiana, was kidnapped in Leavenworth and taken to Missouri. He broke away from his captors and returned to the territory. A further effort was made to arrest him, but he escaped from the territory. After the Civil War he was a state senator in Mississippi.—Andreas' *History of Kansas*, pp. 427-428.

time a bill was introduced into the Council & passed clear through under a suspension of rules, divorcing Josephine Branscomb from the man she married 6 or 8 months ago. It then went to the House of Representatives, and with equal dispatch, and no discussion, went through there. In all there was not exceeding 15 or 20 minutes in making Miss Branscomb a single woman. It only wants the signature of the Governor to become a law; and this it will doubtless receive.⁵⁷

The Constitutional Convention is to be held at Wyandotte, in July next. I tried all I could to get it at Topeka, but hadn't strength enough. Winants has been here all week. He wanted me to recommend him to the Gov. for Probate Judge in place of Hoogland—and got very angry because I would not do so. He then went off and got drunk and Patrick had to put him to bed at ten o'clock in the morning.

I don't think of anything else just now. . . .

Yours as ever C. K. HOLLIDAY

Topeka Mch. 23, 1859

Dear Mary—

Day before yesterday (Monday) I took my first meal at my new boarding place—that is to say with Mr. Frazier in my own house. I am now writing from the room I occupy, which is the large front chamber up stairs. I have got one of our good bedsteads, straw bed, card table and two chairs in my room. They will be better taken care of here than at James'.

James is going on with the farm. He has sowed some 15 or 20 acres of wheat and is now plowing for corn. It may be that he will do pretty well—but I still fear it. He commences well however.

It will be difficult for me to tell *what* or *how* I am going to do until after the Osawatomie Republican Convention on the 18th of May. I may be sacrificed at that convention and may have to shape my course differently from what I otherwise would.

We have nothing new in town. Weather is very fine—perfectly spring like. Thousands upon thousands are going to Pike's Peak.

I have had this house painted in the inside and two rooms papered. It looks very nice. The folks I live with seem to be very clever people. . . .

Let me hear from you very often. . . .

Yours truly C. K. HOLLIDAY

57. Divorces were granted by the legislature before the passage of the act of February 27, 1860, vesting the power in the district courts.

Wyandotte, July 14, 1859⁵⁸

Dear Mary—

I have now been at this place just one week—looking after Capital matters, and my political prospects.⁵⁹ In a day or two the Capital question will be decided. *Today* the chances are altogether in our favor and I now think we will get the Capital located at our place. But the trickery of politicians may change this expectation. I have said or done little for myself since here. I have no doubt my advocacy of the Capital matter will materially injure my political prospects, but if the Convention will locate the Capital for 5 years at Topeka (what we ask) I am willing to be defeated for a year or two to come. . . . Every boat that arrives at the Wyandotte levee I go to see if you are not on board.

I have, some how or other, had great confidence that you would come here during the sitting of the Convention but as yet you arrive not.

We have had some fine showers recently—but today is as hot as I think I ever saw it. It is almost difficult to move around.

. . . The Convention will not adjourn before the close of next week, perhaps not for two weeks to come. . . .

C. K. HOLLIDAY

Wyandotte July 24, 1859

Dear Mary—

I dropped you a line yesterday informing you of the important fact that the Convention has located the Capital at Topeka. This is certainly a great triumph—and will greatly enhance the prospects of our town and of our property.

It kills me politically, however, for a time at least—but present pecuniary good is worth more to me than prospective political position.

. . . Tomorrow night we give a supper to the Topeka friends—soon after which I will return to Topeka.

Yours as ever . . .

C. K. HOLLIDAY

58. The Wyandotte constitutional convention was in session in Wyandotte at this time.

59. In a letter dated March 31, 1859, not here reproduced because of its lack of general interest, Holliday stated: "I intend to shape my course either for delegate or governor. . . ."

History of Sun-Gold Section

EUGENE F. WARE¹

I CAME out of the army in bad shape. I had a wound that never healed. I was tired and used up and had a persistent attack of malaria. This came about this way: I was held in the army long after the war closed, and, having had service in the Indian country, was detailed on a great Indian peace commission. The so-called civilized tribes of the Indian territory at the beginning of the war had seceded from the United States, and many Indians had joined the Confederacy. Others had declared for the Union and had gone into Indian Union regiments. When the war closed these soldiers had been hostilely opposed to each other. So, the administration determined to have a grand peace convention and pow-wow at Fort Smith, Ark., and a large number of commissioners were chosen and I was made one of the party.

Most of the members of the party went up the Arkansas river in a small boat, but the party to which I was attached, went overland from Fort Leavenworth south to Fort Smith. We had cavalry horses and ambulances and an escort of a hundred regular cavalry. Of our party, there were Gen. W. S. Harney, Gen. J. G. Blunt, Gen. R. B. Mitchell, Gen. C. W. Blair and myself. There was another party that joined us en route, composed of General Du Bois and Grant's Indian staff officer (Col. Barker), who was said to be the chief of the Six Nations of New York. With them were several regular army officers whose names I have forgotten, and with the party was Ben McDonald, of Fort Scott, whose brother afterwards became senator from Arkansas. There was also Perry Fuller of

1. This paper, giving an account of Mr. Ware's early experiences in Kansas, was written some years before his death. Through the courtesy of his children it is here published for the first time.

Eugene Fitch Ware was born at Hartford, Conn., May 29, 1841. While still a boy his parents moved to Burlington, Iowa. He enlisted in the First Iowa infantry at the beginning of the war and subsequently served successively in the Fourth Iowa cavalry and the Seventh Iowa cavalry, being mustered out as captain. In 1867 he came to Kansas and took land in Cherokee county, where, in addition to farming, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1871. He edited the *Fort Scott Monitor* in 1872 and the next year opened a law office in Fort Scott. It was also at this time that he began writing poetry under the name "Iron-quill." He was married to Miss Jeanette S. Huntington, of Rochester, N. Y., in 1874. He was active in politics, being twice elected to the state senate, and in 1888 he was presidential elector-at-large for Kansas. In 1893 Mr. Ware moved to Topeka, joining the firm of Glead & Glead, and in 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him United States commissioner of pensions. On retiring from this position in 1905 he returned to Topeka, resuming the practice of law. In 1907 he moved to Kansas City, and formed a law partnership with his son. In the spring of 1911 he retired to his farm and on July 1 of that year he died at Cascade, Colo.

See "Eugene Fitch Ware," by C. S. Glead, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 13, pp. 19-41; "Acceptance [of Bronze Bust of Mr. Ware] on Behalf of the Historical Society," by William E. Connelley, *ibid.*, pp. 42-51; "Eugene Fitch Ware as a Literary Man," by C. E. Cory, *ibid.*, pp. 52-64; "Eugene Ware," by Judge J. S. West, *ibid.*, pp. 65-71.

Kansas who was collector of the port at New Orleans and who had had much experience in trading with the Indians. In fact, the whole party was composed of those who had had Indian experience.

We went down through the country. After passing Fort Scott going south, there were no more houses or habitations until we got down to Fort Gibson. The war had cleaned out about everything and there was nothing between Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. Ben McDonald and I, while en route through the Indian territory, went fishing one evening in Grand river and were fired on from the brush after dark, but neither was hit. When we got to Fort Smith, we camped down in the Arkansas river bottom and almost every person sooner or later was ill. This trip was in the fall of 1865. We afterwards returned by the same route to Fort Leavenworth. Generals Harney and Mitchell rode in my ambulance. The peace convention was a very great success and quite a number of Indians were gathered together; and the proceedings were very interesting.

The Osage Indians at that time were uncivilized blanket Indians and had their delegates to the convention in true aboriginal style.

My duties at Fort Leavenworth were very onerous, and after my return thereto a low malarial fever hung upon me, which, while it did not incapacitate me for serving, wore me down until I was very lean. In addition, an old army wound made matters still more unpleasant for me. Thus, when I was mustered out in the summer of 1866, I was about used up. I went to Doctor Nassau, the celebrated surgeon of the Ninth Iowa cavalry, who lived in Burlington, which was then my home; he started in to cure me with relays of quinine.

In the meantime, I was offered a position upon the Burlington *Hawk Eye*, which was then perhaps the leading paper of Iowa. I worked along and doctored as I worked and thought that I was improving. The work became more burdensome and yet more attractive and I was soon overworking. The editor of the paper was arranging to get a government position and he piled on to me, from time to time, more and more work until I found myself doing most of it, and making considerable reputation at a great cost to my health. Finally, Doctor Nassau started in on arsenic, saying that my malarial symptoms were such that quinine would not control them, so for about two months he gave me arsenic and I kept hard at work and became about the whole thing on the paper. After a while Doctor Nassau said that he could not use arsenic any more, that its effects were cumulative and that he must try strychnine. This went on until I went to the doctor and told him that while I

was proud of the success I had made in the paper, I had gotten to that point of nervousness and emaciation where I was afraid I was going to collapse. He gave me a very careful examination and told me that I had brought out of the army a variety of malarial trouble that I would never get rid of, and which would take me into my grave unless I abandoned work and went to living in the open air and put in all my time at acquiring health.

In the meantime the editor of the paper, Mr. Beardsley, had been detailed to a bureau in Washington at a fine salary and I was practically in control. The paper was being quoted a great deal and when I went to the manager, who ran the finances and took care of the stockholders, he thought I was trying to get a raise of salary and he asked me how much I wanted. When I told him that my salary was very satisfactory, for I was getting a good one, he appeared to be very much worried and asked me to stay a little while until he could make some arrangements. I agreed to stay a few days. Finally he came to me and told me he would pay me any sum I wanted, if it was anywhere within reason, and when I told him that my health was my only consideration he appeared to be very much worried over it. Doctor Nassau found fault with my remaining with the paper and told me that I must get right out, stop every kind of work, live in the open air and drink a compound which he said he would prepare for me. He advised me to wait no longer. Among other things he said, "Get on your horse and ride across the state to Council Bluffs and back. Go leisurely and do nothing but ride your horse."

Just at this juncture, a peculiar circumstance took place. A Mr. Campbell came to me and introduced himself. He said: "You served in the army with my two boys and they think a great deal of you, and I have been talking business with them and I have come to make you a proposition." Then he continued: "I have \$18,000 lying idle over there" (pointing to the building of Coolbaugh and Brook's Bank. This Coolbaugh was afterwards the prominent Chicago banker who killed himself on the Douglas monument and whose daughter was the wife of the United States Chief Justice M. W. Fuller). Then he continued: "I want to go down into southwestern Missouri where you and my boys were soldiering part of the time in the army, and I will buy a lot of cattle for you and my two boys to take charge of. I will divide the profits, one fourth to me, one fourth to you, each of my boys one fourth. All you will have to do is to furnish your own horse and your own board, and you,

Mr. Ware, will have to keep the books and look after the finances. My boys want you in and are willing to go down there in this sort of a scheme if you will go along, and it won't cost you much of anything; and there is a whole lot of money in it and if you will say that you will go, I shall get up a fine traveling wagon and we will go right on down overland." (There were no railroads yet into that country.) "We shall pick out some good places and then go over into Kansas and buy stock. The country down there has been so cleaned out by the war that you won't have many neighbors, but will have lots of cattle range."

I made an appointment with Mr. Campbell for another talk and went to Doctor Nassau. He said: "It is just the thing for you; two or three years of that kind of life will bring you out all right and make a new man of you. Otherwise you are liable to slip into your grave at any time." I notified Mr. Campbell to get ready and I would go with him, but he was delayed.

In the meantime I worked off and on about the *Hawk Eye* office as I could, until the first thing I knew I was not able to work any more and was laid up. My nerves had gone all to pieces. I was very weak, lean and irritable and had about made up my mind that I could not stand the trip, when Mr. Campbell, with his two boys, drove into town with a fine covered wagon and a fine pair of horses and a nice sleeping outfit in the wagon. I had brought out of the army my old cavalry horse that had been born on Andrew Jackson's hermitage farm in Tennessee. It was a magnificent large black animal with curly mane and tail; about the best and most intelligent horse I ever knew. I threw my leather trunk into the wagon, got on my horse, "Old Bill," and into my McClellan saddle, and off we started just as the grass was beginning to peep in the early spring. With me was a jug of Doctor Nassau's preparation. It was whisky with from fifteen to twenty different kind of bitters. He gave me the formula on a piece of paper which I retained for years. I can remember now only the Peruvian bark, cammomile flower, dandelion, quassia, gentian and boneset. There were a lot more of the ingredients, but I do not remember them. He told me to drink just as much of it as I could; the injunction was a joke. No man could drink over a tablespoonful at a time and no man could have nerve to drink a spoonful oftener than once in two hours. It was absolutely the worst decoction I ever saw or heard of and had no tendency to produce dissipation.

We started southwest of Burlington, I riding ahead on my horse

and swapping to rest in the wagon, for I tired easily and was thoroughly used up. But I said nothing about my matters to my associates and made no complaint. I had along with me my military rubber poncho and I made it a point to stay on horseback as much as possible.

We went overland to Memphis, Mo.; thence to Kirksville, thence started south, but rains set in and we were held up by high waters and bad roads. When we got well down into northern Missouri, we struck a new condition of things. The "Klu Klux Klan" was organizing. Returning Confederate soldiers were passing and re-passing on the road. Little bunches of them were together and would come into our camp and want to know where we were going and why we did not stay home. One evening when we had gotten nearly to Keytesville a gang of armed fellows came into camp and one of them, raising up what appeared to be a military carbine, began pointing it at one after another of us and said "Just see how easy I could kill a Yankee." No remonstrance seemed to prevail and he kept this up for about half an hour. There were seven of them and old Mr. Campbell was frightened almost to death. We made very slow progress on the trip and this manner of visit and attempted intimidation kept up. The people told us to go back north and that they did not want us down there. They would not sell us horse feed and would not sell us butter or eggs. Things got in such a way that Mr. Campbell proposed to drive farther west and said that he would not cross the Missouri river east of Lexington. One of the Campbell boys in the wagon had a double-barrelled shotgun and I went out and shot some quail and prairie chickens and broiled them for the old gentleman, who was then about 65 years of age. The constant rains, our slow progress, the newness of the country, the fact that there was hardly any bridges and those that were had been destroyed by the war, caused Mr. Campbell to get melancholy.

As we were going southwest we all at once crossed on a high prairie a north and south road that appeared very much traveled. All at once Mr. Campbell, who was sitting in the front seat with his son, directed his son to turn to the right and follow the main road to the right, going north. I spoke and asked what was the cause of it. He said: "I am not going to go any farther south." I began to remonstrate and told him that we had passed through the worst country of our trip, that when we got out towards southeastern Kansas, it would be better. But the old gentleman was

obdurate and said: "I am going back to Iowa; not a cent will I put into such a country as Missouri. I will not invest a dollar in such a state." The boys began to protest to their father against going back and a very angry controversy arose between them to which I was a silent spectator. When we had passed through Kirksville I had received a lot of letters from my sister, because we had made very slow progress, and among them were a great number of clippings which had been gathered from the state papers and published in the *Hawk Eye*, very complimentary to me and very much regretting that my failure in health had deprived the state press of my services, etc. The clipping spoke complimentary and told of my going down south for my health.

Under these circumstances, I could not very well afford to go back to Iowa. So, at a certain point of the debate between the old gentleman and his boys, I chipped in and said: "I do not believe that I care to go back to Iowa and if you want to go back, you can just leave my trunk here at the cross roads." The old gentleman hesitated for a while and then said: "We are going back." So, I let down the end gate of the wagon, took out my trunk and jug and said: "I am not going back. If you want to go back, you go."

I sat on my trunk, holding my saddle horse by the bridle rein, while the boys protested with their father. All at once the old gentleman turned to me and said, "If you leave me here, you have to pay for your board on the trip." Then he took a book out of his pocket and began to figure and the boys said: "Don't pay him a cent." Finally he figured up that I owed him \$7.94 as my share of subsistence which I should now pay him because I had deserted him. I got ready to pay, but the boys would not permit it; both of them said: "Don't pay him a cent." The boys did not want to go back, but finally the old gentleman said, "This is my outfit and everything belongs to me and I order you to get into the wagon and take me back home." The boys and the old gentleman, still quarreling, got into the wagon, turned northward and soon disappeared over the prairie, and I have never heard of them or anything about them from that day to this. I only know that the boys told the old gentleman that they were ashamed of the way he was treating me and that they wanted me to understand that they did not approve of it. What I blamed them for, however, was that they did not get out and stay with me because if they had shown the right kind of grit, the occurrence would not have happened, but the

old gentleman had a great deal of money and was tyrannical and the boys were afraid to have a rupture with him. So, there I was sitting on my trunk on the prairie in a new country and only one house in sight and that far down south on the road.

As I sat on my trunk holding my horse, I cogitated what to do. I could not carry the trunk with me and so had to stay with it, and I thought I would have to wait until some farm wagon drove by.

After while a man came from a northern direction, driving a team of horses to a farm wagon without any bed on it. He was riding on the rear hounds of the wagon. I asked him if he could haul my trunk to the house, which I saw far to the south, in the direction in which he was going. I then told him I would pay him for it. He assented and we got the trunk and jug aboard. He was very inquisitive in knowing who I was and where I was going and how I happened to be out on the prairie all alone with a trunk and what I had in the jug. I told him briefly that we had started down from Iowa to southern Missouri and that my people had backed out and had gone back and that I wanted to go on. I asked him if there was any work that could be done in that part of the country or if anybody wanted any help. He said there was a man down in the timber who was trying to find somebody who could burn brick; that he had started a brick kiln and had gotten the brick all in ready to burn and the man who was to do it had left the country.

Now it happened that I had seen brick burned often when I was a boy and was of the impression that all anybody had to do was to keep throwing in firewood, and I told the man that I would burn the kiln of brick and asked him to stop at the house when he came back and tell me if the man wanted me. So, when we got down to the house, he unloaded my trunk. I paid him a quarter in postal currency and he went on. I then went to the house to make arrangements for stopping and told them I was to have a job for burning brick, but to my surprise they refused to permit me to stop or even to let me store my trunk. They evidently thought I had been a soldier which was perhaps visible in my outfit, McClellan saddle and poncho. I was very much put out for I did not see another house in the neighborhood and to my questions as to where they thought I might get a place to stay they simply told me they did not know. So I went out and sat on my trunk on the road and it was getting along towards noon. I did not know exactly what course to pursue and thought I would wait until the man in the wagon came back. I had waited until I was worried and discouraged, when looking to

the north I saw a row of whitetopped emigrant wagons coming down the road. I tied my horse to a post and walked up the road. As they came more visibly into sight I saw three men walking at the head of the train, about two hundred yards in advance, and all three of them had guns over their shoulders. Two of them had on what were then called "McClellan" army caps of an official cut.

The Grand Army of the Republic had been organized the fall before and I was one of five charter members for Iowa. Just before I had left Burlington we had succeeded in forming a strong post and as these people appeared in view, by the time I had gotten within a hundred yards of them, I gave the G. A. R. hailing signal and it was responded to by the middle one of the three men who were marching ahead. On arriving, we shook hands, went off and had a private talk and I told him that I had been captain of Company F of the Seventh Iowa cavalry and he told me he had been a captain in Birges sharp shooters, a regiment that I well knew. His name was Warren and the man to whom he introduced me on his right was a brother-in-law, Mr. Wesley Tibbetts, and the other was the latter's son-in-law. They said they were going down to southwestern Missouri to look at the country and pick up some cheap land. Without any trouble I entered into the following arrangement with them. They were to haul my trunk. I was to pay my share of mess board and my horse should pull in the team every third day, so my trunk was put in and off we went, the people at the house all standing and looking, two men and five women and several children in a large well built, two-story frame house, where I was so inhospitably received. I told the man whom we passed on the road that I could not stop to burn the brick and we went on a few miles and camped.

Captain Warren and I went out to buy some provisions, but found the country pretty well desolated. We stopped at a house where a woman was baking some corn-bread in a Dutch oven on the coals on a hearth. The woman was about forty. She spoke about her husband who would soon be in. Finally she introduced us to a boy who was about eighteen, who she said was her husband. I asked if it were not her son instead of her husband and she said "No, I married him. What is a woman to do? My husband was killed during the war and there ain't any more men around. They've all been killed, and what is a woman to do? Why, she has to do the best she can. There was not any body for me to marry except him and he makes me a pretty good husband even if I am old enough to

be his mother." This is a true picture of the desolation of the country after the war, in its theater.

We crossed the river near Brunswick and went on down south, turning to the southwest until we got south not far from Lamar in western Missouri. The country was practically deserted. The chimneys were standing lonesomely everywhere. Constant talk of murders were heard of, and fights between returning soldiers. It would appear from what was told us that great outlawry prevailed. At this point a man coming from the southwest stopped us and asked us where we were going. He told us that the grasshoppers in Kansas were knee deep and when I ridiculed the idea he stuck to it. This was the last straw for several of the party who composed the train. Some turned northward and only three wagons of us went on. Captain Warren and I stayed together.

Bacon was fifty cents a pound. There was no flour in the country and corn-meal was five cents a pound, sixty pounds for three dollars.

Mr. Tibbetts had a relative at Carthage, as he supposed, so we went to Carthage, Mo. It had been so thoroughly desolated by the war that there was hardly anything left of it. A man from the wreck of some old buildings was putting up a little wooden frame structure which he said was to be a harness shop. Here we held a council of war and determined that we would quit Missouri. It was debated quite a while as to whether we should go to Springfield, Mo., or turn westward into Kansas. I think my voice turned the tide, for I advocated going into the Indian neutral lands south of Fort Scott, as I had heard that some settlers from Kansas had gone in and that there might be a prospect of the land being thrown open for settlement. So in we went, through what is now Cherokee county, Kansas, and went to the Neosho river and went into camp down near the mouth of Lightning creek, in what is now Cherokee county, about opposite Oswego. We just had to abandon Missouri. It looked to us then as an impossible country.

At the place near where we camped another old soldier named Sidney S. Smith, afterwards a very prominent citizen of the county and for years county treasurer, had put up a log cabin and had started a farm. Captain Warren and I got on horse-back and leaving everything in camp started over the country to make a selection of land. There were but very few settlers in the county and those were along the water courses and were mostly union soldiers of the late war. They wanted us to take up claims near them.

We rode over the county week after week. I took up a claim at the head of Deer creek, as a temporary expedient, because there was a settler near there named Betzer who would break out some prairie for me and I employed him to break me twenty acres for \$80.

Captain Warren found a man who wanted to sell out his claim with log cabin on it and he made a deal with him for \$200. We wanted material for a house and as a man by the name of Motter below the mouth of Lightning creek had put up a little temporary sawmill, we concluded to cut some lumber and have it sawed up. We went to the Neosho river bottom and found a man who claimed a bottom quarter and he told us to go in and haul away all of the down dead timber that we wanted; that it would save him the trouble of clearing. We went down to look at the timber. It was a perfect mass of ancient dead trees lapping over each other. There had apparently never been a fire and the big black walnuts were overlapping each other on the ground, and the bushes and young trees were so dense among them that we could hardly get through. There were black walnuts that had evidently fallen over a hundred years before.

Captain Warren and I picked out some fallen trees near the bank so that we could roll the logs to the river and commenced sawing up with a cross-cut saw, dry, thoroughly seasoned, black walnut logs, four feet in diameter. We worked about a month, got the logs into the river and got them sawed up into two-inch planks. It was the most beautiful lot of lumber I ever saw, but the work was very hard. The weather was hot in July, almost suffocating down in the timber, and the mosquitoes were in a perfect cloud. We built smudges to keep off the mosquitoes and worked in the heat and smoke. I was not yet strong enough to keep up with Captain Warren and from time to time I hired a young man to assist me; but I was getting on my feet fast, and had drunk up my jug of bitters and had filled it at the Missouri river crossing.

Our party had scattered. Captain Warren and I, while cutting the saw logs, slept up on the hay roof of the Smith stable above the range of the mosquitoes and we had a camp where we cooked fish, coffee and bacon, having our corn bread cooked in Mr. Smith's log cabin. Our camp was under a large water-oak tree. The weather was hot and the work was hard, but we got through. A team came along one day as we were getting low on bacon and we bought a pound for fifty cents, all the bacon the teamster would sell, and Warren hung it up on a tree out on the end of a limb. Coming

home from work one evening, we saw a long, ravenous greyhound jumping up in the air to get that bacon. We yelled at the dog, but he was too far off. He finally got the bacon and sat down to eat it. His master came riding along on horse-back; the dog had run ahead of him. Warren said to the man: "What do you want for that dog?" The man replied: "What will you give?" Warren said: "Fifty cents." The man said: "He is yours." Warren then turned to me and said, "Give me a quarter." I asked: "What do we want that dog for?" Warren replied: "To get our bacon back." So we bought the dog. The dog was a good one and Warren kept him. We caught lots of fine fish and almost lived on them.

One day the Tibbetts party came down to hunt us and said that somebody had to go out east for family supplies, that there was neither bacon nor corn-meal left in the country. Warren agreed that if I would go with Tibbetts and the wagon and get supplies, he would see that the logs were all put into lumber and piled up at the mill and I agreed to it. We started east and reached a store that had been opened on the route near the Missouri line. We stopped there to talk about food, and cornmeal was 6 cents a pound and bacon was 60, so we kept on east and we went east until we got well up into Missouri nearly a hundred miles east of Kansas. We struck a little new water mill up north of Springfield and bought corn-meal for \$2 a bushel and bacon at 50 cents. We bought a little more than we thought we might need and we sold a store-keeper, back in Kansas, some of the meal for \$2.50 and some of the bacon for 75 cents.

When I got back, my lumber was piled up—my share, Warren's share and the mill owner's share. Mine were two-inch broad boards and I had them hauled up to my temporary claim where breaking was going on. About that time Warren got news that his wife would be in Sedalia on a certain day and said he would go up in an ox team and bring her back. There being no corn-meal in the country, or oats or horse feed except green grass, an ox team was the best rig.

Just as we got ready to start a prolonged rain set in. The roads became impassable and we had to go up to Fort Scott on the ridges and it was then that I first got a good view of "Sun-Gold Section." There was not a settler within miles of it and deer were very numerous and were playing around over the country plainly visible. I had determined to go up with Warren in his rig and ride my horse and get another supply of the doctor's medicine. We arrived at

Sedalia. Warren loaded up his wife and a quantity of trunks and furniture and was about to start back. I made up my mind that I would ride on up to Burlington, Iowa, to tell my father and mother what a beautiful country I had found, and get them to sell out and move down into Kansas. The place I had considered the best was Fort Scott, through which town Warren and I took our ox team. I was feeling much better. The weather was cheerful and after I left Sedalia I made 40 miles a day on horseback and soon arrived in Burlington, having been gone about four months.

I was feeling better on my return but somehow when I got to sleeping indoors and neglecting active outdoor exercise my bad feelings quickly returned. I had a consultation with Doctor Nassau and he told me that if I would continue his treatment, he felt sure of my recovery. About this time I got a letter from Captain Warren which stated that some men had jumped my claim, which gave me considerable solicitude. In the meantime I had depicted the advantages of Fort Scott and southern Kansas to my parents and my father was inclined to consider a change.

My father had been ill for some time and had discovered that his partner was getting away with him and my father desired some pretext for selling out the business and dissolving the partnership. I may say that he afterwards did that and moved to Fort Scott, but I started with my horse back to Kansas. I went down to the Mississippi river at Burlington, led my horse on to a steamboat bound for St. Louis and soon arrived there. All of the steamboats had horse stalls on the lower deck, together with feed, and there was much traffic of that kind. On arriving at St. Louis, the boat having made a quick trip, I led my horse on to a Kansas City boat and soon got up the river to Kansas City. From there I wrote Captain Warren that I was coming down to shoot both of them. In those days that was the way people talked, and down in the Indian country that was the way people did. I sent my letter to Oswego at which point, then only a village, Captain Warren got his mail, which ran every week. I then rode down on horse-back to Fort Scott and then I pushed on down to Captain Warren, making a ride of 145 miles. He had communicated my message and when I got to my place I found it deserted. The persons who had jumped it had moved off.

I found my twenty acres broken out in good shape. I paid for the breaking, settled up with Captain Warren on our lumber deal, got my lumber and a lot of posts hauled up to my claim and then went

up to Fort Scott and worked at the harness business all winter until the first of March. Then, Kansas City being the nearest place, I hired a wagon to haul down from there to the claim a load of spring wheat and I hired a man to put it in. I came down to my claim and put up my black walnut shanty, ten feet wide and sixteen feet long, with a lean-to roof. One end of the shanty was occupied by a large sod fire-place which being built on the outside formed one side of the shanty. The four corners were made of black walnut posts about six inches in diameter. I let them down into the ground in a hole, dug with a post auger which I had bought. A visitor watching the performance said that I was building a very nice house and was "mortising the corners into the earth." I bought a team of good horses, plows and other implements and started in sleeping, batching, and holding the claim until I could select something in the shape of a square section which I wanted for the whole family. As soon as my wheat was in and my garden planted I started out to find what I wanted. In the meanwhile other settlers had come in but they mostly settled along the creeks and stream beds. I went out and made continuous explorations of the country on the upland, doing what work was necessary at the Deer creek claim, but I rode constantly all over the county. I found several places which I thought would do; one down in the southern part of the county; one on the stream east of where Columbus now stands; but finally I picked out the hill on "Sun-Gold Section" and concluded that I would take up a square mile; a one quarter for myself, one quarter for father and one for each of my two brothers. There were 100 square miles of vacant territory there and I had my choice.

It was the country that I had seen the year before, 1867, when Warren and I went up to Fort Scott. During the time, and I think it was during the winter, the government had surveyed the township lines of the Neutral land, but had not yet sectionized it. So in order to locate my land I hunted up a township corner, and by measuring a mile west I could get the section line. I first stepped it off and came quite close to it and made my plans in accordance with it. Afterwards a lone darkey, who lived down in the Indian territory, passed through. He was about twenty years of age and I hired him to help me. I went to Cherry creek about five miles below "Sun-Gold Section," where there was some vacant timber and I cut foundation logs and hauled four of them up onto the N. E. quarter and afterwards went back and cut four more and put them on the rising ground of the S. W. quarter.

I also joined the Deer creek club and will briefly explain the pioneer law of the times. There being no civil organization of any kind, that is to say, no counties, townships or local officers, the people formed into clubs and by a majority vote made such local laws as they cared to have, based upon other laws of the state.

The club ordered that for a person to take up a claim he must go on it personally with a witness and say he took it as his homestead. In order to mark the place, a stake was driven down with the date and the man's name on a piece of paper attached to the stake. It was very often that a simple envelope covering a letter that had been received slipped down over the stake. Within ten days a claimant must put on what was called the foundation of his house. He was supposed to build a log cabin on the land not less than 12 feet square. The foundation was four logs, not less than 12 feet each in length, put in square form on the land. Sometimes these were merely poles, but the rule was that they should be at least six inches in diameter. At the time of the laying of the foundation a stake was driven with the new date of the laying of the foundation. If the land which was taken was not a square quarter, but consisted of forty-acre tracts, arranged otherwise than as a square, the claim stake must specify the 40's. From the time of the laying of the foundation six months was given within which, in contemplation of club law, the man had an opportunity to go back to the states and get his family. If he did not come back within six months, or caused nothing further to be done on the land, anybody could jump the claim. Every person who joined the Club signed a book with the statement written out that he agreed to abide by the club rules and assist any worthy neighbor whose claim should be jumped or should be mistreated by anybody. As stated, I put up two foundations on "Sun-Gold Section" and finally put up two more near the center. Afterwards the land was surveyed and sectionized by the government. Shortly thereafter, finding the definite boundaries, I relocated the foundations and afterwards, in the fall of 1868, I again relocated the foundations and put up new claim stakes so as to carry my right through the winter until next spring and I offered my Deer creek claim for sale.

The year 1868 was a very dry year and there came in but very few people and the land was reported to have been sold in a body to a railroad company which kept out very many immigrants.

In the meantime my father and two brothers had come to Fort Scott and I took my two brothers down to the farm and introduced

them around and told everybody where their claims were. I also got my father and mother to come down from Fort Scott where they had located, to make me a brief visit on the claim, which they did, driving in a double buggy, coming down one day, staying one day and going back in a day.

I went up and worked all of the winter at the harness business again, and in the spring came down and put my twenty acres into corn. This was in 1869. That summer's work was a very profitable year. I cleared \$1,400 in cash from what I raised. The immigration which came paid about \$1.25 a bushel for corn and fifteen cents a shock for fodder. I had cut up all of my twenty acres into fourteen hill squares. This was on the Deer creek claim. My brother and I then went over to "Sun-Gold Section." Under the law the building should begin on "Sun-Gold Section," and I went down to the mill, hauled up some lumber and measured the exact center of the section. I sowed a whole lot of blue grass seed among the prairie grass in the swales. I broke, around the house, about five acres of ground to be used as a garden. One fourth of it being on each quarter section and for each member of the family. I set up stakes around the section so that we could plow a hedge row, hedges being at that time in great favor. Certain farmers near Fort Scott made a specialty of planting hedge seed and selling hedge plants in great numbers for hedges. I had set out on Deer creek claim along side of my cornfield enough seed to make hedge plants to go around the section.

I forgot to say that during the summer of 1868 my brother Robert came down to see me and I took him over to show him "Sun-Gold Section." We rode over in a farm wagon, took blankets and horse feed and determined to stay all night and carefully inspect the land. As we got to the hill on the section, it began to rain. We took off our wagon box, inverted it upon the ground and, tying our horses to the wheels of our wagon, we got under our wagon bed to keep out of the rain and we ate our lunch lying down while it was raining. It was only a passing shower, but before it was over we became aware that we were down over several nests of big, fierce, black ants. It got so we could not stand it any longer so we peeled off our clothes threw them under the wagon bed and danced around in the rain and got rid of the ants. When the rain was over, the ground being soaking wet, we concluded to go back home and come again.

Late in 1869 I went back to Fort Scott and went to work at the

harness business. I was by this time made over. I had long since stopped drinking Doctor Nassau's prescription. I was a new man. I had none of the thoughts or ideas which I formerly had. I did not feel the same way, think the same way, nor act as if I were the same person. I had lived one life and was now living an entirely different one, as much so as if I were an entirely different individual. I had different view of things, different aspirations, different taste for reading, society and work. We arranged to be down on the farm, my two brothers and I, on the first of March in 1870. My brother, Charlie, went to school during the winters. My brother Robert was a skillful saddle hand and worked off and on as he pleased and kept a separate business account of his own. His claim was the northwest quarter. We started in the spring of 1870, two or three days late, from Fort Scott, came down to Bone creek to camp, intending to reach the farm by supper time. We were a little delayed and did not get to "Sun-Gold Section" until about the third or fourth of March and it was about 8 o'clock at night. Coming on to the land at night, we found a hedge row twenty feet wide broken around the section and we heard a crowd of men driving off in a team laughing and shouting. We did not understand it until morning. We found our house opened and some cooking utensils and bedding there in the house which somebody had left. In the morning we found a little box shanty about ten feet square had been erected on my brother Robert's quarter, near the northwest corner, and about five acres of land broken on it. On the southwest quarter was another little house. We were armed with my Colt cavalry revolvers and a shot gun. In the morning I had my father and two brothers get into the wagon and we went over to the shanty on the southwest quarter and found a man in there with a trunk, Dutch bake oven, food supplies and a horse tied to a knot-hole in the shanty. A pile of straw was in front of it. Upon inquiry as to what he was doing there, he said he had taken the quarter section and that he and his crowd, which he said consisted of ten men, had taken charge of the section. When I told him that it was our section, he said that our rights had lapsed; that we had not been on it long enough and had been away too long. I told him that he could not come and take our property in that way and that he would have to get off from the place. He said that he did not propose to get off from it and would stay by his claim. Thereupon, I covered him with a revolver; ordered my brothers and father to untie the horse; push the house over and load it up into the wagon.

This they did. The house came apart in a very convenient way. I turned the halter strap of his horse over to him and told him to pack his things upon it and move. He was very mad and declined to do anything and then I told him that I would march him off from the section and this I did and I turned his horse loose and off it started on the run down Cherry creek, and was soon out of sight and the fellow was on foot. I then let him go and told him that if I saw him on the claim again he would have a shooting match.

Having unloaded his shanty at the center of the section, we then started over to see the man at the northwest corner. As we got near the house he stepped out of the door of the shanty with a double barrelled shotgun loaded and cocked, and he covered us. I told my brother Robert to get around on the other side of him and I told the man that he could get one of us, but could not get both of us. He backed into the door and we got on both sides of the house. We determined that we would stay with him and not let him get out of the house. So two of us constantly watched the house each with a revolver and he stayed in it. Two or three persons came up to see him, but we told them that they could not see him. We expected that if there were ten men, they would rally and make us trouble. So we kept the shot-gun in readiness at our own house and two constantly stayed around the claim jumper's shanty. We did not of course walk around close to the shanty but we walked around outside of effective range of his shotgun and he knew that if he fired we would begin throwing bullets through his shanty. Several persons came by and we told them all how things were and they all sided with us; and being an old soldier I had the full sympathy of the old soldiers, and finally one of them said he would go and raise some men to help me. After three days of siege, the occupant must have felt a little bit as if he were on the wrong side. I hailed him; went to the door at evening and told him that I would have a posse up there in the morning and that he might have a great deal of trouble. I told him that the old soldiers of the club would not permit me to fail in getting him.

The man was perhaps hungry and thirsty but he was still defiant. We were pretty well used up ourselves and when darkness came we slipped off home to get a square meal and some sleep. I concluded that night that the thing to do was to go and make him get right out of the house and make him get off of the land. So in the morning we drove on over and he saw us coming, and shouldering his shotgun he left the house and walked off a distance from it. We had an axe.

We loosened up his house; then we took all of his household stuff, loaded it in the wagon and hauled it across the freshly plowed furrow line to the adjoining section and dumped it there for him. Then we went back and loaded up his house and took it to the center and made a hencoop of it. Off and on, that summer, owing to the breaking of the hedge row and the garden spot and the house, the claim became an object of envy and we kept finding claim stakes stuck up on the land from time to time all summer. It would appear that they came at night and stuck them up so as to have a talking point in case they could get sufficient strength to take the claim by force.

During the summer of 1870 I broke out with two spans of mules about forty acres around the center of the section, hauled a lot of posts from down on the Lightning and Neosho and made a grazing corral and built a stable partly of sod, corn stalks and poles. My brothers, Charley, Robert and I kept alternating from Deer creek place and trying to sell it out. We claimed that Deer creek place belonged to our mother, and that "Sun-Gold Section" belonged to myself, father and two brothers. Women, under the club law, could hold claims.

In the fall of 1870 I thought that I had arranged to sell the Deer creek land, but we kept cultivating it all of the time. It finally got to the point that unless somebody came down and stayed on the land and represented the quarters that it would be lost. So my father and mother and two brothers determined to come down. There had been a great deal of litigation over the land as to whether the railroad was entitled to it or not. The railroad offered to sell it and give titles. We did not care to make an out and out purchase of the land from the railroad for two reasons; one was that the litigation was not yet settled, and second that ugly feuds had grown up regarding what the settlers should do. So we compromised the matter by giving a secured note for \$300 payable to litigation committee in case they should win. That made them feel all right. I made application to the railroad company for an assignment of land to us providing they should win. I have forgotten the railroad price. It is shown in the deed. When it was noised about that I had arranged with a railroad company to take the land if they won, a great deal of trouble arose. I was at a political convention at Columbus in the fall of 1870, Columbus being then a mere hamlet. My seat was challenged in the convention because I had agreed to recognize the railroad company if it won; the idea being that the people on the

land should have an armed fight if they did not win. Shortly before that time, when I was down at Deer creek, I had gone to see Captain Warren, and going back, at a long distance I noticed a long file of men on horseback. They disappeared and I did not understand what was the matter until I arrived at my shanty and found a card up on my door telling me that they had come to hang me, but had not found me in and that if I did not get out of the country and never come back, they would return and carry out their purpose. In the meantime the railroad was building down through the country and I had a very fine market for everything. I made money and put in improvements in the shape of fencing; barbed wire fencing had not then been developed but telegraph wire was used instead. I had hired a man to haul me down a wagon load of telegraph wire from Kansas City.

Late in 1870, having corresponded considerably in the columns with the *Fort Scott Monitor*, Gov. Samuel J. Crawford asked me to come up and go on the paper and assist in the editing of it, having heard of my *Hawk Eye* experience. At this time I was in the most perfect health. I was around helping at thrashing and stacking and found that I could throw down almost any man in the whole neighborhood. One week I was engaged in stacking prairie hay and stacked eighty tons, so that when I left the farm I had absolutely recovered and was absolutely a new man.

My father sold the Deer creek farm claim for \$1,500 with the crop on it and the black walnut house that was "mortised into the earth." The little claim house at the center of "Sun-Gold Section" was moved up on the hill. My father and two brothers moved into it and put on an addition. Money came in right along and the section was claimed by my father, mother and two boys.

Father became very popular and they wanted to run him for the legislature, and although I had no title at that time we were never disturbed. I afterwards bought out my brother Robert's interest and mother's interest which in fact belonged to me, which made me one-half owner. I afterwards bought out Charlie's interest and afterwards father's interest. I was making money all of the time in Fort Scott and father was constantly losing money in speculation. But afterwards, he having to move to Fort Scott in 1885, where mother could receive good care and treatment, and the title being finally adjusted, the renting of the farm began.

While I was down in Cherokee county during 1867, '68, '69 and '70, I had read law and practiced law. The first will on record in

the county I drew. When I went to Fort Scott I took some additional studies and was admitted there to the bar in 1871. I had a gun and a pointer dog and whenever I wanted a quail or prairie chicken, all I had to do was to step out and get one. Hunting and fishing were good.

I was soon well established in the law business in Fort Scott, and in the fall of 1874 was married in Rochester, N. Y., and my new wife and I went down to the farm about November 1 of that year with my sister, Mrs. McComas, and her children, and the whole family had a royal time for about a week.

Bypaths of Kansas History

KANSAS IN 1854

From the New York *Daily Tribune*, New York, June 23, 1854.

A correspondent of *The Ohio State Journal* writes an interesting letter from Council Bluffs, Iowa, under date of June 10, from which we copy the following:

On Tuesday morning I took a seat in a coach, or a thing that was intended to supply the place of one, from Independence through Kansas territory to Fort Leavenworth. My good opinion of Independence, and of the agricultural richness and beauty of the country, is not changed. It is very beautiful. In due time we arrive at Kansas [City, Mo.], at the mouth of the Kansas river. It is not a place of much importance. There are some good store-houses on the shore at the landing, but the site for the town is rough and not at all attractive. It is my judgment that it will *not* be a second St. Louis.

Four miles from Kansas we came to Westport [Mo.]. This is back from the river and not in sight of it, but the California trade and outfit business has made it a point of some importance. There are several fine large brick buildings going up. But I was compelled to the same judgment about its future as I was about Kansas. I may be mistaken, but it does not seem to me to have a great prospect. The Kansas is navigable for 200 miles by steamers that will carry at least 100 tons of freight, and I think there will be towns up its waters that will be the starting points for New Mexico, and that portion of the emigrants that take the more southern route to the Pacific. The country is rich and well timbered for the West.

Fort Leavenworth is on the west bank of the Missouri and in the new territory of Kansas. It is entirely a military encampment, the only things that look like forts being a pair of block-houses, with musket port-holes. The barracks are extensive and appear to be in fine order. The store-houses, &c., are also extensive, and are substantially built of stone. There is a farm of 1,000 acres that is cultivated by Uncle Sam. It is a beautiful tract and in a high state of cultivation. Corn and oats are raised in great abundance, for the use of the garrison, horses, &c. The attempt was made to cultivate this land by the labor of the soldiers, but it would not work and it has been abandoned. The corn was excellent and was kept in beautiful condition. The landing is of rock, and is one of the finest and most substantial on the river. It is my opinion that Fort Leavenworth is the place for a large town on the west side of the Missouri, and in the Kansas territory. It has a position and a fine country about it that will make it attractive and give it importance. I advise ambitious, enterprising young men who want to get into a new place, with good prospects, to stop at Fort Leavenworth. It will be the capital of Kansas territory.

Between Kansas and Westport we passed an encampment of 3,000 Mormons that were on their way to the Great Salt Lake. They were waiting for the balance of their company, and had been encamped there for several days. They were in a fine forest. Some were sleeping in their wagons, but the most of them had tents, and the woods and fields adjoining in all directions were

covered with these white and fragile dwellings. Oxen are used for teams. Men, women and children were scattered about on all sides. Blacksmiths' hammers were heard, and the hum of preparation came up from all parts of the camp. It was a singular sight, and fraught with many suggestions and reflections upon this strange and deluded people. These emigrants are generally from Europe, and the most of them do not speak a word of English. They have a long journey before them. The cholera is said to be among them, but I have heard so many rumors of this disease out west on the rivers, &c., and have seen so little of it, that I have lost all confidence in the truth of these stories.

Before we passed the Kansas, we came upon an encampment that attracted attention. It turned out to be a grand hunting company for the plains. Sir George Gore, an English baronet, has taken it into his head that it will be fine sport to hunt buffalo, &c., on our great western plains; so he packed up his trunks, &c., and started for a regular summer campaign. He brought the most magnificent pack of dogs that were ever seen in this country. Between forty and fifty dogs, mostly greyhounds and staghounds, of the most beautiful breeds, compose this part of the expedition. He had a large carriage, and probably a dozen large wagons to transport provisions, &c. These require five yoke of oxen to each wagon. These, with the horses, men, &c., made up quite an imposing company. Sir George is a fine-built, stout, light-haired, and resolute looking man. But there are other things besides fun in such a trip, and it will try the manner of stuff of which he is made before he returns.

Kansas is a rich agricultural territory. Timber is the great want, and the Shawnees and Delawares in their reservations retain the most of it that is of value. I am constrained to say that I fear slavery will get the start there. I made this a matter of special inquiry through western Missouri, and propose to talk more of this when I have more time. Meanwhile, it is well to remember that no emigration can take place before next winter, and probably not till spring, as the Indians retain possession till that time. Nebraska will of course be free, but I fear for Kansas.

I spent the night at Weston, on the east side of the river. It is a flourishing place, and does an immense business in the hemp trade. It has about 3,000 inhabitants. At that point I determined to take a passage in the stage for Council Bluffs. The distance is about 180 miles, but it will give me a fine chance to see the country. The ride was a rough, hard one, but I was amply compensated by the sights I saw, and the facts I learned about the country. The northern counties of Missouri are prairie, like Iowa. But I must devote a separate chapter hereafter to a detailed description of north-western Missouri. It is clearly destined to be a wealthy and valuable part of that immense State.

I have been over the river to Nebraska, and find it very beautiful. Prairies are rich and boundless. There is no limit to their capacity for production. But the great drawback to this region exists in Nebraska. Timber is scarce. Till this defect is supplied, either by raising a crop, which can easily be done in a few years, or by bringing it down from the upper waters, this will be the great obstacle. Were timber lands in sufficient quantities to be had, this country would improve more rapidly than any other on the face of the earth. As it is, it is destined to go ahead with wonderful rapidity. Iowa is fast filling up with a hardy, valuable population.

A PANORAMA OF KANSAS

From the *Manhattan Express*, July 21, 1860.

Our citizens have been charmed during the past week, by two opportunities of seeing this meritorious work of art recently executed by Mr. Gardner, a young artist of rare talents for landscape and scene painting.

The sketchings from natural objects and other preliminary arrangements, have been in progress for two years, though the representations of the Kansas towns and cities show them just as they are at present.

The scenes as at present arranged commence at Fort Leavenworth and embrace all the points of any interest down the Missouri river to Wyandotte, thence up the Kansas, giving all the various places so notorious from having been the theatre of the "Border Ruffian War," to Junction, and then commences the jaunt over the plains; during which we see many of the interesting phases in emigrant life—to Pike's Peak, where we see all the towns of importance in that wild and sublimely picturesque region. Passing from these scenes, all of which so fully engross the public mind, the spectator—or traveler, rather—finds himself confronting the enchanting vistas in the far-famed valley of the Great Salt Lake, with the beautiful scenery of those gorgeous hills and valleys so vividly and truthfully delineated upon the glowing canvas before him that he is involuntarily transported *in propria persona* to that interesting country.

Among other views in Salt Lake City is one which gives the observer a little insight into the unusual and somewhat extensive family arrangements of the notorious Brigham Young and a personal acquaintance with a few (200 or so) of his charming little household.

This gigantic work is in four sections, occupying in all over 2,000 yards of canvas, and we venture the assertion that if not the very largest panorama extant it embraces the most diversified and interesting scenery ever depicted upon canvas.

The work was gotten up with especial reference to exhibition in Eastern cities and is now on its way East where the proprietors will doubtless meet with the success their enterprise and skill so eminently deserves.

THE QUANTRILL MASSACRE AT LAWRENCE

A view of Lawrence on the morning of ^{AUG} May 21, 1863, when William Quantrill's band of raiders ransacked and burned the town is found in the letter of Elise Engelsmann, of Lawrence, to Mrs. Christine Fliesen, published in a German book in 1926. The letter was discovered by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, on pages 56 and 57 of *Geschichte der Familie Fliesen, Und der Anverwandten Familien* (Karl Fliesen, Grünstadt, 1926). Doctor Schafer presented a photostatic reproduction to the late Dr. Frank H. Hodder, head of the history department of the University of Kansas. This translation was made by Doctor and Mrs. Hodder some time before Doctor Hodder's death.

LAWRENCE, Nov. 10, 1863.

Dear good Aunt!

We received your dear letter of September 30th several days ago. I know well, that we should have written you immediately after the terrible massacre, which took place here, but you must excuse us since our place of business, our dwelling and everything we possessed was burned; a few weeks before we had fitted up the house almost entirely anew and were so comfortably situated, that there was almost nothing left to wish for. For the first eight days after the fire with two other families we moved into a sort of stable where for the first week we had to get along without chair, bed or table and besides my cousin Philipp (Uncle Wilhelm's youngest son) mortally wounded, who died of his wound the second day after the massacre. Our joy was great when he came here so unexpectedly, but it was not to be of long duration, for he was here not four full weeks when he had to lose his young life and find such an untimely grave.

You write, dear aunt, that the first terrible news, which you received through the newspapers, was softened by the second. We take many newspapers Eastern and Western but not one of all even comes near describing the horrors which were committed here, no one who was not present himself, can form any idea of it, of what happened here, only think how in the short space of three hours out of a population of 3,000 souls over two hundred unarmed innocent men were murdered, all the business houses and at least two-thirds of the dwelling houses were reduced to ashes. The appearance of the town, after the Barbarians were gone, was more than heartbreaking, women with their hair flying ran through the streets, calling loudly the names of their husband, father, brother or other relatives. I saw one woman carrying home the remains of her burned husband in a pail. But let me break off here I cannot keep back the tears, when I think of that horrible morning.

Now I want to write you, how it has gone with us. The 20th of August we went to bed all peaceful and carefree but Oh! how frightful was to be our waking, a half hour before five o'clock we were suddenly awakened by a shooting and yelling, but even then it was already too late, Quantrill with his band was already in the middle of the town, there may have been perhaps 350 men, each with a rifle and two revolvers, indeed many had four revolvers consequently 25 shots without loading, all were well mounted. If at any time a man even let himself be seen on the street or at the door or window he was shot. Father and Uncle instructed us to remain quiet in-door and if this band asked for anything to give up everything they wanted, as for ourselves we would be safe and they would do their best to save themselves, Father, Uncle and Philipp sought safety in flight. They were not yet far from the house, four other men joined them to save themselves as best they could, but they had not gone far, when they were pursued by nine men and hunted like dogs. Of the seven men Father and Uncle are the only ones saved and they in truth as by a miracle. The other four men fell to the ground and poor Philipp was so severely wounded, that he died the second day. Up to the last moment he had great hope that he would get well again but it was to be otherwise.

Now I want to come back again to Mother and myself, and write you how it went with us during this time. We knew well, that they would do nothing

to women, moreover at the beginning we believed they would confine themselves to plundering, we were just on the point of hiding things of value when about eight men stopped in front of our store, pushed in the door with a few thrusts and entered but soon thereafter went away again. We did not know what to think of it, however we expected every moment, that others would come in, we feared constantly hearing any one on the steps, we did not dare to go outside, until suddenly Mother called: My God something smells of smoke here, after all they have set our store on fire, thereupon I ran to the balcony when a neighbor woman called to me, go right out of the house it is already burning underneath in bright flame, I saw too at the same time, that smoke was already rising everywhere in other houses, then of course no other choice was left but to go outside. A few clothes is all that we saved, we couldn't save even the business books. Father and Uncle have started a store again, this is the second time already, that it has happened to us here in Kansas. Business is good again in spite of all, but it is no small matter to start with nothing.

Mother, thank God, has borne the shock better than I had feared. For my part my happy disposition has helped me luckily over this shock, what is the use of worrying over things, that have once happened and are not to be changed, I pity only my parents that in their old age they must meet with such a misfortune and my Uncle, he hardly realized having one of his children here when in so horrible a way he had to be snatched away again forever.

Of my trip to Germany perhaps nothing will come, although Uncle thinks, if it is at all possible I should have the pleasure, of visiting you. I hardly believe however that anything will come of it. Now in closing do not be troubled about us. The shock was hard to be sure, we are doing everything possible to get through and the damage if not entirely yet in part will be made good again in a few years. Tell Elsie Presser and Anna Feldmüller they should write to me again some time and greet them both very heartily from me.

Greetings and kisses many times over from your truly loving

Niece

Elise Engelsmann (later married Willemsen.) (Daughter and only child of Luise Fliesen of Kaiserslautern and Fritz Engelsmann.)

ONE OF SOL MILLER'S INCOMPARABLES

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, May 28, 1863.

The *West Wind* [Missouri river steamer] passed up, on Wednesday evening, crowded with Minnesota Indians, on their way to Fort Randall. They were having a good time generally, and kept up their dancing and yelling as long as the boat was within hearing distance. A crowd of Iowas who stood on the levee, could not contain themselves, but got up a fandango of their own. One of them expressed his admiration of the performance on the boat, in the following elegant language: "Hurrah for you, God damn!"

A SNOWSTORM ON THE PLAINS

From the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 10, 1863.

Major Miller, paymaster, and Ira Olds, Esq., his clerk, arrived in Lawrence yesterday morning, after a long and perilous journey to Fort Larned, owing to severe cold and a terrible snowstorm. From these gentlemen we gather the following facts in relation to the storm:

The snow fell from Fort Riley to Santa Fé from one inch to fifteen. It was very cold, and the snow drifted so as to make the ravines almost impassable. The coach on the Riley proceeded to within seventy-five miles of Fort Larned, and there had to stay, and the passengers constructed a sled, and took off the bed from the stage-coach, and putting it on the rude sled, went on their way to Larned. In many places they had to drive around the ravines, the snow being too deep to get across.

Between Larned and Santa Fé, the snowstorm was still more heavy. The Santa Fé coach and passengers were caught out in it, and detained so long that they got out of both provisions for passengers and feed for the mules. Five out of nine of the mules died.

Lieutenant Dodge, of the Wisconsin battery, tried to get in to Fort Larned on one of the mules. The animal gave out, and then the lieutenant tried to get in on foot. He arrived within three miles of the fort, became exhausted, and laid down. The officers at the fort were looking out with glasses, and observing an object on the prairie sent out assistance. Had it not been for this fortunate circumstance, probably the whole of the passengers would have perished.

Between Larned and Santa Fé there are two hundred and fifty miles without a human habitation, and, of course, trains crossing, getting out of provisions, and having no feed, with the snow drifted so that they lose the road, there is but little chance of getting through safe.

Some of the old Indian traders, who have been in the country for thirty years, say that they never witnessed such a storm in the month of November before.

Large herds of buffalo were continually met with, almost paralyzed with the cold. In the day-time they kept a short distance from the coach; but at night, for miles, the coach was interrupted by their being in the way, and the driver was continually hallooing at them, like a man driving cattle, to get them out of the way.

A train known to be out has not been heard from, and it is feared that it has perished.

STOCK VERSUS THE UNION PACIFIC

Copied from an early-day broadside.

NOTICE

To Whom it May Concern

Union Pacific Railway, E. D.

Office of Gen'l Superintendent,
Wyandotte, Ks., Oct. 15, 1866.

On and after this date, the Union Pacific Railway Co., E. D., will pay, to the owners thereof, one-half of the appraised value of all Stock killed on the Track by the Trains.

W. W. WRIGHT, *Gen'l Superintendent.*

A LONG WALK

From the *Guilford Citizen*, Guilford, July 9, 1870.

The Osage Mission *Journal*, under the head of "Weston Outdone," says: "An Osage Indian named Gnew-can-steze—Long Pole—in the fall of 1856, walked from the mission to Fort Scott and back in one day—a distance of eighty miles. He started from the mission at 6 o'clock a. m., and returned the same day, making his eighty miles in about 13 hours. He was the bearer of an important dispatch from Major Dorn, agent of the Osages, to the commander of the military forces stationed at Fort Scott. We learn the above facts from those connected with the mission, and they say it was not an uncommon occurrence for Long Pole and other young braves to walk to Fort Scott and back in one day. Long Pole is still living, but we fear his pole ain't long enough to accomplish that feat now."

PRAIRIE FIRES

Editorial in the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, March 19, 1875.

Stop the prairie fires! In the name of all that is good, stop the prairie fires at once! Stop the prairie fires, and you stop drought, hot winds and parched crops. Stop the prairie fires and you will save the country from another visitation of grasshoppers. Stop the prairie fires and you produce regular rainfalls. Stop the prairie fires and you fill up our springs, cause the streams to flow, fill the earth with moisture, cause thousands of young trees to spring up over the earth and enrich your lands an hundred fold. Stop the prairie fires and Kansas is a garden of Eden. Continue them and it will ever continue to be an American desert. For Heaven's sake, stop the prairie fires!

THE SIOUX INDIANS PASS THROUGH TOPEKA

From the *Topeka Daily Blade*, Topeka, November 6, 1876.

A large number of people were present at the Santa Fé depot Saturday noon to see the Sioux delegation that passed through here on their way to the Indian territory. There were 76 Indians, including squaws and half-breeds. The

train arrived about one hour behind time. People were a little disappointed upon seeing them, for all expected to see them in their war costume, with their bloody tomahawks and dripping scalping knives. They had, however, their tomahawks, but the people thought they were pipes, and some really were smoking their hatchets. Upon arriving at the depot a number of bucks with tin buckets made a break for the eating house where they got hot coffee and returned to their cars, where they partook of their frugal meal, which consisted of boiled beef, without seasoning, and coffee. They gorge themselves when they eat. They all eat out of the same pan and drink coffee out of the same can. This is the reason they are not allowed to go into hotels to eat. They don't know how to behave themselves. This applies to a majority of the Sioux and the Indians in general. However, a few of the "big injuns" were allowed the privilege of setting at the white man's table. Messrs. Spotted Tail, Red Dog and Fast Bear were taken to the railroad eating house, where they partook of double rations. They got away with everything set before them, in fact, everything that was within reach. They exhibited some of the traits of a human by using knives and forks, and blowing their coffee to cool it. They also mopped their mouths with napkins which they forgot to put in their pockets after using. Mr. Tail understood the uses of the knives and forks. He held the piece with the fork while he severed it with the knife, and with his fingers he placed the largest piece on the knife and dumped it into his mouth. Mr. Dog wiped off his gums with his tongue after eating enough for three big men like John Carter. But old Pap Bear gave the crowd away. After getting up from the table he reached over and grabbed up all the apples he could hold in his big hands, which were about four apiece, probably under the sweet impression that he was stealing them. There were some ladies at the depot who considered it a great honor to grasp these dusky murderers of the forest and plains by the hands. Red Dog was so struck with the beauty of a lady there that he returned to the room to get a look at her. . . .

LAP JACKET

From the Dodge City *Times*, May 12, 1877.

We yesterday witnessed an exhibition of the African national game of "lap jacket," in front of Shulz' harness shop. The game is played by two colored men, who each toe a mark and whip each other with bullwhips. In the contest yesterday Henry Rodgers, called Eph for short, contended with another darkey for the championship and fifty cents prize money. They took heavy new whips from the harness shop and poured in the strokes pretty lively. Blood flowed and dust flew and the crowd cheered until Policeman Joe Mason came along and suspended the cheerful exercise.

In Africa, where this pleasant pastime is indulged in to perfection, the contestants strip to the skin, and frequently cut each other's flesh open to the bone.

AND THE WIND DID BLOW IN 1880

From the *Wichita Eagle*, April 15, 1880.

The probability is that the individuals in this valley are scarce who would have the temerity to assert that the *Eagle* has ever proven remiss in blowing for Kansas. But we come now to acknowledge that the blowing she has done for herself the past week has nipped our blowing pretensions in the bud. It may as well be asserted here and now that Kansas as a paradise has her failings, not the least of which is her everlasting spring winds. If there is a man, woman or child in Sedgwick county whose eyes are not filled with dust and their minds with disgust, he, she, or it must be an idiot or awful pious. From everlasting to everlasting this wind for a week has just set on its hind legs and howled and screeched and snorted until you couldn't tell your grandfather from a jackass rabbit. And its sand backs up its blow with oceans of grit to spare. We saw a preacher standing on the corner the other day with his back up, his coat-tails over his head and his chapeau sailing heavenward, spitting mud out of his mouth and looking unutterable things. He dug the sand out of his eyes and the gravel out of his hair and said nothing. It wouldn't have been right. But we know what he thought. As for our poor women, weighted down with bar lead and trace-chains as their skirts are, their only protection from rude gaze is the dust, which fills up the eyes of the men so that they can't see a rod farther than a blind mule. Dust, grit and sand everywhere—in your victuals, up your nose, down your back, between your toes. The chickens have quit eating gravel—they absorb sand enough every night to run their gizzards all next day. Out of doors people communicate by signs. When they would talk they must retire to some room without windows or a crack, pull out their ear plugs and wash their mouths. The sun looks down through fathoms of real-estate in a sickly way, but the only clouds descried are of sand, old rags, paper and brick bats. We haven't done the subject justice, and we didn't expect to when we started out, but it blows, you bet.

A GOOD SHOWING

From *The Republican Citizen*, Atwood, September 17, 1880.

J. F. Collier came to Rawlins county in June, 1879, and took a claim in township 5, range 34, between the North and the Middle Sappa. He could do little last season, and returned [to] Phillips county to winter. He moved his family on his claim the 17th day of last March, and began operations in earnest. Since March he has broken fifty-one acres of prairie, and in addition has gathered and hauled bones to the aggregate value of \$180. His corn crop was a failure from the start—the squirrels ate it up. He then planted the land to millet, and has a good crop. He has been out this week haying, and has put up a good quantity. It is hard work and an eye on the main chance that wins. Mr. Collier has Providence and bone-hauling as reserves for every emergency. He will weather the gale and come out on top at last.

FOR THE SANTA FE SCRAPBOOK

From the La Crosse *Chieftain*, July 7, 1886.

The Santa Fé has surveyed across the line of the K. & C. in 29 different places, and are still at work, but the K. & C. had the right of way in every instance. This is evidently done to find some point to locate a road where the K. & C. has not secured the right of way, and then enjoin them from crossing, but they will not succeed.

FIRST WOMAN TO BE ELECTED MAYOR IN THE UNITED STATES (?)

From the Argonia *Clipper*, April 9, 1887.

The ladies of the W. C. T. U. called a caucus on Saturday night last, at which the following officers were nominated as the Equal Suffrage ticket. For mayor, S. P. Wilson; police judge, Jos. Arnold; and for councilmen, J. E. Carr, M. L. Smith, N. A. Springer, O. B. Harlan and S. W. Duncan. Monday morning the People's ticket was brought out, the only change being in the head of the ticket, Mrs. Dora Salter being substituted in place of S. P. Wilson. The result of the election is as follows: For mayor, Dora Salter 71, S. P. Wilson 24; for judge, Jos. Arnold 86; for councilmen, J. E. Carr, 82, M. L. Smith, 84; O. B. Harlan, 95, S. W. Duncan, 93. Only 98 votes were cast, of which 20 were by women.

AD ASTRA PER ASPERA

From the Wichita *Daily Journal*, September 3, 1888.

One of the marble monuments placed in the Wichita cemetery last week contained the startling Kansas maxim, "Ad Astra, per Aspera," by the way, on an inscription under the name of the departed one. Inquiry revealed the fact that the deceased had been blown to pieces by a boiler explosion and as they had never found much of his body his widow had stumbled upon the epithet as the most fitting one for the occasion.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Wichita of the 1890's was featured in a series of articles by Molly Warren Wilcox in *The Democrat*, of Wichita. The series began in February, 1936, and continued for several months.

Early-day musicians in the Saline valley were recalled by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in the *Lucas Independent*, February 27, 1936.

George Stanton's reminiscences of early days in Beaver and Norway townships, Republic county, were recorded in the *Belleville Telescope*, March 12, 1936.

A history of the Burr Oak Civilian Conservation Corps camp, the "first camp in Kansas to be assigned exclusively to soil and water conservation," was contributed by V. B. Fredenhagen, superintendent of the camp, to the *Belleville Telescope*, April 2, 1936.

St. Francis church in Timbered Hills was the first religious structure in Wilson county, Belle C. Lyon related in the *Wilson County Citizen*, of Fredonia, April 10, 1936. Father Paul Ponziglione founded the church. The first building was erected in 1869.

Cuba's school history was reviewed in the *Cuba Tribune*, April 30, 1936.

Logging the Beloit-Colby cutoff, a story of early-day road building for automobiles was told by W. F. Hughes in his "Facts and Comments" column in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, April 30, 1936. The capture of Sarah White Brooks by the Indians, as written by Mr. Hughes after an interview with Mrs. Brooks, was the column's subject June 25 and July 2.

Tiblow in 1870 was described briefly in the *Bonner Springs Chieftain*, May 7, 1936. Tiblow is now Bonner Springs.

"Old Larned Hotel Register Gives Some Sidelights on Early-Day History Here," was the title of an article in *The Tiller and Toiler*, of Larned, May 21, 1936.

Belle Plaine's Methodist Episcopal Church history was featured in the *Belle Plaine News*, May 28, 1936. The church was started in 1871. The city's history was briefly sketched by Pearl E. Wight in the *News* of July 2. The townsite was located January 5, 1871.

Peter Robidoux, pioneer citizen of Wallace county, was discussed in *The Western Times*, of Sharon Springs, May 28 and August 6, 1936.

Garfield history was recounted by members of the Garfield Rural High School in the Larned *Chronoscope* and *The Tiller and Toiler*, May 28, 1936, and by Harry H. Wolcott in the *Chronoscope* of December 10.

The reminiscences of Ira Hodgson, veteran of the Eleventh Kansas infantry, appeared in a two-column article in the Harveyville *Monitor*, June 11, 1936.

County seat wars in western Kansas were discussed by J. Arthur Carr in three stories in *The Tiller and Toiler*, of Larned, as follows: Hugoton-Woodsdale and Cimarron-Ingalls, issue of June 11, 1936; Leoti-Coronado, June 18 number.

Tescott history was reviewed in a series of articles under the title "Retrospection" in the Tescott *News*, July 23, 1936. Another article on the town's early history was printed August 20.

Excerpts from the Greenleaf *Bugle* of May 1, 1877, the town's first newspaper, appeared in the Greenleaf *Sentinel*, July 30, 1936.

Osborne county rural teachers for the 1936-1937 school year were named in the Osborne *Empire-Journal* and the *Osborne County Farmer*, July 30, 1936. Teachers in the city schools were listed in the *Empire-Journal* of August 6.

The history of Grand Center Baptist Church and community was reviewed by H. P. Tripp in the Waldo *Advocate*, August 3 and 17, 1936. The church was organized early in 1878.

Viola's Presbyterian Church observed its founding anniversary with special services August 2, 1936. "The church was organized July 29, 1876, in the home of William G. Shaw, the only charter member now living," it was related in a brief historical sketch in the Clearwater *News*, August 6.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Leoti's Methodist Episcopal Church was observed at a three-day celebration on August 21, 22 and 23, 1936. The history of the organization was reviewed in the Leoti *Standard*, August 13, 20 and 27.

Memories of Leonardville and vicinity by C. A. Lovgren appeared in the Leonardville *Monitor*, August 27, 1936. Mr. Lovgren went out from Lindsborg as a singing evangelist in 1887, visiting Leonardville and several other Riley county towns.

Early Wabaunsee county history was recalled in articles in the *Alma Enterprise*, September 4, 11, 18, and October 2, 1936.

Names of pastors who have served the Hugoton Methodist Church, which celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with services held September 20, 1936, were featured in J. M. Banie's history of the organization in the *Hugoton Hermes*, September 25. A history of the Hugoton Christian Church, which observed its twentieth birthday on November 1, was sketched in the *Hermes*, October 23.

Life in early Woodson county was discussed by E. B. Moore, of Neosho Falls, in an interview in *The Woodson County Post*, of Yates Center, October 15, 1936. Mr. Moore settled in the county in 1858.

The history of Prairie Grove school, District No. 65, of Nemaha county, was reviewed by Georgia Milner in *The Courier-Tribune*, Seneca, October 15, 1936, and in the *Seneca Times*, October 22.

An Osborne county Indian "scare" of 1878 was recalled by H. P. Tripp writing in the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, October 29, 1936.

Pioneers of west central Nemaha county were mentioned by Mrs. Bert Hay in a two-column article in *The Courier-Tribune*, of Seneca, November 9, 1936.

Rush county men who served in the World War were named in the *La Crosse Chieftain*, November 12, 1936.

"When Osborne Was Just Six Years Old," an article written by the late Howard Ruede and published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, December 17, 1908, was reprinted in the *Farmer*, December 3, 1936.

A letter written in 1873 by the Rev. A. H. Annis, the "first permanent clergyman in Russell county," describing the progress made by the county's religious organizations, was printed in the *Russell Record* and *The Russell County News* in their issues of December 3, 1936.

Names of prominent Rooks county citizens whose marriage anniversaries fell during the years 1874 to 1895 were listed in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, December 3, 1936.

A history of the Seneca Methodist Episcopal Church, by Mrs. W. H. Smith, was a feature of *The Courier-Tribune*, of Seneca, December 7, 1936. The church recently celebrated the seventy-ninth anniversary of its founding.

The old overland trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, with particular attention to its routing through Nemaha and Brown

counties, was discussed in a six-column article by John T. Bristow in the *Wetmore Spectator*, December 11, 1936.

Two uncles of the Rev. J. S. Coppoc, pastor of the Larned Baptist Church, were with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, an article in the *Larned Chronoscope*, of December 24, 1936, disclosed.

Some early Wallace county residents were recalled by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, of Russell, in a letter in *The Western Times* of Sharon Springs, December 31, 1936.

Grant county history was reviewed by Rex Lee Schwein in an article entitled, "A County in the Making," printed in the Winter, 1937, number of *The Aerend*, a Fort Hays Kansas State College publication. "Robbers Roost Creek," by W. A. Hill, a story of the origin of several Rooks county geographical names, was also a feature of this issue.

Histories of the Idana Presbyterian Church, which celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, January 24, 1937, were recorded in the *Clay Center Dispatch* and *Economist*, January 27, and the *Times*, February 4.

McCracken's history was reviewed in the *McCracken Enterprise*, January 29, 1937. From July 22 to 24 the city celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Historical feature articles in the *Enterprise*, July 8, include: Letters and reminiscences of Thomas J. Brown and Mrs. Francis Kline; "Blizzard of 1886," by Mrs. Jerry Curtis; "L. L. Darkes the First School Teacher in District 29"; "Charley Lovitt Saw McCracken Grow Into a Prairie Town," and "History Reveals McCrackenites Still Keep Pioneer Ideals." In the July 22 issue "Early History of McCracken," and a letter from J. R. Lovitt, were printed.

Early days in western Kansas were described by L. L. Scott in a series of articles in the *Bazine Advocate*, beginning February 19, 1937.

"Annals of St. Paul" is the title of a new series of articles by W. W. Graves in his *St. Paul Journal* starting February 25, 1937. The series is a continuation of the "Annals of Osage Mission" printed previously in the *Journal*, and issued in book form. Other books by Mr. Graves are: *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*; *Life and Letters of Rev. Father John Schoenmakers, S. J.*, and *The Broken Treaty*.

Sumner county towns in 1883 were mentioned in the *Wellington Daily News*, March 13, 1937. Several of the towns thriving at that

time are now nonexistent. "Wellington's Industrial History," "Grist-mill Floated Down River; Sixtieth Anniversary This Year," "Wellington Pool Is Recognized As Wonder Oil Field of State," and "Authentic Account of Wellington Catastrophe, Cyclone of May 27, 1892 . . ." were feature articles of the March 23 issue.

An article entitled "Jessie Chisholm, Trail Builder," by Warren Matthews, was published in the *Clearwater News* in the issues of April 1, 8, 15, and 22, 1937.

The history of the Standard Life Association of Lawrence was briefly sketched in its magazine *The Standard*, in the May-June, 1937, issue.

Boot Hill and the Beeson museum at Dodge City were discussed by Helen A. Lobdell in the *Nickerson Argosy*, May 13, 1937.

A history of the McPherson Baptist Church was briefly sketched in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, May 19, 1937. Dr. W. A. Sharp, compiler of the history, revealed that the first sermon in McPherson county was preached by D. D. McGregor, a Baptist minister. The McPherson church was organized December 11, 1872.

McPherson College celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with a four-day program, May 28 to 31, 1937. Histories of the college were published in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, May 27, and *McPherson County Advertiser*, May 28. The city's history also was briefly reviewed in the *Advertiser* of the same issue.

The history of the Bazine cemetery was sketched by Carey Olson in the *Bazine Advocate*, May 28, 1937.

Eureka's Christian Church celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with special services May 30 to June 1, 1937. The history of the organization was briefly noted at the time in the *Eureka Herald* and *The Democratic Messenger*. Fort Montgomery, built at Eureka in the early 1860's, was described by C. H. Duby in *The Democratic Messenger*, June 3.

The story of the coming of Mennonite immigrants to Kansas and their development of Kansas' hard wheat was outlined in the *Junction City Union*, May 31, 1937.

Included among subjects of a historical nature discussed recently by Victor Murdock in his front-page column printed daily in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* were: Sedgwick county in 1870, as remembered by Mrs. Geneva Blue Speer, in the June 7, 1937, issue; "Big Roller" of April 14, 1935, "greatest of all the dust storms," June 16; sixty years ago was Wichita's wettest spring, June 28;

early Wichita photographers, July 12; four classes of land available in Sedgwick county to its pioneer settlers, July 13; Morton county "ghost" towns, July 17; evolution of transportation and its effect on Wichita, July 27, and an interview with O. P. Hicklin who recalled early settlers of Minneha township, Sedgwick county, August 6.

The Garden City *Daily Telegram* issued its annual "Southwest Kansas Resource Edition" on June 8, 1937. The edition of 56 pages is claimed to be the largest ever published in Garden City.

Barrett's early history was briefly recalled in the Frankfort *Daily Index*, June 9, 1937. The town and its postoffice were established in 1857.

Girard's flying school and factory, started in 1908 by the late Harry Laurens Call, was discussed in an illustrated article in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, June 9, 1937.

Lerado's history was reviewed by Fred Henney in a five-column article entitled "Lerado, Once Booming Community, Being Revived by Oil Discoveries," in the Hutchinson *Herald*, June 13, 1937. Lerado was named for Laredo, Tex., according to the story, but a mistake in spelling in the post office application had it Lerado and Lerado it remained.

"My Old Pal And Neighbor of Fort Scott—Albert Bigelow Paine," by Willis A. Coston as told to A. B. Macdonald was a feature article of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, June 13, 1937. Mr. Paine, famous author, spent ten years of his early manhood in Fort Scott. "Many of his early writings were published first in the *Star*," the article reported.

The introduction of golf to Wichitans was recounted by Roger Kirkwood in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, June 13, 1937. The first nine-hole course was laid out in the city in the late 1890's.

A history of Trinity Reformed Church of Cheney, organized on May 6, 1883, was published in the Cheney *Sentinel*, June 17, 1937.

The life story of Walter P. Chrysler, written by Boyden Sparkes collaborating with Mr. Chrysler, entitled "Life of an American Workman," appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post* starting in the issue of June 19, 1937. Mr. Chrysler, who is chairman of the board of the Chrysler motor car corporation, was born in Wamego, Kan., and spent the early years of his life in Ellis and other railroad towns.

Pictorial biographies of several Atchison citizens were featured in the Atchison *Globe* under the heading, "Atchison Personalities."

The series was published infrequently, beginning in the June 19, 1937, issue.

Hail stones weighing up to two and one half pounds fell in Topeka's worst hail storm June 24, 1897, Milton Tabor recalled in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, June 23, 1937.

Early missions in Kansas were discussed by Margaret Whittemore in a Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* feature article June 23, 1937.

The new postoffice building at Eureka was dedicated June 19, 1937. A history of the postal service in the city, as compiled by Anna Huffman and read at the ceremony, was printed in the Eureka *Herald* and *The Democratic Messenger* in their issues of June 24.

Scott county history was the theme of the fifty-two page illustrated fiftieth anniversary edition of *The News Chronicle*, of Scott City, issued June 24, 1937. Featured articles include: "Scott City, Kansas, 1887-1937"; "Old Man Prairie," and "Surprise in the Well," by Bonnie Deane Vaughn; "Settlement in Scott County Started in 1884"; "Life at Breezy Meadows," by Mrs. N. H. Bailey; "My Life in Scott County," by E. C. Whitham; "Yes—I Came West!" by J. W. Lough; "Coxey's Army Gave Scott City a Thrill"; "Speaking of Schools in the Early Days," by Mrs. A. D. Hull; "Early Day Reminiscences of Scott City," by E. E. Coffin; "George Norman's Trip to Kansas"; "High School Graduates," 1904-1937; "An Ode to the Old [Pioneer Sales] Barn"; "City Officers, 1887 to 1937"; "First Couple Married in Scott County"; "Scott County State Park"; "[J. C. Starr] Pioneer Publisher of Scott Newspapers"; "Irrigation From Under Flow Water Is Profitable"; "Oil Is Becoming One of Scott County's Industries," and "Officers of Scott County, 1886-1937." The city's newspaper, church and school histories were briefly reviewed in other articles.

The history of the Parsons' stockyards, founded five years ago, was sketched in the Parsons *Sun*, June 25, 1937.

J. E. Gaines' reminiscences of North Topeka were recorded by Joe Lovewell in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, June 27, 1937. Mr. Gaines arrived in Topeka in 1882.

Excerpts from Col. Asa Kinney's diary relating incidents in early Russell county were printed in Judge J. C. Ruppenthal's "Russell Rustlings" in the Paradise *Farmer*, June 28, July 5 and 26, 1937.

Adventures of "Bob Ridley," whose real name was Robert Sewell, were recalled by George J. Remsburg in the *Pony Express Courier*,

of Placerville, Cal., in the July, 1937, issue. Mr. Sewell drove a stage in northeastern Kansas for several years.

"Osage Mission, a Factor in the Making of Kansas," was the title of a fifteen-page article by Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald appearing in the July, 1937, issue of *Mid-America*, of Chicago. Osage mission, located near the present site of St. Paul, was established among the Osage Indian tribe by the Jesuit Fathers in 1847.

The fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Belleville as a city of the second class, Independence day, and the dedication of a new recreation center were celebrated by Belleville's citizens with special programs held July 3, 4, and 5, 1937. The Belleville *Telescope* issued a twenty-eight page "Golden Jubilee Edition," July 1. Historical articles featured included: "John Bowersox, 94, Is Last of Original Settlers in County"; "Lists Officials Fifty Years Ago"; "Telephones Used in City for 39 Years"; "[Daniel and Conrad Myers] First White Settlers in Republic County"; "First Train Came to City in 1884"; "Postoffice at Seapo Was First in County"; "Story of Development of Belleville's Water Supply"; "History of County Relates Struggles for Civic Growth"; "Activities of C. of C. Grow Every Year"; "[John Kalivoda] Early-day Settler Tells Experiences in Republic County"; "Migratory 'Hoppers Swarmed the County in Clouds in 1874"; "N. C. K. Free Fair Leads Early History of State"; "Tells History of Catholic Church in Republic County," by Father James McKenna; "Muster John Brown Post, G. A. R., in 1882," by Mrs. W. H. Fulcomer and Mrs. J. H. Rost; "In a Reminiscent Mood," by A. Q. Miller, and a story relating the pioneering experiences of E. D. Haney. Early Belleville and Sibley history as prepared for the celebration by Lillian Forrest, of Jewell, was printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, July 5.

A chart revealing the subsurface paths and points of outcrop of many important oil-producing strata in Kansas was a feature of the 120-page *Wichita Beacon*, July 4, 1937. The edition marked the ninth anniversary of the taking over of the newspaper by the present publishers, Max, Louis and John Levand.

Several pictures of the run into the Cherokee outlet in 1893 accompanying a brief story of the event were printed in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, July 4, 1937.

Clay Center's street cars of the 1880 boom days were recalled in a Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* feature article July 7, 1937.

Potter's early history was briefly sketched by George J. Remsburg in the *Potter Kansan*, July 8, 1937. The town was platted July 21, 1887, as Bennett Springs.

Inman held an all-day celebration July 16, 1937, observing the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. The *Inman Review* issued a twenty-page illustrated anniversary edition July 9. Titles and authors of the feature stories were: "Threshing Machine Days Were the Happy Days," "G. A. R.," "The Milling Industry," and "Civic Improvements," by Mrs. Harry Enns; "Erection and Dedication of New High School Building," by T. Elvis Prather; "Livery Stables, Hotels and Garages," by Lillian Meyer; "Word From the First Editor of the *Review*," by L. C. Heim; "Inman and Its Government Affairs From Fifty Years Ago to the Present Time"; "History of the High School," by Mrs. Fred Schultis and Minnie Hahn; "Inman Grade School," by Mrs. H. H. Wilson and Minna Bartels; "Musical Organizations," by Mrs. F. W. Baerg; "Zoar Academy and Bible School," by J. H. Klassen; "Municipal Cemetery," by Mrs. A. Bartels; "Grasshoppers, Drought, Fires and Wind," by Mrs. Alva Postier; "Post Office," by Mrs. A. W. Balzer; "Transportation Today," by Mrs. R. R. Hargis; "Inman Newspapers," by Mrs. Aron Dick; "Organizations," by Mrs. Vandegraft; "Industries," by Mrs. O. W. Lennen; "Lodges," and "Inman Sports," by Leona Achilles; "Churches, Church Organizations," and "Mennonite Missionary Society," by Mrs. C. F. Hoefer; "Origin and Story of the Inman Mennonite Church," by H. F. Reimer; "Gospel Mission," by the Rev. J. P. Balzer; "Physicians of Inman," by Mrs. J. W. Johnson. Reminiscent articles by Leon O. Depp, P. G. Kroeker, Dr. F. W. Tretbar, Mrs. Foster Cline and C. M. Enns, were also printed.

Harper county rural school teachers for 1937-1938 were named in the *Anthony Times*, July 12, 1937.

John G. Ellenbecker told why he believed Coronado came to present Marshall county in an article in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, July 15, 1937.

A history of School District No. 50 and Waldo High School, by Juanita O'Neill, was printed in the *Waldo Advocate*, July 19, 1937. The school district originated in 1883.

Utica observed its fiftieth birthday at a celebration held on July 19 to 21, 1937. Pioneers settling in the Utica vicinity before 1890 who registered at the gathering were named in the *Utica Star-Courier*, July 22.

Stories reviewing the development of Kansas' road system and oil industry were features of the *Wichita Eagle's* sixty-fifth anniversary edition July 25, 1937.

A sail-driven wagon built in Westport, Mo., in 1853, was described by Sam Smith in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 25, 1937.

Pillsbury Drive, a new viaduct over southeastern Manhattan and the Kansas river, was dedicated July 29, 1937. The drive was named for Josiah Hobart Pillsbury, early Manhattan newspaper man, surveyor, postmaster, engineer and farmer. Brief historical sketches of communities near Manhattan appeared in special sections of the *Manhattan Mercury*, July 27, and *The Morning Chronicle*, July 28. A two-column biography of Mr. Pillsbury was printed in the *Manhattan News*, July 29.

Life in early Sedgwick county was discussed by Mrs. Moses Jay, pioneer, in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, July 28, 1937.

Notes on the history of Downs schools as gleaned from the official school record books are being published in the *Downs News*, starting with the issue of July 29, 1937.

Outstanding flour mills in Kansas' early history were discussed in a *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* feature article July 29, 1937.

"Speaking of Kansas," a 48-page illustrated article by Frederick Simpich, was featured in the August, 1937, issue of *The National Geographic Magazine*, published by the National Geographic Society, of Washington, D. C. Mr. Simpich touched upon interesting phases of Kansas' history from Coronado to the western Kansas rabbit drives of the past few years while he wove into his story mention of Kansas' important position in the nation through its crops, oil and industrial developments.

The history of Protection was reviewed by Lester W. Bogner in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, August 1, 1937. The city was established in 1884.

White Cloud's founding was briefly discussed by Tom Dickinson in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal-Post*, August 1, 1937.

The history of St. Patrick's parish, which celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding August 4, 1937, was recounted in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, August 4. The church is located eight miles south of Atchison.

Kansas Historical Notes

Pictures of John S. Gilmore, publisher of the *Wilson County Citizen* of Fredonia until his death in 1913, and Thomas Benton Murdock, publisher of the *El Dorado Republican*, who died in 1910, were recently unveiled in the Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame room at the University of Kansas. For names of the thirteen other Kansas newspaper men who have been nominated to this honor see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, p. 336.

Celebrating the anniversary of the founding of Wellington, April 2, the Wellington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution displayed its excellent historical collection, assembled during the past few years, in the Wellington City Library, April 1 to 3, 1937. The collection includes books, manuscripts, pictures, souvenirs, maps and atlases dealing with Wellington and Sumner county.

"The Pony Express," is the title of an eight-page pamphlet issued recently by John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville. Mr. Ellenbecker has done considerable research on the Pony Express during the past several years, and has been a frequent contributor to the *Marshall County News*.

Col. Charles H. Browne, of Horton, was the featured speaker at the annual picnic meeting of the Riley County Historical Society in the Manhattan city park, June 9, 1937.

A memorial to Gen. Leonard Wood, commanding officer of Camp Funston during the World War, was dedicated at services at the camp June 20, 1937. A bronze plaque commemorating General Wood's service was placed on a restored chimney at the site of the cottage he occupied during the war. The fireplace, chimney and foundation of the house have been restored, and a flight of steps has been constructed up the hillside from Highway No. 40. The Manhattan American Legion post sponsored the memorial plans.

History of the Great Plains region is being recorded in mimeographed bulletins issued occasionally by the Minnequa Historical Society of Pueblo, Colo. Several Kansas pioneers have contributed their reminiscences to the publication, which is edited by Thomas P. Wilson, of Pueblo, secretary of the society.

A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection is the title of a recent book compiled by Dr. Ruth Lapham Butler and

printed by the Newberry Library of Chicago, custodian of the manuscripts. Mr. Ayer began his collections about fifty years ago with the intention of specializing on the archaeology and ethnology of the American Indian. From this, which involved many phases of exploration, colonial and frontier history, he expanded his interests to include such marginal subjects as pre-Columbian geography and the development of the cartography of America. The *Check List* will be of considerable help to students of American history who contemplate research in these fields.

The 791-page volume, *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, a Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, was published late in the spring after three years of intensive work on the part of Miss Winifred Gregory, the editor, and her staff. The book presents, in a geographical arrangement of places of publication, files of newspapers found in the libraries of the United States and Canada, and as far as possible, those preserved in county court-houses, in newspaper offices and in private collections.

The Kansas section occupies forty-four of the 791 pages. It locates newspaper collections in seventy-two places in the state. Since the publication of the Kansas State Historical Society's *History of Kansas Newspapers* in 1916 the Society has not had available a published list showing its accessions from that time. The new book, for which the Society's newspaper division contributed many hours' work in the revision of its lists, not only carries over the important items of the 1916 *History* but continues the record of accessions up to 1936.

Research students who depend upon newspaper files for reference should find the painstakingly—and for the most part accurately—compiled list of inestimable value. It is to be regretted however that the editors did not lean backwards far enough in their definition of a newspaper to pick up some of the publications in that narrow field between newspapers and periodicals, publications which we know from experience to be in as much demand as *bona fide* newspapers. Organs of labor unions, religious denominations, fraternal lodges, trench, camp and ship's publications were not included. It is hoped that these publications may be listed in future works.



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Contributors

MARTHA B. CALDWELL is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

MAHLON BAILEY, 1835-1893, was a pioneer Kansas physician and banker. For a brief biography see page 379.

MRS. HORTENSE B. C. GIBSON, of Wichita, was reference librarian at the Wichita City Library from September, 1929, to July, 1937.

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

The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey

From the Journal of Hugh Campbell, Astronomical Computer

EDITED BY MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

ACCOUNTS of the survey of the southern boundary of Kansas¹ have been preserved in the letters and journals of at least four members of the expedition. The journal of Joseph E. Johnston, commander, published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 104-139, was copied from the original deposited by relatives with the library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Eugene Bandel, private of the Sixth infantry, recorded his impressions in letters and journal, edited by Dr. Ralph P. Bieber, of Washington University, St. Louis, and printed in his *Southwest Historical Series*, v. 2. The accounts of John H. Clark, astronomer, and his principal assistant, Hugh Campbell, were located by Doctor Bieber in the War Department records. Doctor Bieber's photostat copy of the Campbell journal was lent to the Kansas State Historical Society for publication.

The astronomical party, consisting of John H. Clark, Hugh Campbell, and three assistants, set out from St. Louis, April 29, 1857. Traveling southwest "by way of the state road" they arrived at the western boundary of Missouri fifteen days later and located their camp on the Quapaw reserve just west of the Missouri line. For two weeks they remained in that region, attempting to establish the place where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude intersects the western boundary of Missouri. The densely wooded area and the frequent rains greatly hindered their observations. Furthermore, the western boundary of Missouri was marked "by blazing trees on a breadth of from ten to twenty feet,"² thus making it difficult to fix the "initial point accurately with reference to it."³ So it was not until May 29 that they had located their position satisfactorily.

On May 31 the party struck camp and proceeded to the camp of the military escort near Baxter Springs. The command then began

1. For the preliminary history leading to the survey see Joseph E. Johnston's "Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas," edited by Nyle H. Miller, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 104-139.

2. Johnston's "Journal," May 30, *op. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*

its travel west along the thirty-seventh parallel. For over three months the group continued its journey. The astronomical party, moving in advance of the surveyors, established, in all, eleven observation stations along the 463-mile boundary line.

The astronomers "finished operations at the terminal point," September 10, and on the following day Johnston, in obedience to additional instructions,⁴ proceeded to the southwest to reconnoiter for a railroad route. Near Rabbit Ear mountain in New Mexico the expedition turned east, traveling along the North Fork of the Canadian river. After a fourteen days' march in this direction, Johnston divided the command. He with a detachment of cavalry, proceeded south to the Canadian river, and the remainder, including the astronomers, continued eastward, under Captain Wood, arriving at the initial point in southeast Kansas on October 25. Two weeks later the expedition, again united, set out for Fort Leavenworth.

Much controversy has developed over the original survey. Reports by subsequent surveyors that an error had been made in the southeast corner of Kansas were, according to Dolph Shaner, of Joplin, Mo., confirmed by the Geographical Survey.⁵ In a letter to him the director stated that the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude intersected the western boundary of Missouri approximately 480 feet north of the southern boundary of Kansas. The error was of importance when ore veins were developed along the state line. However, a letter from the Department of Interior settled all controversy by asserting that the survey made by Col. Joseph E. Johnston "forms the true boundary line between Oklahoma and Kansas," and that "The public land survey recognized this line as limiting the jurisdiction in the respective states, and its relation to the true 37th parallel does not enter into consideration in connection therewith."⁶

Recently a movement has been under way to erect a monument at the southeast corner of Kansas to commemorate this expedition. Progress to the extent of surveying and locating the exact corner has been made.

The diary of Hugh Campbell covers the period from his starting at St. Louis, April 29, 1857, to his return to Fort Leavenworth, November 15, of the same year.

4. A letter from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, directed him to ascertain the most practicable route for a railroad from the initial point of the boundary of Kansas to the Rio Grande.—*House Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess.

5. Dolph Shaner to Kansas State Historical Society, March 7, 10, 1933.

6. Thomas C. Howell, assistant commissioner of the General Land office, to R. J. Tuthill, auditor, Commerce Mining & Royalty Company, Miami, Okla., July 2, 1926.—Copy.

II. ST. LOUIS TO INITIAL POINT ON WESTERN BOUNDARY OF MISSOURI

April 29, 1857. Started from St. Louis to commence operations for the survey and demarcation of the southern boundary of Kansas. Met with Col. J. Johnston, 1st cavalry, under whose direction the work is to be carried on. The following is the organization: John H. Clark principal assistant. Hugh Campbell asst. & John E. Weyss surveyor.

Mr. Clark and myself go in advance, in order to establish the initial point (37° North lat.) before the arrival of the surveyor. The party with which Mr. Clark sets out consists of 1 wagon, 1 ambulance and 5 men all told. We marched about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the suburbs of the city and encamped on a creek near the line of Pacific railroad. Estimated, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

April 30th. Started about 7 a. m. and marched over a Macadamised road until 2 p. m. when we encamped. Today—for the first time this spring,—I have seen the Peach tree in blossom. The country through which we passed is very fertile, well fenced and cultivated. To give an idea to what extent the spirit of speculation has gone. A gentleman told Mr. Clark last night, "that he had sold some land at \$800 per acre," & "that prices varied between five and eight hundred dollars." This point was distant between five and six miles from St. Louis.

The only town of any importance passed today was Manchester, consisting of about 2 doz. buildings, mostly taverns. I noticed one Medical gentleman's office (a small log cabin.) Estimated 28 miles.

May 1st. Started at 6 a. m. and travelled until 4h -15m p. m. when we encamped on the left bank of the river Merrimac.

The road over which we marched today, has been exceedingly rough, having many difficult ascents and descents. The country is thickly timbered with Black Jack on the heights, and a heavy growth of white oak in the deep valleys. In many of these valleys we passed some beautiful farms with fine dwellings. As a general thing I have seen but few Negro hands employed in the fields. Today we crossed the Pacific road. The Merrimac is a beautiful stream clear and swift, its banks at some points are high and covered with a growth of Cottonwood, oak, &c. Estimated about 30 miles.

May 2. Morning, cold, cloudy and raining, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ a. m. we crossed the Merrimac, from last night's camping ground and continued until 3h-2m p. m. when we encamped.

The greater portion of the country through which we travelled to day, is very poor. The timber consists of a low growth of scrubby

oak, fit for no other purpose than fence rails. Passed a branch of the Pacific R. R. to Springfield where the hands were at work. About 24 miles.

May 3. Started at 7 a. m. and marched until 3 p. m. when we encamped at Bush creek.

The character of the country through which we passed is sterile, there is but little timber and that of an inferior quality. We are much annoyed by poor and ravenous hogs stealing corn from our mules and otherwise disturbing us &c. About 24 miles.

May 4th. Started from camp at 7 a. m. and marched until 4½ p. m. when we encamped on Beaver creek.

To day the country affords quite a relief. Passing high ridges we could in some instances see for several miles. Crossed two prairies, between 5 or 6 miles in width, which appeared to be very fertile. The principal occupation of farmers in these regions seems to be stock raising.

Seated at present on an eminence at the ford of Beaver creek, I have a full view of the surrounding country. Beneath is the valley of this beautiful mountain stream, dotted in spots by fields of luxuriant wheat and oats, when the surrounding heights are well timbered and that of a superior quality to what we have hitherto seen, being much straighter and more free from knots, rendering it suitable for R. R. ties.

The water during our march was rather scarce, being mostly supplied from wells and springs near the road. Crossed the surveyed track of the Pacific R. R. (Branch to Springfield.) About 28 miles.

May 5th. Started at 7 a. m. and marched until 1 p. m. when we encamped on the left bank of a clear mountain stream called the Big Peine.⁷

To day our road lay through a succession of beautiful, well watered and fertile valleys, of which that of the little Peine [Piney] was by far the most interesting, being well timbered with white oak and cottonwood of a superior size. About 18 miles.

May 6th. Started from Camp on big Peine at 6½ a. m. and marched until 4 p. m. when we encamped on the left bank of the Gasconade river.

We have now passed the following counties viz. St. Louis, Franklin, Crawford, Pulaski and Le Clede in which we are now travelling. Forded a river at Weensville [Waynesville] (County seat of Pulaski.) the name of which I could not ascertain. Passed over some

7. Piney Fork, a tributary of the Gasconade river.

very rich bottom lands, where I saw wheat between 4 and 5 inches long.

The valley of the Gasconade is very fertile, and well timbered with oak, cottonwood, &c. The river is about 100 yards wide, very clear and rapid. About 33 miles.

May 7th. Started this morning from camp on the Gasconade river at 7 A. M. and marched to 4 p. m. when we encamped.

The country through which we passed is fertile some places, in others very poor. We endeavoured at several places to purchase eggs to no purpose. The people of the mountainous districts are particularly poor. They live in low log cabins and appear in want of many necessaries of life. Passed through Lebanon the county seat of Le Clede. It consists of two or three small groceries, a court house without windows, and a jail. About 26 miles.

May 8th. Started this morning at 7 a. m. and marched to 3 p. m. when we encamped on the left bank of a small stream.

To day we have travelled in Webster county. The country here presents a better appearance than most of the preceding counties. We are now about 14 miles from Springfield. About 26 miles.

May 9th. Started at 6½ A. M. and marched until noon when we encamped on a small stream, about 1 mile west of Springfield through which we passed. About 15 miles.

May 10th. Started from camp 1 mile from Springfield at 6 a. m. and travelled until 4h-21m p. m. when we encamped near a house on an open prairie.

The morning was very cold and disagreeable feeling more like a January than a May morning. At noon we halted one hour to graize, when the day became quite warm, toward evening it clouded up and we encamped in a heavy rain.

The country through which we passed to day is generally better suited for farming purposes than any we have passed over for the last few days. It consists chiefly of open prairies covered with numerous and well cultivated farms. These prairies are intersected with clear and cool streams of water, besides large springs are frequently met with. Those facilities combined with that of good grass and excellent soil renders it a desirable location. I noticed great numbers of prairie chickens. In some instances we drove flocks of them in advance of us on the road. They appear much larger than those I have seen in Texas.

I have just learned that very extensive lead mines have been discovered in this vicinity, which will prove very productive as soon

as proper means of transportation can be procured to bring that mineral to market. I have also learned that congestive chills and fevers are raging with fatal effect in many instances, particularly in the locality where the lead mines are worked. About 30 miles.

May 11th. Last night we experienced a severe storm of wind, thunder and rain which continued the greater part of the night. Started at 8½ a. m. and marched until 3½ p. m. when we encamped.

Our march to day was over a rolling prairie, the Eastern terminus of the great Buffalo plains. The soil is quite fertile. The country as far as the eye can see is studded with scattering farms. Fine streams of water are met at short and convenient distances. The uncultivated portions are covered with herds of mules, horses &c. Belts of timber are stretching out in all directions along the banks of rivers and creeks, suitable for fencing or building. All that is wanted is a Railroad to carry the produce to market, to make this a flourishing agricultural region. Passed the town of Mount Vernon which has about 300 or 400 inhabitants.

We encamped on the bank of a fine stream near a flour mill a little East from a small village called Sarcoxe. About 21 miles.

May 12th. Last night we came nigh having a serious accident in a stampede of our animals. The six wagon mules becoming frightened broke loose from the wagon tongue, all being fastened to the trough which they dragged along until becoming entangled in the bushes, we succeeded in capturing them.

We marched for the most part over a rolling prairie extending in every direction for several miles when we arrived at a considerable stream called Shoal creek where we encamped. Passed a mill at the ford where they refused to sell us bran for our animals.⁸

We are now in Newton county having passed through Webster, Green [and Lawrence.] About 25 miles.

May 13th. Marched to day about 3 miles which brought us to Grand falls where we encamped, for the purpose of reconnoitering with the sextant to find the parallel of 37° North latitude. We pitched our camp near the residence of a Mr. Scott, who has a store and a fine flour mill. The different falls on shoal creek afford excellent water power.

May 14th. Last night Mr. Clark observed (at Camp near Scott's mill) for time and Lat. We found Grand falls about 2 miles North. Struck camp and travelled in a south west direction, about 7 miles, where we found the west boundary, of Missouri, a little west of

8. Probably the mill of J. S. Reding near Shoalsburg, Newton county, Missouri.

which we encamped with a view of further reconnoitering. We are now encamped on what is called the Quawpaw reserve. The west boundary of Mo. is marked by blaizes on trees, and is very indistinct.

May 15th. Mr. Clark observed last night. I computed and found our Camp in $36^{\circ} 59' 30''$. Moved farther East in order to get a clearer space for a meridian line, the country in the vicinity being densely wooded. Should the lands along the line continue the same, I do not believe we will be able to get farther than the Arkansas river this summer. We are still in the Quawpaw nation, having fixed our permanent camp for establishing the 1st meridian, near a log hut owned by a Delaware Indian named Jim, and about 150 feet west of the Missouri boundary.

May 16th. To day put down log, on which to mount instrument, it was found too small for Transit Inst, but sufficiently large for zenith telescope which Mr. Clark mounted. The observing tent was then pitched over it. This is merely a large wall tent having an aperture of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet extending from one wall to the other, through which the Inst is pointed. Mules wandered off, up to 2 p. m. nothing heard of them. This evening near sunset 4 were recovered. 7 still missing.

May 17th. Last night very stormy, rain and thunder accompanied with high wind. It has continued so through the whole day. Occasionally we have a shower of sleet. Weather excessive cold. Mr. Clark and myself collected wood and built a large fire in front of our sleeping tent which we found to be very comfortable. To day the seven missing mules were recovered.

As yet we have not been able to make any observations.

May 18th. Morning clear with rather a cool breeze, but apparently more favorable for our operations.

Mr. Clark permanently fixed observing tent, mounted and levelled zenith telescope, observed for time and placed this inst. in the meridian approx.

May 19th. Day clear and warm but toward noon it clouded up. I computed sext obs for time.

Mr. Clark adjusted zenith telescope in verticality, by observing the Polar star direct, and the reflected image in a basin of Quick silver. Night so cloudy we have not been able to operate farther.

May 20th. Morning cloudy and hazy, bad prospects for hastening the work.

May 21st. Day clear and warm. Major Dorin (Indian agent)⁹ and Mr. Scott visited us. Observed for Lat until 1½ a. m.

May 22. I was engaged to day in computing Lats one result places about ¾ of a mile south of the Initial point, or parallel of 37° North Lat.

May 23. Observed last night from sun set, to dawn for Lat, and value of micrometer screw which we did not succeed to obtain accurately.

The morning clear and warm, toward noon it clouded up and a heavy rain set in. No prospects for our being able to observe to night.

May 24th. We were employed to day computing the observations previously made, which gave rather unsatisfactory results.

This evening a courier arrived at our camp, with the information, that the surveying party had come up and was encamped south of us.

Evening cloudy, showing indications of rain. Barometer falling. No prospect of observations. At 2 a. m. observed elongations of Polaris for values of micrometer screw, which was found to be "6609" for one division.

May 25th. Last night we were visited by a severe storm of rain, thunder, &c. Mr. Clark remained over night at Mr. Weyss Camp.

May 26th. Last night observed and to day computed the Lat of our camp which we found to be 36° 59' 09", distance of observatory south of parallel of 37° 5157.63 feet.

May 27th. Employed all last night in observing for Latitude. Mr. Weyss cleared out North to the parallel about 6 yards wide.

Day, cloudy, thunder, wind and rain.

May 28th. Last night made obs. for lat. Early in the evening we experienced severe storm of thunder, hail, rain &c. afterwards it cleared up.

Col. Johnston¹⁰ arrived at our camp and dined with us. His command of about five hundred men is encamped seven miles East [west?]¹¹ The Colonel informs us that he has received orders from the Secretary of War, to make a reconnaissance for a Pacific railroad wherefore he intends to return by the valley of the Canadian.

May 29th. Observed all night from sun set to sun rise with zenith telescope for Lat, and Brunner theodolite on Elongation (Eastern)

9. Maj. Andrew J. Dorn was agent at the Neosho agency from 1853 to 1860. Dorn county (the present Neosho and Labette counties) was originally named for Major Dorn.

10. For biographical sketch of Colonel Johnston, see Johnston, "Journal," *op. cit.*, p. 106, footnote.

11. *Ibid.*, entry for May 28, 1857.

of Polaris for the true meridian. Error of signal lamp from true meridian $2' 16''$ west of North. Latitude furnished to Mr. Weyss $36^{\circ} 59' 08.87$. On this he will prolong the meridian to the 37th parallel, on which he determines the Prime Vertical.

May 30th. Last night cloudy, raining &c. It appears to rain here almost every other day. Owing to this state of the weather, I had the comfort of a good night's sleep. "Want of sleep is the only bane of Astronomy."

The Indian reservation on which we carried on operations in laying off this first meridian, is owned by a tribe called Quawpaws who are almost extinct. The region in the immediate vicinity of our encampment is rather sterile, for agricultural purposes, except in the valleys of creeks or rivers. The country is rolling and covered with timber principally Black jack on the elevations distant from the streams, but near the rivers, oak, ash, and Cottonwoods of a superior quality are met with.

III. ALONG THE KANSAS BOUNDARY

May 31st. Struck camp and marched seven miles west, which brought us to the Camp of Colonel Johnston on the left bank of Spring river, where emerging from the timber for the first time we came in full view of an open rolling prairie extending north, south and west as far as the eye can see. After striking the valley of this river I noticed several Indian farms, having neatly fenced fields of oats, wheat and corn. They also plant cabbage, turnips &c. The soil in this portion of the valley is very fertile. The timber on the banks of Spring river consists chiefly of oak, cottonwood & ash with a heavy undergrowth in many places. The grass and general vegetation on the prairie west is now between 6 and 8 inches long presenting rich verdure, and luxuriance. The military command under Colonel Johnston consists of four companies of cavalry two companies of infantry and two mountain howitzers. The train number, between 80 and 100 wagons. Distance from the Initial point 7 miles.

June 1st. Mr. Clark established observatory and adjusted instrument in the meridian.¹²

June 2. Last night Mr. Clark made a good set of observations for Latitude. We found ourselves about $30''$ North of the parallel. Morning clear and pleasant. We also had sextant observations for time. The dew was so heavy, that we found it necessary in observ-

12. Observatory station was set up about one half mile south of present Baxter Springs.

ing to be continually wiping the object glass in zenith telescope and the covering of the artil. horizon of the sextant.

June 3. Last night clear and pleasant, observed for Lat. until after 1 a. m., result obtained $37^{\circ} 00' 31''.67$.

This morning at 8 a. m. we were entertained with a cavalry drill, four companies deployed out from camp, over the neighbouring heights making a magnificent display.

June 4th. Last night so cloudy we were not able to make further observations.

June 5th. Last night succeeded in making a few observations among the flying clouds to determine the lat and true meridian. Distance measured from observatory to Parallel 3180.5 feet. (Lat of sta. $37^{\circ} 00' 31''.67$.)

I was informed during our operations at this camp, that on cow creek about 25 miles North and Shwanee creek 30 miles North, both tributaries of Spring river, excellent coal was taken up from the beds of these streams, indicating extensive fields of this fuel in their vicinity.

June 6. Struck camp and moved west over the beautiful and fertile prairie above mentioned. Crossed several small streams of which the most remarkable is Tar creek, from whence that substance is taken for use by the settlers. A march of 20 miles brought us on the right bank of the Necho [sic] river which we forded and proceeding about 4 miles further in a North west direction, encamped on a small tributary.

The Necho is between 80 and 100 yards in width and rather muddy like most prairie streams, it is rapid and has a mean depth at this ford of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The east bank at this point is high, and exhibits the various stratas composing the prairie which we crossed, between it, and spring river. The lowest strata, or that, on a level with low water, is slate, underneath which, I have been informed by reliable authority is found coal. It is a crooked stream forming a valley, at each curve of its meanderings, between four and five miles in width. This valley contains rich alluvial soil covered with rank vegetation between three and four feet high. It is well timbered principally with oak, ash and black walnut, of a superior quality and great size. Getting out from this timber, the open prairie is again seen extending west, with slight belts of wood indicating the courses of small streams. Some scattering Indian farms are met with. The few settlers are engaged principally in planting corn. Distance travelled 25 miles.

June 7th. Marched south about one mile and encamped on Russel's creek on which was established the 3rd meridian.¹³ The soil in the vicinity of this creek is fertile and the grazing excellent, a narrow strip of timber marks its course as far as the eye can see. This timber consists chiefly of cottonwood and oak of a rather diminutive growth. On its immediate banks I found numbers of wild rose bushes in bloom. I have been informed by Mr. Childers a settler near the crossing of the Neocho, that in a south west direction from our present camp, coal is abundant. This statement was corroborated by other settlers, who further represented, that on Fly creek which empties into the Neocho a little south of the ford, and in fact most of the tributaries of that river, this fuel is commonly found.

We were continually visited at this camp by rain and thunder storms. During the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th of June we experienced the most severe one, I have yet seen in those regions. Mr. Clark and myself were obliged to escape from the covered ambulance in which we slept, and seek refuge in the observing tent, even there the rain beat through heavy marine duck, completely saturating our bedding and personal clothing. Peal after Peal of thunder continued from midnight until near 3 a. m. The whole surface of the prairie stretching out toward the Neocho river and the strip on Russel's creek, appeared illuminated at intervals, with a yellow light. During this time sulphurous fumes were sensibly felt by the whole party.

The Neocho river is now so much swollen, with the recent rains as to render it impassible to the surveying party on the east bank.

For some days previous, I had been annoyed with rheumatism slightly, but now I am completely prostrated. I can scarcely stoop to the basin to wash my face. There is a sudden rise in the Bar to day.

June 10th. Last night we were again visited as usual by another rain and thunder storm, but not quite so severe as that of the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th. To day it is clear and cool. As yet we have not had a chance to make further observations for Lat.

June 11. Day clear and warm. Continued obs. during the greater part of the night, for Lat and true meridian.

June 12th. Last night Mr. Clark succeeded in getting a full set of observations for latitude and true meridian. Took down observing tent and Instrument, packed up for camp on the Verdigrée river.

13. The third observatory station was located about three and one half miles south of the present town of Chetopa.

Lat of astronomical station on Russel's creek where we left the post or log, in the ground on which the Inst was mounted, $36^{\circ} 59' 31''.3$. Day cloudy with a strong breeze from the southwest.

June 13th. At 9 a.m. struck camp and marched over an open rolling prairie about 21 miles and encamped, at a point known as Camp Snow, on a sluggish prairie stream. The timber consists of a few scattering bushes of cottonwood and hickory. Here we found the main body of the cavalry encamped about four miles farther down the stream.

The prairie over which we accomplished this day's march is very fertile, as indicated by the luxuriant growth of vegetation. Patches of flowers (some over an acre in extent) of a deep scarlet color, are interspersed over the elevations. On the lower grounds, and in marshy localities, great quantities of wild garlic grow. Distance 21 miles.

June 14th. Marched about 8 miles over a small elevation, when we arrived at and crossed Labet creek¹⁴ a small stream close to the Verdigrée river. The timber on this creek consists of cottonwood and post oak of a diminutive growth. Graizing good. Encamped on the Verdigrée river. The course of this stream is discernible at a considerable distance in consequence of its being marked by an extensive belt of timber, which consists of oak, ash, cottonwood, and black walnut, some of these, particularly the latter, is of very large dimensions. A very rank growth of vegetation is everywhere to be seen in this valley.

June 15th. Struck camp in a heavy rain, and crossed the river. Marched about 4 miles over a delta formed by the junction of the Verdigrée and one of its tributaries called Pumpkin creek [Onion creek?] on which we encamped. This creek is well timbered, with the same quality which is found on the Verdigrée river. The soil in the delta is very fertile, and covered with luxuriant vegetation.

To our north and in view of Camp are situated the villages, of the Osage Indians, which are now deserted, as they (Indians) have gone on their summer campaign to hunt the buffalo, beyond (west of) the Arkansas river. These habitations consist of frame work, covered with canvas or hides, which covering they remove before leaving them. At this point they receive their annuities from the agent.

June 16th. Remained encamped to day in order to reconnoiter for a crossing.

Last night experienced heavy rain, morning cloudy and haizy,

14. The description fits that of present Pumpkin creek.

toward noon the day cleared off with a strong S. west breeze. There are two peculiarities in the Meteorological character of this country in the summer. *First.* Rain does not cool the atmosphere, as the heat is very oppressive, before, during, and after heavy showers. *Second.* Rain does not clear off the sky, as it often rains for days, and is cloudy in many instances for the same number of days afterwards.

June 17. Moved in a south west direction about three miles, and made arrangements to establish the fourth meridian.¹⁵ After crossing Pumpkin Creek we found ourselves ascending beautiful heights or uplands covered with the most luxuriant grass and other vegetation, particularly flowers of various colors. As the ascent continues, little specks of timber can be seen in all directions, the growth becoming more dense toward the Verdigrée and its tributaries. The grass in our present vicinity is of a superior quality, to that hitherto met with, being much finer, and consequently better liked by the animals. The view to the S. W. still displays numbers of small streams flowing toward the Verdigrée, on some of these I found great numbers of wild rose bushes. We had less rain and a much clearer sky, than at any of the previous camps.

June 18th. Last night obtained a good set of observations from which we found our astl. station about 19" or 20" north of the parallel.

This evening the Honl. Mr. Phelps¹⁶ of Mo. and Mr. Eno¹⁷ of New York arrived in our camp. Colonel Johnston and Captain Garnett came up with the remainder of the command, and encamped close to us.

June 19th. Mr. Phelps and Mr. Eno have concluded to remain in our mess. The former gentleman gave the first information of a riot in Washington, D. C. at the municipal election.¹⁸

June 20th. Last night cloudy and stormy, Colonel Johnston wishes the lat. obs. repeated another night. Mr. Weyss (surveyor) arrived. Distance measured from Initial point to 4th meridian $57\frac{3}{4}$ miles.¹⁹ He (Mr. Weyss) lost a man named James Field who was drowned in crossing the Necho river.

15. Astronomical station was established approximately three miles southwest of present Coffeyville, Montgomery county.

16. John S. Phelps of Springfield, Mo., served as congressman from his district from 1844 to 1863. He was later elected governor of the state.

17. Mr. Eno was a nephew of Mr. Phelps.

18. A dispatch from Washington, dated June 1, 1857, gives the following account: "Our municipal election is in progress. There has been fighting at the polls and some blood shed. The executive authority, at the request of the mayor, ordered out the marines to preserve order throughout the city, and prevent improper interference with voters at the polls. There is great excitement in the city."—*New York Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1857.

19. For method of marking the line, see Johnston, "Journal," June 15, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

June 21st. Last night we succeeded in getting a few observations through the thin clouds which covered the heavens. This morning Mr. Weyss received the final result $37^{\circ} 00' 19''.2$.

At 9 a. m. the cavalry and infantry struck their respective camps and marched westward. Three companies of cavalry moved forward, one remains behind under Capt. T. J. Wood²⁰ to escort the surveying party.

At noon Mr. Clark struck camp, and marched west in rear of the column.

The country over which we pursued our course presented a different aspect to that hitherto traversed. Ridges, mounds and small elevated tablelands, covered with a luxuriant growth of vegetation, intersected with lines of timber (mostly black jack and cottonwood) marking the courses of gullies or small streams, now occupies the view. The country as far as the eye can see, has the same broken and irregular appearance. Continued our course until 5 p. m., when we came up with the military and encamped on a small stream, the banks of which are well wooded with sycamore, cottonwood and Hackberry. Distance about 12 miles.

June 22. Took up line of march at 9 a. m. Seven miles from our encampment struck a prong of the little Verdigrée west, close to a circular pond or lake about 1000 yards in diameter. Here we remained several hours in order to cut a road through the banks, which are high on the east, and heavily timbered on the west. From this point we proceeded about ten miles farther, and encamped at 6 p. m., on the bank of a small creek (Horse-head-creek) well timbered on the west bank with oak, cottonwood, sycamore, walnut & cherry.

The country on this day's march is still more abrupt and broken, at several gullies, we had much trouble in crossing the wagons. Passed over many ridges very rocky and covered with a dense growth of black jack. Distance about 16 miles.

June 23. Our march today was over a hilly, broken country. We had many bad places to cross the wagons. Passed through a large grove of Post oak and encamped on a stream called Walnut creek.²¹ This stream has very high banks and its valley is well timbered with oak and black walnut. It appears to be the main trunk to which, different other streams heading in the highlands north, unite at a point south of us, forming one considerable tributary to the river bearing the same name.

20. Thomas J. Wood was a native of Kentucky. He became captain in the First cavalry in 1855 and served with distinction in the Union army, being promoted to major general in 1865.—Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, v. 2, p. 116.

21. Description is that of Big Caney creek.

June 24th. This morning Mr. Clark crossed the river and commenced operations for establishing the 5th meridian.²² The soil in the valley of this river is very fertile and the grass here, as well as, on the neighboring highlands is excellent. The principal productions are as follows. viz. *Timber* in immediate vicinity of river consists of oak, sycamore and walnut, of which, the latter is of very large dimensions. *Fish*. Cat, Trout or Bass.²³ Buffalo and Garr. *Game*. Deer, Antelope and Turkeys are very numerous. The latter are met with chiefly in this valley and those of the adjoining streams.

June 25th. Last night Mr. Clark observed for time and lat, also for true meridian. He succeeded in getting a good set of observations.

June 26th. Last night repeated observations for lat and true meridian. Day very warm and cloudy. Tht. Farht. 90° in the shade.

June 27th. To day struck camp and again crossed the creek, when we encamped in a grove close by the river.

We managed last night to get a good set of obs. for latitude.

June 28. To day computed our observations for final result of 5th meridian (36° 59' 52".6) 748 feet to be measured North to Parallel. Captain Anderson marched this morning with his company in advance in order to reconnoiter and open the road.

June 29th. Having finished operations on the 5th meridian yesterday, we started early this morning, continued part of the day on the same stream. At 4 p. m. we encamped on one of its tributaries,²⁴ branching into heights on our west. We are now evidently approaching the dividing ridge. The soil is of the same character previously mentioned, but not of such depth. The waters of all these streams are very clear. Below the point where they unite forming one river, I have been told the valley is settled and under a high state of cultivation by Cherokee half breeds. Distance 12 miles.

June 30th. To day we passed the highest ridge, between the waters flowing east and those running west into the Arkansas river, from thence we rapidly descended and encamped on Spring creek²⁵ a tributary of that river. (Arkansas.)

22. Astronomical station was located across the line in present Oklahoma and slightly west of Elgin, Chautauqua county.

23. Bandel wrote: "This forenoon we did not expect to leave camp, and therefore we went fishing. In about two hours we caught more fish than the whole company could eat. There were some forty fish caught, some of them weighing over ten pounds."—Bandel, "Journal," June 24, 1857, *Southwest Historical Series*, v. 2, p. 152.

24. Rock creek.

25. Probably Beaver creek.

The character of the country over which we passed, is a high rolling plain covered with fine grass.

In the timber of the creek I noticed very large walnut and mulberry trees. Distance 12 miles.

July 1st. Started at 8½ a. m. Marched over some broken rolling country, crossing several small streams. At 2½ p. m. we came in sight of the Arkansas river where we encamped. Grazing in the vicinity is excellent. Distance 15 miles.

July 2. From sextant observations found ourselves about one mile south of the Parallel (37° N. Lat.) Moved up on the east bank and made preparations for crossing camp equipage and provisions.

The advance guard was first ferried over, which consisted of two companies of infantry with baggage, ammunition &c. under Capt. Garnett.²⁶ Every thing was transported across in ammunition wagons, which are lined with sheet iron. Four of these are bound together with strong poles over the boxes & hauled back and forward with hawsers.

The ferry was established at the ford used by the Osages, while going on their hunting excursions west of this river.

The Arkansas river at this point is about 300 yards wide, its waters are muddy, not quite as much so, as those of the Mississippi or Rio Bravo. Its valley is wooded and about two miles in width, the main bottom here, being on the East side. On the west it is a rolling prairie as far as the eye can see, affording excellent grass.

The entire country from the west boundary of Missouri up to this river, is fully capable of sustaining a large population in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The creeks and rivers afford timber of the largest and finest quality, while the grazing ranges are inexhaustable. In addition to the above, the country will undoubtedly furnish immense beds of coal which will ultimately prove a great source of wealth.

July 3. This morning Mr. Clark moved his camp North of that of the military about one mile, in order to establish himself closer to the Parallel. We accordingly placed observatory on the summit of a mound, about 100 feet above the level of the river.²⁷ This commands quite an extensive view of the Arkansas, and some of its tributaries which appear to be well timbered.

July 4th (Saturday). Last night succeeded in getting a good set of

26. Richard B. Garnett became captain of the Sixth infantry in 1855. Joining the Confederacy in 1861, he rose to the rank of brigadier general. He was killed at the battle of Gettysburg.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

27. The observation station was situated east of present Chilocco in Kay county, Oklahoma.

observations. This day, being the anniversary of the declaration of independence, was strictly observed in the military camp. At noon the troops were drawn up in line, and a national salute fired from the howitzers. After this a grand fourth of July dinner was served up, at which all the officers both military and civil presided.

July 5th. Last night we had another good set of observations. Lay over in camp during the day.

July 6th. Finished operations of this meridian and started at 1 p. m. making a march of sixteen miles. Passed several small creeks tributaries of the Arkansas. This march was over a low flat prairie. The soil is fertile and grass excellent.

July 7th. The march today was over a rolling prairie extending to the horizon in every direction, saw many dry buffalo chips indicating the presence of those animals at certain seasons of the year. At 2 p. m. we arrived at, and encamped on a creek flowing south with a deep sandy bed. (Pa-ha-be-creek)²⁸ several of the wagons bogged down, rendering it necessary to attach extra mules. East bank high, a low bottom extending west from the other bank. Some large timber is here met with, oak and cottonwood. Distance about 13 miles.

July 8th. Marched today over a broken country, and encamped on a creek having dark muddy water.

The region in our present vicinity presents for the first time a sterile appearance, the vegetation is shorter, there is less timber than in any portion hitherto visited, and its general aspect less inviting.

While encamped, we were visited by a band of Osages with their Chief *Bighead*.²⁹ They numbered about fifty (50), all well mounted. They are very tall and athletic. Their only clothing is the breech cloth, and blanket. The head is bare, with the hair shaved closely, except on the top of the head where a small triangular portion is allowed to grow long. The chief wore a fur band around his temples. They all were painted with rouge or vermilion, about the face and head.

There were several boys amongst them, who displayed their dexterity with the bow and arrows, in shooting down a small stick, having either a five cent or a ten cent piece placed on its top. This sport was furnished by the teamsters and soldiers, who appeared to enjoy it very much. The distance at which the boys fired was about

28. Bluff creek.

29. For Colonel Johnston's account of this visit see Johnston, "Journal," July 8, 1857, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

ten yards. Those Indians informed us that the buffalo were scarce. Distance marched, 15 miles.

July 9th. Started this morning at 8½ a. m. and marched until 2 p. m. when we encamped on some buffalo water ponds. (No wood, very bad water.) The buffalo chips are now the only fire wood, to be found.

The soil in the vicinity of our camp and the line of this day's march is very dry and parched. The first buffalo was killed today by Captain Wood's servant. Distance 18 miles.

July 10th. Started this morning at 8½ a. m. and marched until noon, when we encamped on the west bank of a creek flowing (south) under the surface of sand.³⁰

The first portion of our march was over a considerably broken country, having many gullies or sloughs, produced evidently by the washing of water from the still higher country north, during heavy rains. The latter part was a sandy region, overgrown with wild hemp. The sand appears to increase in depth toward the south but diminishes in the north. At a distance in the south, can be seen white sand hills, with a few scattering bushes of diminutive timber, farther in the same direction I am informed by one of our Indian guides,³¹ is a large salt plain, which will be more minutely described hereafter.

Four buffalo were killed today; for the first time on this trip we dined on the flesh of this animal. Distance 13 miles.

July 11th. Last night so cloudy we were not able to observe. Slight showers of rain occurred during the night. We are very much annoyed by a species of large black sand bug which keeps constantly on the move in the night.

This evening a hunting party, which started in the morning, returned, bringing with them two buffalo bulls, two cows and three calves killed during the day. They reported meeting with a herd, going north, numbering about 5,000 which they broke and pursued.

July 12th. This morning the cavalry moved to a stream farther west, owing to the scarcity of grass in our present camp, leaving the infantry to guard us while at this station. Colonel Johnston, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Eno and Captain Garnett go to visit the salt plain south of our camp.³² They are escorted by a strong detachment of cavalry. This party returned before sunset. The Colonel places the com-

30. Observation station was located on Sandy creek about one half mile south of the line and west of the present town of Waldron, Harper county.

31. The three Delaware Indian guides were Jim Conner, Benjamin Love, and George Washington.

32. See Johnston's account, "Journal," July 12, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

mencement of the salt plain or Pewsas about 15 miles south of our astronomical station. It is situated about $98^{\circ} 15'$ west of Greenwich and in $36^{\circ} 43'$ north lat. & it is formed by a number of streams heading in the ridges north and gradually converging, make a point of confluence which overflows at certain seasons of the year an area of about 15 square miles. During the dry summer months, evaporation ensues, producing a fine crystalized salt. It is not found of any considerable thickness except in such places as water may have remained in pools. In all the streams flowing into it, water is found immediately beneath the sand, by digging, and is very brackish. The soil is sandy with very little vegetation, and scarcely a stick of timber to be seen.

Last night 12 pairs of stars observed with zenith sector, place us in lat. $36^{\circ} 59' 38''.4$.

July 13th. Last night we had another good set of observations, although considerably disturbed by high wind, which has blown from the south since we left the Arkansas river. At 1 p. m. the Tht. Fart. reads 101° in the observing tent. The heat appears to increase with the breeze.

This evening a little before sunset two buffalo came in full view of our camp, distant about 800 yards. Several of Captain Garnett's men on foot crept up within a few yards and fired without effect. They (buffalo) were then pursued by Lieutenant Macclimore³³ mounted, who getting outside kept them at the same distance making a semicircle toward camp. He finally succeeded in separating the bull and run him within a few hundred yards of the wagons, when he brought him to bay by a shot, during this time a number of foot and mounted men attacking, killed him.

July 14th. Messrs. Phelps and Eno left this morning for the east.

Today I observed and found the temperature of drinking water at this camp 80° Fart.

Captain Anderson³⁴ commanding escort to surveying party arrived, and reported that Mr. Weyss will be here tonight, also Mr. Kennerly with the surveying train.

Toward evening a buffalo came close to camp, he was immediately pursued by three of our Indian guides mounted, shortly after overtaking him one of their horses fell, that of Jim Connors a Delaware, and was instantly killed. The rider was not materially injured. Mr. Weyss arrived at sunset.

33. Owen Kenan McLemore was second lieutenant in the Sixth infantry. He resigned in 1861 to join the confederacy and was fatally wounded in 1862.

34. George Thomas Anderson, captain in First cavalry, resigned his commission in 1858, and later became a brigadier general in the confederate army.—Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, v. 1.

July 15th. This morning Mr. Weyss was placed on parallel, which finished operations on the 7th meridian, (distance of parallel from observatory 2211 feet Lat 36° 59' 38".1) after which we marched over a dry parched ridge and encamped on another creek larger than the one left, having a few cottonwood trees. The water flows under a large bed of sand. We can see buffalo in all directions.

Last night a soldier of Captain Desausure's³⁵ company while on post as a sentinel shot a Mexican, in the employ of the Quartermaster. The man is not expected to live. The plea made by the sentinel was "that he mistook him for an Indian." Distance 9½ miles.

July 16th. Started at 9 a. m. and encamped at 3 p. m. The country over which we marched is a high level prairie, the wind blown from the south a very strong breeze and a perfect sirocco. The grass is parched to a crisp as well as every other species of vegetation. I saw several large herds of buffalo which came up close to the column; many were shot.

I noticed dogs, accompanying the soldiers, worn out by the fatigue of the day's march, died on the road.

The water on which we encamped is highly impregnated with sulphur and salt. No wood. Grass good. Distance, 19 miles.

July 17th. The country, over which we marched today presented a different view, to that of yesterday, being broken and hilly. It appears to be the ascent to a tableland. Near the summit we can see the declivities (red clay) washed clear of vegetation, sloping to the prairie over which we have marched. Numerous streams head near this slope, making their course south. We crossed one quite large and encamped on a tributary;³⁶ found considerable timber consisting chiefly of cottonwood and oak. Procured water, by digging in the sand, which is so bitter as to render it disagreeable to use. Some beautiful specimens of gypsum were collected in this vicinity. The heat here is very oppressive. Tht. Fart. at 2 p. m. stood at 104° in the shade, at 2½ p. m., 106°. A soldier of K. company 2nd cavalry shot off the two fore fingers of his right hand. Distance, 10 miles.

July 18th. Today ascended the red bluffs before mentioned, and passing over a very broken country encamped on a creek where we found good water by digging. Plenty timber for cooking purposes, principally cottonwood. Distance, 13 miles.

July 19th. Today marched to the summit of a high ridge from

35. William D. De Saussure was captain in the First cavalry. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he joined the confederacy as colonel, losing his life at the battle of Gettysburg.—*Ibid.*

36. This camp was probably on Greenwood creek, a tributary of Salt Fork of the Arkansas.

which we can see the valley of the Cimarron river. The country North and south appears much broken, being intersected with deep gullies. We encamped near the source of one of these, bearing toward the valley of that river. A large herd of buffalo today ran close to the column, so that I had a good view of them. They first charged toward us, and then shyed off at a greater distance, running parallel with the column. They appear very clumsy, but run with great speed. Distance, 12 miles.

July 20th. Today lay over in camp in order to reconnoiter for a better position for our observatory, but not being able to find one, we commenced operations after mid day for establishing the 8th meridian.³⁷ The heat here is exceedingly oppressive, at 4 p. m. in a very cool exposure the Tht. read 106°, with scarcely what might be called a breeze. Our position is now north of the second salt plain.

July 21st. Last night was so cloudy we were not able to obtain observations for the determination of the Parallel. The Mexican who was shot by the soldier a few days previous died about midnight, he was interred this morning on a height to the west of our observatory. The body was first wrapped in blankets and deposited in the grave, it was then covered with green willows, afterwards with earth. He was a native of Taos in New Mexico.

The atmosphere today is more cool. A breeze is blowing from the southeast, and sky is overcast with clouds.

The cavalry and Quartermaster's train moved to another creek west of us, leaving the two companies of infantry to guard this camp.

Tomorrow the Colonel intends to visit the salt plain south of our present station, where he will remain two days in order to make a complete reconnaissance. When this meridian is determined, we will have completed more than half the distance of the southern boundary of Kansas.

July 22. Last night so cloudy we were not able to make any observations. This morning we had a heavy shower of rain. Four or five Indian ponies came close to our camp, they were taken possession of by our Indian guides.

Colonel Johnston escorted by one company of cavalry, left this morning on a reconnaissance to the second salt plain, also some salt springs reported as lying in the same direction.³⁸

The surveying party arrived escorted by Lieutenant Bell.³⁹

37. Observation station was located in present Oklahoma about one half mile south of present Avilla township, Comanche county.

38. See Johnston, "Journal," July 22, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

39. David D. Bell was first lieutenant in the First cavalry. He died in 1860.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

July 23. Last night clear. Made obs. for Lat. the result of which places us somewhat more than half a mile south of the parallel.

July 24th. Last night succeeded in getting a full set of observations for Lat and true meridian. Final result places our observatory in Lat. $36^{\circ} 59' 28''.6$. After computing observations, struck camp and marched six miles, which brought us up to the cavalry camp.

The Colonel has returned from his reconnaissance of the salt plain. It is situated at the junction of the Cimarron and Red fork and has an area of about ten square acres. In many places it resembles a thick sheet of ice, varying from six to ten inches in depth, and is very hard. Two wagon loads were taken up, for the use of the command. Grasshoppers near the stream flowing through the centre were found in a state of preservation, being incrustated with salt. Long west of Greenwich [omission], Lat [omission]. Several salt springs were found in the vicinity of this plain.

July 25th. Last night a soldier who had been previously affected with scurvy, died of that disease. He was interred this morning with the usual honors of war.

Struck camp at 9 a. m. and marching about 17 miles encamped on a gullie or slue where water was found in pools. About three miles from last Camp, we crossed the Cimarron river. The water at this point runs under the sand. Its bed is between three or four hundred yards wide. South of the point where we crossed it, salt is found.

The country over which we marched today is rolling, and intersected with numerous ridges having but little vegetation. Captain T. J. Wood with his company went on a reconnaissance to the south. Distance, 17 miles.

July 26th. We were last night visited, by a heavy wind and rain storm. The wind blew a terrific gale from the south, driving the rain under our tents so as to inundate the floors.

Started at 9 a. m. and encamped at 4 p. m. in the bed of the Cimarron river. Our course for the most part lay in the channel of that river. Passed several salt ponds of water. Road very sandy. Distance 18 miles.

July 27th. Struck camp at 9 a. m. and marching over a series of ravines & ridges we again struck the river where we encamped. In consequence of late rains, a sudden freshet has covered the bed of the river with water. Distance, 18 miles.

July 28th. Last night one of the cavalry soldiers died from the effects of drinking too much water, during the warm days previous to striking the Cimarron river. He was interred this morning with the usual military honors.

Struck camp at 9 a. m. and marched in view of the river, on which we again encamped at 3 p. m. Found some springs which in addition to digged wells, afforded a sufficiency of excellent water. We are still in view of the tortuous meanderings of the river. The character of the soil, since we first struck the Cimarron is sterile and unfit for cultivation. There is very little vegetation of any description. Distance, 15 miles.

July 29th. Marched several miles on the river's bank, when we ascended the high table land on the west. The bluffs jutting out, show horizontal stratas of pure limestone. Pursuing our journey a few miles we encamped at 2 p. m. near some holes filled with rain water, sufficient for cooking purposes. There is no wood and very little grass here. Distance, 15 miles.

July 30th. Yesterday after encamping the Colonel concluded to establish his 9th meridian at this point.⁴⁰ Consequently today we have been employed erecting observing tent making computations &c.

Last night we were visited by a terrible storm of wind, and rain. The tent in which Mr. Clark and myself slept was blown down, leaving us exposed until the tornado passed over, which lasted some hours.

At 6 p. m. three infantry soldiers arrived at our camp, from the surveying party in the rear, informing us "that at 3 p. m. the Indians (Kioways) attacked the surveying party and killed the driver of the instrument ambulance, and cutting loose the mules belonging to it, run them off." Captain Desausure with one company of cavalry goes in pursuit.

On the arrival of Mr. Weyss the surveyor I learned from him the full particulars concerning this attack.⁴¹ He (Mr. Weyss) with

40. Observation station was located just below the line in present Oklahoma and about one mile west of the eastern boundary of present Seward county.

41. Bandel who was on guard with the surveyors, gives the following account: "We left camp this morning at ten o'clock, marched about eleven miles, and encamped on the Cimarron again. We marched all day in the bottom of this river. About five miles back two Indians met us. They wore long hair and were dressed in white men's clothes. They were armed with flintlock shotguns, and both had good ponies and seemed very friendly. They said they belonged to the Kiowa. After viewing us to their satisfaction, they rode to where the surveyor's party and escort were. The line runs on the far side of the Cimarron, and the party who, at the time, were some four or five miles distant, could not be seen by us. Now an ambulance with water kegs follows the surveyors on their line; and [the ambulance] is drawn by two mules. This the Indians noticed. After shaking hands with our men, taking presents from them, and ascertaining there were no cavalymen with them, they waited for an opportunity for action. At the same time the guard did not doubt the friendly intentions of the Indians. The ambulance had to drive somewhat out of a straight line to get around a hill. This was what the Indians waited for. They stood by the ambulance, fired at the driver when they saw no soldiers near, and made the mules run toward the river. There they cut the mules out of the harness and [ran] away with them. A party has left camp to go after the ambulance, but has not yet returned. Four men, mounted on the saddle mules of some teams, have been sent off to the cavalry for orders, which must be thirty or forty miles ahead. A great mistake was made. When it came to the point, it was found [that] there was no ammunition among the escort. Some had one cartridge, some a few, [and] some none. This evening twenty rounds apiece have been issued to us. After the attack the surveyors left flags, chain, and instruments, and came to camp with the escort. The long roll was beat, but there was no use in any of us footmen following the Indians on their swift ponies."—Bandel, "Journal," July 30, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 172.

twelve men was engaged in prolonging the tangent and marking the parallel, escorted by twenty-one infantry soldiers, numbering in all thirty-three men. From the nature of the operations it was necessary for these men to be scattered over an area of about three miles. The surveyor had a small ambulance drawn by two mules, to transport his light instruments in the field. About 3 p. m. while operating among the bluffs near the point where we left the river; two Indians came up, one of whom spoke Spanish. They represented, that they had been at Colonel Johnston's camp, and came back for a broken down horse. They made every manifestation of friendship. The surveyor having finished operations put away his instruments, and the ambulance took the road which we previously made around the base of the bluffs, in order to ascend the table land west. The foot men kept near the crest of the bluffs and in view of the vehicle. The Indians being well mounted took the road. Suddenly one of them fired his gun from the pommel of his saddle shooting Le Clair, the driver. They immediately stampeded the mules turning them toward the river. Mr. Weyss shouted to collect the men, and the few close by opened fire, at a distance of eight or nine hundred yards and ran to the rescue. The mules shortly bogged down in the marshy ground close to the river; the Indians immediately cut them loose and escaped. When the escort got possession of the ambulance, they found Le Clair dead, being shot through the heart.⁴²

July 31st. Last night so cloudy we did not succeed in getting any number, of observations. However from one pair of stars, we found our position very close but a little south of the parallel.

Mr. Thompson returned from a reconnaissance west, and reports a rolling prairie as far as the eye can see without wood, but plenty of water and grass.

August 1st. Last night we succeeded in getting a good set of observations. Lat deduced $36^{\circ} 59' 53''.30$. Captain Garnett, Mr. Kennerly and Mr. Weyss arrived here today, no farther news from the Indians.

At 2 p. m. struck camp and marched about 4 miles when we encamped at water pools. The grass in our present vicinity is superior in quality to any we have hitherto seen. There appears to be considerable moisture in the atmosphere.

August 2. This morning before starting, Captain Desesaure arrived. He did not succeed in coming up with the Indians. Marched about half mile north and encamped on a water pool.

42. See, also, Johnston, "Journal," July 30, August 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-125.

August 3. Starting at 9 a. m. marched over a level plain for the distance of 20 miles when we encamped at pools of rain water.⁴³ No wood to be seen. Buffalo chips the only fuel. Distance, 20 miles.

August 4th. Started this morning at 8 a. m., and marched to 2 p. m. when the cavalry column which was far in advance of the main train halted, and grazed about 2 hours. During this interval they also reconnoitered for water, which was found about three miles in advance.

The country through which we marched, is one extensive plain inclining toward the east. There is not a stick of timber, or even a tall weed to be seen. It appears like a calm sea extending in every direction to the horizon.

The pond on which we encamped appears to be permanent, as I have seen *divers* and a few ducks. Excellent grama grass grows in the immediate vicinity of this isolated pool. It is about five hundred yards in diameter. It is the intention of the chief to remain here during the 5th and 6th to recruit the animals. Distance 25 miles.

August 5th & 6th. Remained over in camp those two days in order to sufficiently recruit our now wearied animals before starting for the terminus of the line.

Lieutenant Bell leaves tomorrow on a reconnaissance to the North fork of the Canadian.

August 7th. Starting this morning at 8 a. m. We marched to 5 p. m. when we encamped.⁴⁴ We are still on a continuation of the same table land, which we ascended after leaving the Cimarron river. During this day's march it was quite level with very little grass. Crossed several Indian trails running from south to north, all appear to be old. North and south the same character of country extends to the horizon. West, the direction of our march, is a gradual and continuous ascent. Every slight elevation at a distance glimmers through a dense mirage, appearing like small islands in a lake. The view is neither relieved by a pond or water or a bush of timber. Continued our march to late in the evening and encamped without water.⁴⁵ From my tent I can hear the piteous cries of near one thousand animals suffering from thirst, which awakens in my recol-

43. Camp in present Oklahoma about four miles southwest of present Liberal, Seward county.

44. Expedition encamped in present Oklahoma about seven miles east of the present western boundary of Kansas.

45. Bandel wrote: "The day being warm and the dust rising, you cannot understand how we suffered. All the water the company has is two kegs full of ten gallon each. After coming into camp, each of us got about a gill of water to quench our burning thirst."—Bandel, "Journal," August 7, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

lection, scenes on the desert west of the Colorado river of California. Distance 30 miles.

August 8th. We were favored last night by a heavy shower of rain, from which we caught considerable water from our tents, & on Indian rubber blankets, thereby enabling us to give some to our thirsty animals. We marched west about ten miles, and North three, when we struck the Cimarron river and the Santa Fee road.

August 9th. Starting this morning about 9 a. m. we continued our march along the valley of the Cimarron, about ten miles, when we encamped and prepared to establish the 10th meridian.

Last night about 9 p. m. Mr. Weyss and party arrived at our camp in an exhausted condition, having missed the road to the main body of the escort. The mail party from Santa Fee encamped near us.

August 10th. Last night observed for Lat, but found ourselves about three and a half miles south of the parallel.⁴⁶ The Colonel accordingly countermarched on the same road back about 6 miles and encamped. Here we met the surveying party.

The general aspect of the country in our present vicinity is not an inviting one, not a tree meets the view as far as the eye can see. The channel of the Cimarron is a dry bed of sand, where water is only found by digging, and so impregnated with sulphur and soda as to render it almost unfit for use. The heat is intense, the Tht. Far. standing at 99° & 100° in the shade.

We are now about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, which places us out of the regions of dampness. I have no reason to regret this, as I feel almost well of a severe attack of rheumatism, which rendered me unable to walk while passing over the damp country between the west boundary of Missouri and the Arkansas river. This disease I contracted from previous exposure, while in the service of the United States & Mexican boundary commission.

This evening a difficulty occurred between two teamsters in which one of them was stabbed through the liver with a butcher Knife; he is not expected to live. The man who committed the act is kept under a strict guard, in order to deliver him up to the civil authorities, as well as to protect him from the fury of the other teamsters, who will undoubtedly lynch him if they can get an opportunity to do so.

August 12th. Finished operations on the 10th merid. Started about noon and travelling ten miles encamped on the river. Colonel Johnston remained in this vicinity during the 13th and 14th, in

46. Astronomical station established in present Cimarron county, Oklahoma, about nine miles west of the present Kansas-Colorado line.

order to hear from Leavenworth, in regard to a provision train which he expected here. The Santa Fee mail passed our camp on the 15th. From it the Colonel learned, that the provision train had not left on the 24th ultimo.

August 16th. Started at 8½ a. m. and marched about 17 miles up the valley of the river (Cimarron) where we encamped.

As we continued our journey from the last camp, the features of the country materially change; from an immense open and level plain, it becomes suddenly broken and rocky. The river which was formerly defined by one continuous bed of sand, now becomes a bold and rapid stream, having its banks well clothed with rank vegetation and a considerable amount of timber (cottonwood and willows). At this point the valley begins to narrow, forming a canon.

August 17th. During last night a light rain driven by a N. E. wind began and continued until after daylight. The Colonel has concluded to remain in camp in consequence. It now begins to feel like fall weather. The thermometer stands at 62° Farht. In front of some of the markees, are to be seen fires with little groups of officers collected around, indicative of the change in the atmosphere.

It continued to rain during the whole day.

August 18th. Last night about 12 p. m. a considerable commotion was caused by one of the cavalry sentinels discharging his carabine. He reported that he fired at a mounted man coming down from the rocky cliffs in the vicinity toward the animals, after which he retired at full speed.

Starting this morning, continued our march up the circuitous valley, which as we advanced appeared to improve in aspect. It has a rich soil with excellent grama grass, it widens out in some places to about ¼ of a mile, and is walled on both sides by precipitous cliffs. Flocks of wild turkies are seen in all directions. Today there were over thirty killed. In some instances they were absolutely run down.

We met Lieutenant Bell commanding Co. K. 1st cav. who was detached some days previous to reconnoiter the North fork of the Canadian. Distance 12 miles.

August 19th. Struck west from the valley of the Cimarron on a small tributary, in order to arrive at the terminal point, but were obliged to retrace our march, owing to its becoming so narrow as to be impassible.

August 20th. We again entered the valley of the Cimarron and marched about 7 miles from our last camp, when we penetrated the valley of a small creek, on the east, where we encamped.

In the vicinity of our present encampment the ascent to the table land inclosing the valley varies from four to six hundred feet in height. Game in our present vicinity is very abundant, from thirty to forty deer and antelope are daily brought into camp, by soldiers and hunters.

To day on the march, I witnessed the shooting of one antelope and three deer, the former attempted to run through the cavalry column and was killed by Lieut. Bell. On our arrival, a deer ran through the camp ground among the soldiers and escaped.

We remained here until the 24th occasionally moving a short distance, in order to procure better grass. During this time we had an almost continuous rain, which swelled the small creeks to such a height as to render them difficult to pass.

August 25th. The party detailed to operate on the 103 meridian set out this morning, escorted by Lieut Otis⁴⁷ with 35 dismounted cavalry. Proceeded up a beautiful little valley lying to the N. W. of the main one, about 7 miles, and encamped.⁴⁸ This is our last camp in the operations of running and marking the southern boundary of Kansas. Colonel Johnston having established this encampment and leaving an additional escort of mounted cavalry; after a few days returned to the Santa Fee road with the main body of his command, in order to meet his provision train from Fort Leavenworth.

August 26th. I was employed to day computing lists for Latitude, and making general arrangements for the coming lunation.

August 27th. Last night we were visited by a very high wind which prevented us from obtaining a good set of observations.

August 28th. Last night cloudy and stormy.

August 29th. A good set of observations for long obtained.

August 30th. Cloudy and windy.

August 31st. At 3 p. m. a hail shower fell the particles measuring one inch in circumference.

We were occupied up to the 10th of Sept. at this point. During this time we experienced such weather as above described.

The general aspect of the country in the vicinity of the head waters of the Cimarron is rugged and much broken. This river obtains its source from numbers of small streams heading at the base of a tableland between four and six hundred feet, above the little valleys from whence they flow. The soil of these valleys in most instances, is fertile, but their extent is very limited. The only tim-

47. Elmer Otis was a native of Massachusetts. He was breveted second lieutenant of the First cavalry in 1855. He later became colonel.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

48. Astronomical station was in the southwest corner of present Baca county, Colorado.

ber found here is cedar, which grows on the slopes and broken ridges of the ascent to this tableland. In every instance a fine quality of grass is found, which accounts for the great variety of game, though the country is little suited for agricultural purposes.

IV. RECONNOITERING FOR A RAILROAD ALONG THE NORTH FORK OF THE CANADIAN RIVER, AND THE RETURN TO LEAVENWORTH

Sept. 10th, 1857. Finished operations at the terminal point, which completes the field work on the southern boundary of Kansas. Marched about 20 miles down the valley of the Cimarron toward Aubrey's trail.⁴⁹

Sept. 11th. Starting this morning at 7 a. m. we continued our march crossing a creek several times which in many instances was very boggy, from high banks washed off by recent rains. In one instance I was in a precarious position in consequence of my caratella upsetting at a ford. The mules however keeping steady, it was immediately raised by some soldiers who were on the spot, which saved me the trouble of cutting open the covering with my knife, in order to jump out. Distance 13 miles.

Sept. 12th. Started at 7 a. m. and continued, until noon, when we perceived some horse men on an elevation about 4 miles distant. We then halted in order to let some of the soldiers who had lagged behind between five and six miles come up. This was owing to many of them being Barefooted, and the roughness of the road over which they marched. By the time of their arrival, we discovered those on the eminence to ride back and forward, we advanced and found them to be sentinels. This was joyful news as our provisions were just out.

Two hours march farther brought us in sight of camp, when we were rejoiced to meet old friends, and find plenty of provisions, clothing, newspapers, &c.⁵⁰ Distance 15 miles.

Sept. 13th. Marched west, until sunset in Aubrey's trail and encamped on Cedar Creek.⁵¹ Distance, 30 miles.

Sept. 14th. To day marched over an open prairie when we arrived at and encamped on Mc. Neice's creek, on which there is no

49. Aubrey's trail was a route selected by Francis X. Aubrey, a Santa Fé trader, in an attempt to shorten the Santa Fé trail. This route started at Fort Aubrey in present Hamilton county and ran in a southwesterly direction. It crossed the Cimarron river and joined the Santa Fé trail in the neighborhood of Cold Springs in present Cimarron county, Oklahoma.

50. Bandel records: "Again the command is all together. The astronomers, having finished their observations, have come in this evening. The train has also come in from the Santa Fe road."—Bandel, "Journal," September 12, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

51. Cedar creek, a branch of the Cimarron, is in the extreme western part of present Cimarron county, Oklahoma.

wood. Distance, 9 miles. I endeavored to day to procure a pair of shoes but did not succeed. I am almost barefooted. I hope yet to be successful.

Sept. 15th. Lay in camp in order to make preparations for a reconnaissance along the North fork of the Canadian and from thence to proceed to the Initial point to observe for Longitude.

Sept. 16th. At 8½ a. m. the cavalry trumpeters sounded the general which is the signal for the last tents to fall, marched over a rolling prairie when we arrived at Cottonwood creek where we encamped.

This is a small creek having pools of water at different distances, its course is marked by a narrow strip of cottonwood timber. There are many wild grape vines intermingled from which we collected an abundance of that fruit. Distance, 13 miles (estimated).

Sept. 17th. Started this morning at 8 a. m. and continued until noon when we encamped on Rabbitear creek.⁵²

Our march to day was over a level prairie. We passed several dog towns or marmot villages. Many of those animals were killed with shot guns only. We could see large herds of Antelopes in the distance gracefully scampering over the extensive plain, some times coming close to the column as if in wonder at the novel sight before them.

Rabbitear creek is a small stream much like the one on which we encamped last night, it runs at the base of a high table land, the front of which shows striking evidences of volcanic action. Distance, by viameter, 12 m, 3800 feet.

Sept. 18th. Morning cold, heavy mist with a slight rain rendering the climate very disagreeable. Moved up the same creek and encamped in order to obtain better grass and await the arrival of some officers from Fort Union⁵³ en route for the East.

The Barometer now reads 24.88 in. which places us a very high elevation above the level of the sea. By the time we encamped, it cleared off with a pleasant breeze from the South. Dist 2 miles, 4186 feet.

Sept. 19th. Starting early we turned our faces for the long wished for East, continued our journey along Rabbitear creek which has an easterly course. The high volcanic bank previously mentioned continues as far as the eye can see on the North bank, on the south it is a low rolling country over which we are marching. Encamped at the junction of Cottonwood creek with Rabbitear.⁵⁴ Lat 36° 36' 21". Distance, 15 m., 2903 feet.

52. This creek is located in the eastern part of present Union county, New Mexico.

53. Fort Union is in present Mora county, New Mexico.

54. The encampment was in the extreme southwestern part of Cimarron county, Oklahoma.

Sept. 20th. Marched over the same character of country, along the above mentioned creek which is in fact the North fork of the Canadian. Water found in pools, wood scarce, grass good. Lat [omission]. Distance, 25 m., 2506 feet.

Sept. 21st. Started at 9 h. 17 m. a. m. and continued our march on the southern bank of the North fork, over a rolling plain. No wood, sufficiency of water. Grass good. Lat $36^{\circ} 37' 36''$. Distance, 19 m., 4500 feet.

Sept. 22. Left the creek at 6 a. m. and ascended slightly to pass over a table land in order to cut off a bend, anticipated a long march but was agreeably deceived, as we found a large pond about 2 miles in circumference filled [with] water and well supplied with ducks. Here we encamped. No wood. Grass poor. Lat $36^{\circ} 36'$. Distance, 15 miles.

Sept. 23. Started this morning at 8 a. m. and marched until 2 p. m. when we encamped again on the North fork of the Canadian. The country for the most part is a level prairie. Where we struck the stream, its banks displayed white bluffs. Grass good. No wood. Water plenty and pure. Lat $36^{\circ} 37' 20'' .5$. Dist 23 miles, 1933 feet from large pond.

Sept. 24th. Today marched over a high ridge extending along the south bank of the North fork. Not a particle of timber to be seen. Crossed the stream and marched about 2 miles on the North bank when we encamped on a plat of fine mesquite grass. Lat $36^{\circ} 42' 39''$. Distance, 14 miles, 1895 feet.

Sept. 25th. Started this morning at 8 a. m. and marched until $11\frac{1}{2}$ p. m. when we encamped. Our course lay along the valley of the North fork. At this point it is a level bottom covered with a luxuriant growth of fine grama grass. Crossed Mr. Bell's road on his reconnaissance to this stream. The valley at this point is between three and four miles wide of a low level bottom, from thence the country becomes slightly elevated and broken.

While turning an abrupt curve of the valley we suddenly came in view of an Indian encampment,⁵⁵ at a distance of about four miles, and a band of warriors advancing to meet us. They proved to be Kaioways accompanied by their head chief, *Tehorsen*. They appeared alarmed of our purpose in visiting them. About the lodges we could see some confusion in hurrying off stock to the opposite side of the valley. When they met the advance guard the chief presented

55. The Kiowa camp was located about ten miles east of the present town of Gunman, Texas county, Okla.

a paper to Col. Johnston the purport of which was their treaty with the government. They then scattered along and travelled with our column, their numbers gradually increasing from every hill and canon we passed. They were for the most part painted and in war costume. They were all well mounted and made frequent displays of their horsemanship. After encamping the head chief and Col. Johnston held a talk. The Col. demanded the custody of two of his tribe who had murdered one of the surveying party under Mr. Weyss named LeClair in the latter part of July last on the Cimarron river. This he (Tehorsen) at first denied and blamed on the Cheyennes, but afterwards acceded, "that if any of the outlawed members of his tribe had committed the deed, he would deliver them up to be dealt with by the Government authorities." He at the same time professed great friendship for the Americans.

After the talk had ended great numbers flocked into camp for the purpose of trading. The principal articles of trade were moccasins, adorned with beads, reatas &c, these they exchanged for articles of clothing. Generally the Kaioways are of the medium high, with muscular frame, & very savage appearance. They wear the hair rather long. The war chief of the tribe is called *Setanki*,⁵⁶ he is said to speak the Spanish language fluently, and to be a great scoundrel. He was not with the band who visited our camp. Distance 16 miles, 2920 feet. Lat. 36° 42' 41".

Sept. 26th. Set out this morning and continued our march along the river bottom inclining slightly to the south, crossed some very heavy sand hills and encamped south of them. Dist 18 miles, 4613 feet. Lat 36° 41' 53".

Sept. 27th. Started this morning at 9 a. m. and continued down the valley about three miles, when we crossed the stream on the now East bank, the west bank being a white sandy barrier as far as the eye could see, crossing a ridge we encamped on a tributary in the vicinity of some excellent grama grass. Distance 8 miles, 5015. Lat 36° 45' 05".

Sept. 28. Started at 8½ a. m. and marched on the west bank until evening, when we encamped on a tributary flowing from the south.⁵⁷ We crossed several others almost as large.

We were met to day by another delegation of Kaioways, one of whom had an old hickory shirt suspended from a stick as a flag of truce. The East bank of the North fork still presents the same ap-

56. Setangya (Sitting Bear) was commonly known to the whites as Satank. He was a noted Kiowa chief and leader of the principal war society of the tribe. He was one of the signers of the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867.—*Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, p. 513.

57. Probably Clear creek.

pearance, being a succession of steep sand hills. Distance 20 miles, 1800 feet. Lat $36^{\circ} 46'$.

Sept. 29th. Started this morning at 8 a. m. and marched until 2 p. m. when we struck the river, crossed it, and encamped on the opposite bank. (East.)⁵⁸

The country through which we marched was a succession of deep arroyos and broken ridges. Crossed several tributaries, some having running water.

The North fork at this point is about fifty feet wide, having indications of overflowing its banks, at certain seasons. Several large cottonwoods are found in the vicinity, affording sufficiency of wood for cooking purposes, grass good.

First buffalo on our return trip was killed to day by John Connor (Delaware) guide. Distance 18 miles, 2026 feet. Lat. $36^{\circ} 46' 44''$.

Sept. 30th. To day turned our course toward the North, when after marching about 16 miles we came suddenly upon the Cimarron river. Countermarched about 2 miles and encamped on some water ponds on this dividing ridge. Distance to Ponds, 14 miles, 1226 feet.

Oct. 1st. This is my 27th birthday and 10th on the prairies. Marched to day irregularly south and North on the dividing ridge between the North fork of the Canadian and the Cimarron rivers, on the latter part of our march we came in view of immense herds of buffalo. Passed a large pond covered with brant and ducks, encamped near the source of the red fork⁵⁹ of the Cimarron. Country much broken, large herds of buffalo can be seen in the distance all around our camp. No wood. Grass very poor. Distance 16 miles, 823 feet.

Oct. 2. Starting this morning we took a S. E. direction, over a fine rolling country. As far as the eye could see immense herds of buffalo covered the plain. Sometimes the advance of the column was driving them before it, at others they were cantering parallel with it, by hundreds. We must at least have seen twenty thousand of these animals to day.

Encamped on the red fork of the Cimarron in a heavy rain and wind storm. Distance 17 miles, 3173 feet.

Oct. 3. To day marched along the valley of the Red fork and encamped in view of its junction with the Cimarron. Our march to day was more difficult than hitherto, owing to our being obliged to cross this stream several times, when the wagons bogged down in quick

58. Camp located in the eastern part of present Beaver county, Oklahoma.

59. Buffalo creek, a tributary of the Cimarron, rises in the northern part of present Harper county, Oklahoma.

sand. The valley at this point is shut in by red bluffs. The table land or divide, appears to be covered in some places with a heavy growth, of black jack. The valley is well timbered with cottonwood & white oak &c. The waters of the Red fork are very brackish, and those of its tributaries flowing through this red soil are bitter. Distance 13 miles. Lat. $36^{\circ} 45' 52''$.

October 4th. To day moved west about one mile to better grass.⁶⁰

The following is now the reorganization. Col. Johnston with 60 mounted cavalry goes to the Canadian. The remainder of the Command under Captain Thomas J. Wood will proceed without delay to the Initial point.

The salt plain which was previously found here is entirely destitute of salt which proves that it is merely an animal formation.

October 5th. Colonel Johnston with a company proceeded toward the Canadian and the main command under Capt. Thos. John Wood continued Eastward.

Crossed the salt plain after leaving camp, it has an area of about 10 square acres, but the salt had entirely melted away. Our course being south of the Kansas [Arkansas river] and on the south slope of the divide, we were under the necessity of crossing much broken country.

Passed several large herds of buffalo. Some were killed in the immediate vicinity of camp. Distance 18 miles, 1599 feet.

October 6th. Continued our march in the same direction from 1° - 2° south or North of East. Were much retarded by being obliged to build temporary bridges across streams. Saw a great many buffalo. Several were killed. Distance 17 miles, 2948 feet. Lat $36^{\circ} 42' 32''$.

Oct. 7th. This morning cold drizzling rain. Left camp about 10 a.m. crossed several deep and muddy streams. Marched over a prairie on which we encamped. Saw several herds of buffalo. Dist. 8 miles, 3880 feet.

October 8th. To day marched over a rolling prairie gradually declining toward the first salt plain west of the Arkansas river, near which we encamped. Large herds of buffalo appeared moving to and fro as far as the eye could see, several were killed close to the

Encamped close to first salt plain west of the Arkansas river. Distance 20.4 miles. Lat $36^{\circ} 45' 14''$.

Oct. 9th. To day lay over in camp in order to recruit our animals train.

60. The expedition was encamped in the extreme northern part of present Woodward county, Oklahoma.

which are much broken down. Saw a large herd of buffalo about 11 a. m. run within about 400 yards of camp toward our animals, they were headed off by the mounted guard.

This morning Capt. Wood accompanied by a bugler left Camp in order to explore the Salt plain. Up to 8 p. m. he has not arrived producing some anxiety as to his safety.

October 10th. This morning at 8 a. m. Capt. Wood arrived in Camp. Signals had been kept up during the night in firing guns, blowing trumpets &c.

Started a little after 8 a. m. Our course lay over the Southern extremity of the salt lake, struck it between 9 and 10 a. m. and crossed it in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours. It is an immense sandy plain entirely destitute of vegetation. At this season it has a crustation of salt about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick. Length of Lake from West to East $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Wherever water stands in small pools, it very brackish. Saw immense herds of buffalo on this plain and its vicinity, I was told by our guide, that they are more numerous here than elsewhere, being enticed by the salt. We encamped on an outlet or river flowing from it, which is the Salt fork of the Arkansas.⁶¹ The bed of this stream is about 1867 feet wide. Its west bank is well defined by a strip of Cottonwood and walnut timber. This stream rises at the Eastern extremity of the salt plain, and flows in an Easterly direction, about three miles, when it turns abruptly south. Its waters are very salt. It has a sluggish current between 1 & 2 feet deep.

Saw over two thousand buffalo huddled together south of our ford. Our camp is near two springs of fresh water close to the river. Cloudy and rainy. No observations.

Distance 11m, 881 feet.

October 11th. Started this morning at 9 a. m. About two miles of our march was over a sandy soil, when we struck a level prairie, broken in some places by small arroyos: Saw immense herds of buffalo as far as the eye could reach. Several herds ran close to the Infantry column, where numbers were killed.⁶² About 2 p. m. we encamped on a red stream flowing south, having a few scattering cottonwoods.⁶³ It is about 10 feet wide with between 2 & 3 feet water.

61. Camp was in the western part of present Grant county, Oklahoma.

62. Bandel wrote: "Buffaloes very numerous. It seems if any more could find room on the prairie, more would be there. We kill them more for the pleasure of hunting than for the sake of meat. Of a buffalo weighing from eight hundred to a thousand pounds, hardly fifty pounds of meat will be taken by the men of the command. I killed one on the road today but did not take any of the meat, having plenty of it in our wagons already."—Bandel, "Journal," October 11, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

63. The stream was probably Cottonwood creek which flows south through present Grant county, Oklahoma, emptying into the Salt Fork of the Arkansas.

For the first time I was close by, when a buffalo was shot. It was a young bull. Toward the posterior of the body the hair is very short, near the head it is much longer, also very long on the front parts of the fore legs. He appeared very tenacious of life, and it took several shots to dispatch him after he fell. Distance 15 miles, 3066 feet. Lat $36^{\circ} 48' 51''$.

October 12th. Started this morning at the usual hour, and marched over an open rolling prairie, intersected at short distances with gullies or slues, the crossing of which very much fatigued our animals. These water courses all flow from North W to S. E. Crossed another considerable stream having timber, & encamped on a third heavily timbered with Cottonwood. The banks of these creeks are in most instances very steep and are lined with trees. The grass is very fine. We now have a rich black soil, in place of the red clay heretofore met. Distance 14 miles, 158 feet.

October 13th. Starting at the usual hour we prosecuted our march over a now low level prairie, covered with long, coarse grass. Met a band of Osages (Indians) hunting the buffalo. Encamped on a tributary (Pa-ha-be-creek)⁶⁴ of the little Arkansas, 3 miles & 3000 feet south of our crossing, when we passed over it before (or the point where the parallel of 37° N. Lat bisects it). Found Indians encamped near us. (Osages.) Our mules were much fatigued and some broken down when we got into camp. Distance 16 miles. Lat $36^{\circ} 57' 23''$.

October 14th. Marched in a N. E. direction about 5 miles and struck the road pursued while trailing the boundary. We were obliged to remain on one of the creeks nearly the whole day in order to construct a bridge to cross the train. Got entirely over by sun down, when we encamped. Distance $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

October 15th. Marched over a rolling prairie on our former road crossing two creeks, when we encamped in a low bottom covered with very long coarse grass. Distance 17.25 miles.

October 16th. This morning for the first time we experienced a heavy frost, the Thermomt. Fart. reading below 32° . Marched until noon when we arrived at the Arkansas river and encamped. The Quarter master's train and Mr. Clark's party crossed the river which is now very low and encamped on the opposite or East side.⁶⁵ Distance to river 10 miles.

October 17th. Started this morning at $7\frac{1}{2}$ a. m. and marched

64. Bluff creek.

65. "Today the astronomers and an escort left ahead of us for Spring river, [in order] to finish their work of observation before we get there."—Bandel, "Journal," October 16, *op. cit.*

until 4 p. m. when we encamped at the source of the little Verdigris, about one mile west of our old camp on that stream. From the base of a small ridge bearing south from our camp, a number of beautiful springs are located, from whence flows one of the main branches of the Verdigris. Distance from Arkansas river to this point is 25.5 miles.

October 18th. Last night we had heavy rain which continued nearly the whole day. Struck camp at mid day, and marched along the above mentioned creek when we encamped west of Merid. N. 5. A courier arrived from the train with a letter for the mail. Distance 7.3 miles.

October 19th. This morning we were delayed from starting as soon as we expected in consequence of the mules belonging to the escort straying off and taking the road ahead. They were not found before 10 a. m. Mr. Clark's teamster also had a mule to stray away, which has not yet been found leaving only 5 mules in the team. Stopped to graze at crossing when the wagon of the escort overtook us, after which encamped. Distance 12.8 mi.

October 20th. Marched to last crossing of little Verdigris. Encamped near a small lake south of the road. Distance 21.2 miles.

October 21st. Marched to Pumpkin creek at crossing; (This is six miles from the Osage villages)⁶⁶ where we encamped after a fatiguing march through cold disagreeable rain which lasted through the whole day. Distance 19 miles.

October 22. Starting early this morning we crossed first Pumpkin creek, Verdigris river and Labet creek,⁶⁷ from thence we pursued our journey and encamped at Camp Snow. Distance 13.8 mil.

October 23. Starting early this morning we marched until sunset, when we struck the Neocho and encamped, near the ford. Distance 21.3 mil.

October 24th. Last night we were visited by Mr. Edwards, an Indian trader among the Osages, who related many amusing and interesting anecdotes concerning that tribe. Started early this morning and crossing the Neocho river, we continued our march over the prairie lying between it and Spring river on which we encamped at 4 p. m. Distance 20.467 miles. Distance from Arkansas river to Spring river 140.98 miles.

66. Osage villages were located in the northwest part of present Coffeyville, Montgomery county.

67. Apparently they first crossed present Onion creek, then the Verdigris river and east of that what is now Pumpkin creek.

TABLE OF DISTANCES FROM SPRING RIVER TO ARKANSAS RIVER

	Miles
Spring river to Childer's house on Neocho river.....	20.00
Childer's house to Camp Snow.....	21.30
Camp Snow to crossing of Pumpkin creek near Osage villages.....	14.00
Pumpkin creek to Lagoon on 1st prong of Verdigris.....	19.00
Lagoon on 1st Prong of Verdigris to source of main prong.....	41.00
Source of main prong of Verdigris to Arkansas river.....	25.50

October 25th. Starting this morning we crossed Spring river (four months and twenty five days since we passed it before) and proceeding to the initial point encamped on the site of meridian No. 1.

The distance of boundary line surveyed was 463 miles which occupied us 85 days. On this line there were 11 Astronomical stations, determined in Latitude with the Zenith sector, from which offsets to the Parallel were measured on the true meridian. The position of the last station was determined in Longitude with reference to Greenwich by observations of moon culminations with the Transit instrument during one lunation. The remainder of the time was taken up, in a reconnaissance along the North fork of the Canadian and the country south of the Parallel (37°). This (reconnaissance) was made with the sextant, viameter and compass, and includes a distance upwards of 540 miles, from the point where the Santa Fee road crosses Rabbitear creek, to Spring river.

We continued making observations at this point up to Nov. 6th. The command arrived on the 28 Oct.⁶⁸ and after recruiting a few days, started for Fort Leavenworth.

Nov. 7th. Set out this morning for Fort Leavenworth in rear of the main command.⁶⁹ Crossed Spring river and travelled on the south bank. This stream possesses some excellent sites for water power. Encamped on a small tributary called Shwanee creek.⁷⁰ Distance 21.5 miles.

Nov. 8th. Marched over a fine rolling prairie and encamped on another small creek flowing south. Distance 27 miles.

Nov. 9th. Continued our march over some fine farming country. Passed through Fort Scott and encamped about 3 miles beyond it. Distance 20.5 miles.

Nov. 10th. Travelled over a fine rolling country having a few scattering farms along the road, and encamped near Mine creek.⁷¹

68. Captain Wood's party arrived on October 31.

69. The main command set out for Fort Leavenworth on November 5.

70. Shawnee creek flows south through the eastern part of present Cherokee county.

71. Mine creek, a tributary of the Osage river, is in Linn county.

After encamping a teamster named Crain became intoxicated and threatened Mr. Clark's life. He promptly dismissed him. Distance 22.5 miles.

Nov. 11th. Traveled over the same character of country as yesterday except it was better timbered. Encamped near a small village called West point.⁷² Mr. Clark went forward this morning to give the Col. notice of Crain's dismissal. The main command being but one day in advance. Distance 16.5 m.

Nov. 12th. Marched to day on the borders of Missouri in Cass county. Met a teamster from the other train with two mules to join me; also a sergeant of cavalry with money to pay off Crain and a letter from the Col. directing me to expell him from the train, which I immediately did. Dist. 15 miles, 1000 feet.

Nov. 13th. Started at 8 a.m. after dismissing Crain from the train and travelled until after sun down, when we came up to the main camp near the village of Little Santa Fee⁷³ on Indian creek, where we encamped. Distance 27.7 m.

Nov. 14th. From Indian creek we next struck Kaw river. It occupied the main train the whole day to pass it. We encamped with Mr. Kennerly with the expectation of crossing it tomorrow. The ferry boats are capable of passing over one wagon and six mules at a trip. Indian creek to Touley's ferry⁷⁴—Kaw river—13.3 miles.

Nov. 15th. To day we travelled 22 miles which brought us to Leavenworth city, where all the property was disposed of at auction, it being advertised previous to our arrival.

From this point we set out with our field notes for Washington City.

72. West Point was a town in Bates county, Missouri.

73. Little Santa Fe was located on the Kansas boundary in the southwestern part of Jackson county, Missouri.

74. For a history of Toley's ferry see George A. Root's "Ferries in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, pp. 266, 267.

Medical Sketch of the Nineteenth Regiment of Kansas Cavalry Volunteers

MAHLON BAILEY

I. INTRODUCTION

IN 1868 the plains Indians, growing increasingly hostile to the building of the Union Pacific railroad and the rapid settlement of the prairies, determined to make a last stand against the advance of civilization. Disregarding their treaty at Medicine Lodge the previous October, they swarmed over the western plains as soon as spring came, murdering and robbing as they went. One band of Cheyennes penetrated as far east as Council Grove, where they attacked the Kaw Indians and robbed the settlers in the vicinity. Other war parties, with arms and ammunition obtained from the Indian agent at Fort Larned, fell upon the unprotected settlements on the Smoky Hill and Saline rivers, and after laying waste these settlements continued their depredations in the valleys of the Solomon and Republican.

United States troops under Gen. Philip H. Sheridan did what they could to suppress the uprising, but their number was wholly inadequate to protect the border of more than 200 miles and guard overland transportation and construction crews on the railroad. Recognizing the futility of a summer campaign, General Sheridan decided to carry the war into the Indians' own country and attack them in winter quarters. In accordance with this plan he called upon Gov. Samuel J. Crawford for a regiment of cavalry. Crawford, having previously offered troops to the President, immediately issued a call for volunteers, and within a few weeks the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, comprising 1,200 men, was mustered into United States service for a period of six months. Governor Crawford resigned his office and on November 4 was appointed colonel of the regiment.

These troops were ordered to proceed via Camp Beecher (now Wichita) to Camp Supply in the Indian territory. The officers and men, and, as it proved, the guides as well, were unfamiliar with the country south of the Arkansas river; when they reached this region they lost their way and for days wandered around in the canons of the Cimarron in a severe snowstorm. Intense cold and lack of provisions caused extreme suffering until supplies and guides sent

from Camp Supply finally reached the regiment, enabling it to get to the camp. Here the troops remained until December 7, when under General Sheridan they marched southward in close pursuit of the Indians. By February 15 all the tribes had surrendered except one band of Cheyennes. In March a command sent against this tribe rescued two white women captives and forced the Indians to surrender. The regiment then marched to Fort Hays, where it was mustered out in April, 1869.

This campaign, one of the most notable in the history of Kansas troops, has been described in previous publications of this Society.¹ The account given below, written by the surgeon of the regiment, Dr. Mahlon Bailey, is a unique record of volunteer troops on the plains.² It is printed from the original manuscript in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.³

II. DOCTOR BAILEY'S ACCOUNT

This regiment was organized by Governor Crawford in October, 1868, at Topeka, Kansas. Enlisted for six months to serve in a winter campaign against hostile Indians on the Plains. The organization of the regiment was completed in less than two weeks after the arrival of the first recruits, hence the examination of the men was made in a hurried manner, and a few succeeded, by the aid of their company officers, in getting mustered that were not really fit for soldiers. A large number were young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one—very few over forty—and all together were a fine lot of men physically; the best volunteer regiment I ever saw.

1. Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, pp. 35-52; James A. Hadley, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry and the Conquest of the Plains Indians," *ibid.*, v. 10, pp. 428-456; "John McBee's Account of the Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas," *ibid.*, v. 17, pp. 361-374.

2. Mahlon Bailey was born March 19, 1835, near Salem, Ohio. He began the study of medicine at Iowa State University, and later attended St. Louis Medical College, graduating there in 1858. In May, 1858, he moved to Kansas and settled at Emporia, becoming the first physician in the town.

In 1861 Doctor Bailey entered the army as surgeon of the Tenth Kansas infantry, but resigned, and in May, 1862, was made assistant surgeon of the First Kansas infantry. He was promoted to surgeon of the regiment in June, 1863, and held this position until the regiment was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth in 1864. He then went to Topeka, and in partnership with Doctor Stormont, resumed the practice of medicine. In October, 1864, he was married to Miss Laura Jarboe of Muscatine, Iowa. When in 1868 the Nineteenth Kansas regiment was organized Doctor Bailey was made surgeon and served through the six months' Indian campaign with Generals Sheridan and Custer. At the close of the campaign he returned to Topeka, where he remained until 1870, when he moved to New Chicago, now called Chanute.

While engaged in the practice of medicine, Doctor Bailey contributed valuable articles to medical journals, and in 1869 was president of the Kansas State Medical Society. After his removal to Chanute he abandoned the medical profession and devoted his time to banking and other business pursuits. He established the first bank in Neosho county. He was an active Republican, and was a delegate to the state convention in 1880, and again in 1876. Doctor Bailey's family consisted of one daughter and four sons. He continued to reside in Chanute until his death in 1893.

3. The manuscript also was made the basis of an article in *Transactions of the Kansas State Medical Society* (1869), pp. 33-40.

The men were from all parts of the state, and many were from malarial districts, hence there was considerable ague at first, but it disappeared very fast after we got on the Plains.

As is always the case when recruits first go into camp, there were a great many cases of diarrhoea and dysentery, or rather a combination of the two diseases, and I think might appropriately be designated dysenteric-diarrhoea. Generally of a mild form, however, and none of the cases assumed that severe chronic form which proved so fatal during the late war.

The regiment left Topeka on the fifth of November, leaving only one man—a case of remittent fever. The men were well provided with clothing, including ponchos, but were without tents or shelter of any kind.

On the eighth it rained all day, snowed in the evening and turned very cold, the men suffering severely. Left a bad case of pneumonia at Emporia in charge of Doctor Jacobs.

On the twelfth we arrived at Camp Beecher⁴ on the Arkansas river, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, where we remained one day; received five days' rations of hard-bread, pork and coffee; left in hospital one case of pneumonia, one case of periostitis, and one case of accidental gunshot wound.

Crossed the Arkansas river on the morning of the fourteenth, bidding adieu to the last vestige of civilization, directing our course southwest, under the guidance of a scout known as "Apache Bill."

On the night of the fifteenth, after raining all day, it turned intensely cold, froze hard and the wind blew a perfect hurricane from the north. Were encamped in a bleak place on the Nenescah,⁵ among sand hills. Several of the men had their toes frozen, but with the exception of one severe case of pneumonia and some twenty desertions, no other bad results from the night's exposure.

On the night of the eighteenth, while in camp on Medicine Lodge creek, we were favored with a stampede of some three hundred horses. Several men were hurt, which swelled the list of contusions for the month, and the regiment was delayed one day, which was an important item, as the distance to supplies was about an hundred miles, forage all gone, and rations nearly out. The time, however, was improved by sending out details to obtain buffalo meat.

On the night of the twenty-first it commenced snowing and continued for thirty-six hours; not less than two feet of snow fell.

4. Established May 11, 1868, on the present site of Wichita.—Hortense Balderston Campbell, "Camp Beecher," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3, pp. 172-185.

5. Probably the Ninnescah river.

On the twenty-second it was impossible to move. We were encamped in a little brushy valley, and fortunately had plenty of wood. Entirely out of rations and difficult to get buffalo on account of the snow, which made it impossible to see more than a few yards. A great many of the men actually suffered from hunger; and the limited amount of buffalo that was obtained saved us the necessity of eating horse-flesh, not only for this day, but for the next six days.

After one-and-a-half days' delay we resumed the march, expecting to find Cimmaron [Cimarron] river in a few miles, and after winding around sand breaks until dark, encamped within about three miles of the river, and twenty-five miles below where we should have struck it. The men and horses were becoming very much exhausted. The next morning parties were sent out to obtain buffalo meat, and in the afternoon Colonel Crawford took all that had horses in condition to travel, which amounted to but little more than half of the regiment, and struck out to find "Camp Supply," an indefinite distance of course. The balance of the regiment remained in camp, being unable to move, and depended entirely upon buffalo to live, which were plentiful by going a few miles from camp. Salt water was carried from the Cimmaron in canteens to season the meat with, and without anything else we succeeded in living. The men suffered considerably from dysentery in a mild form. My supply of opiates was soon exhausted, and I prepared a mixture of olive oil, turpentine, fl. ex. ipecac and creosote, which proved to be very efficient. A number of the men indulged in eating large quantities of hackberries, which in a few cases produced rather serious results. The broken seeds, or stones, became impacted in the rectum, causing complete obstruction, and could only be removed by using a scoop. The camp forever afterwards was known among the men as "Hackberry Point."

While here I evaporated just one half pint of water from the Cimmaron river and obtained, when perfectly dry, ninety-four grains of salt. What is properly the salt plains of the Cimmaron is a strip of country along the south side of the river, about opposite this point.

On the night of the twenty-eighth of November we received rations and forage by Captain Pliley, who had been sent forward on the 22d to find Camp Supply and procure provisions.

On the first day of December the detachment joined Colonel Crawford, who had arrived three days before at General Sheridan's supply camp, situated on Beaver creek, near its junction with north

fork of the Canadian, three hundred and fifty miles west of Topeka, Kansas, where we remained for seven days, and started for Fort Cobb. Left a detachment of about three hundred dismounted men under command of Major Dimon, and in charge of the surgeon of the post; ten of the number on sick report, three of whom were wounded by accident. Upon the arrival of Doctor Robert Aikman, second assistant surgeon of the regiment, some time in December, he took charge of the detachment. His reports and the reports of a detachment of about eighty men sent to Fort Dodge, and also the reports of two companies that were detailed to escort trains, are not included in my reports.

We arrived at Fort Cobb after twelve days marching during very cold weather. The regiment was provided with shelter tents, had plenty to eat and enjoyed excellent health.

We moved south to the east end of the Wichita mountains (Medicine Bluff creek) in the fore part of January, where we remained for about two months. Good country, excellent water and plenty of fuel. As the reports for January and February show there was no sickness at all. The weather was generally mild, no snow, considerable rain, and with the exception of a "norther" occasionally, was decidedly pleasant. The men built fireplaces to their "pup" tents, and generally had rations sufficient, to which was added no small amount of game, such as deer, antelope, turkeys, etc.

On the second of March the command under General Custer, consisting of the Seventh U. S. cavalry, mounted, and the Nineteenth Kansas, dismounted, started west in search of the Cheyenne Indians. The men suffered considerably from sore and blistered feet, but it very soon became evident that the dismounted cavalry could outmarch the mounted. And when on the fifth day out, General Custer divided his command, he sent about two thirds of the mounted and one third of the dismounted a short route to supplies, and with the balance of his command, made a march of some three hundred miles in seventeen days, on short rations, which were entirely exhausted, and the men devoured with a relish the mules that were killed because they could travel no farther, and decided the meat better than the Texas cattle furnished by the commissary department.

After the reunion of the command on the Washita river, seventy-five miles south of Camp Supply, marching was commenced at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, until our arrival at Fort Hays. Many of the men became tired and foot-sore, but fortunately there

was a large number of empty wagons along, that, after considerable delay, were obtained to transport those that were unfit to march. The total distance marched by the regiment was about twelve hundred miles, two thirds of the distance on foot.

I shall not enter into any description of the country over which we passed, further than to say that after crossing the Arkansas, one hundred and fifty miles southwest of Topeka, with the exception of the immediate vicinity of the east end of the Wichita mountains, there is no country over which we marched that is not appropriately named the "Great American Desert," and in everything that constitutes a country susceptible to settlement, is as much inferior to the plains west of Ellsworth in Kansas, as those plains are to a good agricultural country. In fact, the whole region south of the Arkansas, and especially south of the Cimmaron river, and west of the Wichita mountains is one vast desert of red clay and sand, with scattering gypsum and salt deposits.

The following is a consolidation of the monthly reports of the regiment, which give the number taken sick and wounded during each month. It shows the whole number taken sick was two hundred and sixty-two, and the number wounded thirty-four, and also that more than half of the number of cases for the term of service—from October 30th, 1868, to April 16th, 1869—occurred in the month of November, which can be accounted for by the sudden changes from civil to camp life, excessive rough weather, and want of shelter and sufficient provisions, etc. Although during the month the number taken on sick report is large, in comparison with the other months, the cases were generally mild—only requiring to be relieved from duty for a few days. The morning reports show that the average number on sick report was but little more than one percent of the strength of the command.

*Report of Sick and Wounded of the Nineteenth Regiment,
Kansas Cavalry Volunteers,*

From October 30, 1868, to April 18, 1869.

DISEASES.	Taken sick in—									
	October (2 days)	November	December	January	February	March	April (8 days)	Total	Returned to duty	Sent to hospital
Typho-malarial fever				1				1		1
Remittent fever	2	1	2					5	3	2
Intermittent fever	4	40	17	5	3	11	4	84	84	
Acute diarrhoea	5	12	7	2			2	28	28	
Acute dysentery		32	9	5	3	4	2	55	55	
Tonsillitis		1						1	1	
Gonorrhoea		1	1					2	2	
Acute rheumatism		3	1	1	1	1		7	7	
Neuralgia	2							2	2	
Conjunctivitis		2			1	1		4	4	
Catarrh		5	2		1	1		9	9	
Pneumonia		3	1		1	1	1	7	4	3
Pleurisy		2				1		3	3	
Colic		1						1	1	
Constipation						1		1		1
Inguinal hernia		1	1					2	2	
Inflammation of testicle		1						1	1	
Inflammation of periosteum		2						2		2
Abscess		4	2	1				7	7	
Boil	2	7	1	1		1		12	12	
Ulcers		2	4			1		7	7	
Burns and scalds			1	2				3	3	
Contusions	1	12	1					14	14	
Sprains		2	2		2		1	7	7	
Frostbites		7	9	1				17	17	
Gunshot wounds		5	2	1				8	4	4
Lacerated wounds			1	1				2	2	
Obstruction of rectum		4						4	4	
Totals	16	150	64	21	12	23	10	296	283	12

The following is the average percent on sick report:

During October	1.	percent
During November	1.13	percent
During December	1.3	percent
During January	1.1	percent
During February	0.7	percent
During March	0.6	percent
During April	0.75	percent
Total number taken sick.....	262	
Wounded	34	

Which makes about one percent during the term of service, or in other words, the average number on sick report was one man in every hundred.

This includes all cases of sick and wounded that were relieved from duty. I have not the necessary statistics to make comparisons, but I think the above report indicates that the regiment suffered less from sickness than is usual among troops, even on the Plains; and it also shows that as far as the health of the troops is concerned, there can be no objection to winter campaigning, and the great "bug-bear," that active operations must stop on the Plains when winter sets in, is, I think, thoroughly demolished by last winter's campaign. In fact, as far as health and comfort of the troops are concerned (to say nothing of other military advantages), I would prefer the winter to the summer months.

Of those sent to the hospital all recovered and were returned to duty except one, who died in the hospital at Fort Hays.

Besides the death of typho-malarial fever, reported above, there was one man accidentally shot and instantly killed. Also one man died of disease in the detachment under charge of Assistant Surgeon Aikman. One man died of disease, and one was accidentally killed in the companies that were detached from the regiment, making in all six deaths, four from disease and two killed.

The case of typho-malarial fever that proved fatal was a severe and well-marked case. Treated with quinine, whisky, &c.

The treatment of dysentery was generally commenced with epsom salts or castor oil and turpentine, which was followed by opium combined with camphor or ipecac.

The cases of pneumonia were all severe; all treated with stimulants, opiates and tonics, together with extensive blistering; all recovered, although exposed to an extent that would be sufficient to account for the death of any case of pneumonia in private practice.

The cases of frostbite were all of the toes—none bad enough to require amputation.

Of the gunshot wounds reported, all were accidental, and none very severe, only one requiring a surgical operation, and that only the amputation of a finger.

While I speak with pleasure of the good health and few casualties of the regiment, I regret to say that on account of some philanthropic, "milk-and-water" Indian policy of those high in authority, we were not allowed to punish those heinous savage outlaws for the atrocious deeds committed, but a few weeks before upon defenseless women and children of our own state. Deeds, which twelve hundred brave men of Kansas volunteered to avenge on the first sound of the bugle to arms! Men who were able and willing to stand any exposure, march any distance, endure any hardships necessary to punish in a manner that would forever secure their own homes and families, and the wives and children of frontier settlers from the merciless savage brutes, who consider every act of kindness an indication of fear, and the fostering care of the government an admission of its inability or fear to punish them.

Before closing, I wish to extend to the commander and all the officers of the regiment, my regards for the prompt assent at all times, to all measures suggested by the medical officers in regard to the health and sanitary condition of the command, and their non-interference with matters pertaining to the medical department.

I also take the privilege to express my high respect for the assistant surgeon, E. K. Russell, who was constantly with the regiment, for the prompt and skillful manner in which he performed his duties, always ready and willing to do all in his power to aid the sick, and no less vigilant in guarding against malingerers.

Also to Assistant Surgeon Robert Aikman, who had charge of a detachment of the regiment, and proved himself to be an efficient officer and a gentleman.

And I must say further, that if the medical officers of the regiment were more fortunate in one thing than another, it was in having a hospital steward, J. G. Land, that in everything pertaining to the duties of a steward, could not be excelled. He combined with superior qualifications an enduring energy, and a disposition to promptly do all his duties that will long be remembered by those connected with him.

Wichita and Her Public Libraries

HORTENSE B. C. GIBSON

WICHITA had scarcely assumed the status of a town when churches and schools were established; immediately afterwards a library and lecture association was promoted. As early as 1873, four years after the first settlers bought land for homes, an association was formed which secured a charter for a library and lecture association. This charter, issued on December 4, 1873, was granted to the Wichita Library Association, "a corporation; formed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a public library and reading room and for the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of intellectual improvement in the city of Wichita, Sedgwick county, Kansas."¹ Nine directors were to govern the policies of the association; the capital stock was to be \$2,000, divided into 200 shares of \$10 each. Prospective shareholders were induced to join on the promise that shares could be paid for on the monthly installment plan, though the committee which made this agreeable offer also said that one payment would be highly satisfactory. John P. Harsen, William J. Hobson, Henry J. Walker, Quincy A. Smith, and M. S. Adams were the five men who drafted the charter.²

Evidently this library never functioned, for there is no mention in later issues of the *Eagle* of its ever having been in business.

In the spring of 1874 an attempt was made to establish a mercantile library association and Dr. C. C. Furley, one of its promoters, went so far as to collect pledges sufficient to purchase 500 volumes. It also never materialized.³

On February 3, 1876, W. P. Campbell, A. H. Fabrique, Fred Schattner, J. M. Atwood, M. M. Murdock, Frank Fisher, Charles C. Furley, W. E. Stanley, J. P. Harsen, Ben W. Aldrich, M. W. Levy, H. G. Ruggles, and George E. Harris obtained permission to operate a library association, also called the Wichita Library Association.⁴ They had no money with which to buy books or rent quarters, so, under the direction of their president, W. P. Campbell, they levied a membership fee of three dollars.⁵

1. Kansas, secretary of state, "Corporations," v. 5, p. 416.

2. Wichita *Eagle*, December 11, 1873, p. 3.

3. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1874, p. 2.

4. Original charter is in the office of the secretary of state of Kansas. The Wichita library has a certified copy of it.

5. Wichita *Weekly Eagle*, December 28, 1876, p. 3, "Bylaws of the Wichita Library Association."

Soon the women formed an auxiliary association to help raise funds, sponsoring ice cream socials, concerts, and other entertainments.⁶ Mr. Campbell said in a recent conversation that lectures by Noble Prentiss on a trip to Europe and Joe Waters on a "Journey of Jonah" enriched in no mean way the coffers of the association; particularly since the lecturers donated their services, and in the case of Mr. Waters paid admission to hear his own lecture.⁷

Eagle hall, in the Greiffenstein building housed the first library,⁸ the books for which were bought in 1877.⁹ Later Nerius Baldwin's photograph gallery on East Douglas was used, Dell Baldwin, the photographer's daughter, serving as librarian.¹⁰ She was followed by Mrs. Ella Glenn Shields.¹¹

At first the library was opened only on Saturday afternoon.¹² Later it was opened Wednesday afternoon also.¹³

From the first, this association was ambitious. It raised \$1,250 among its own members for a building and asked Jim Hope, the mayor, and his council to contribute an equal amount, but the city, raising all its revenue from liquor taxes, refused to levy a tax on property, and the movement failed.¹⁴

Later the Odd Fellows had plans drawn for a three-story building, the third story of which was for a library.¹⁵ This project also fell through.

The only record we have of the circulation of books is that of 1878, when 2,047 volumes were issued.¹⁶ The Wichita Library Association ceased to exist in 1885, when the association turned over all the books to the city.¹⁷

For a few months the city employed the librarian formerly in charge of the association library.¹⁸ Then in November the city council rented for twenty-five dollars a month a room in the old Beacon building at 112 East Douglas, and signed a contract with J. R. McIntosh, of Chicago, to take charge of the library for one year.¹⁹ He was to receive all the income from cards sold and in

6. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1877, p. 3.

7. Conversation of Mr. W. P. Campbell with Mrs. H. B. C. Gibson, April 30, 1935.

8. Conversation with Mr. Campbell.

9. *Wichita Weekly Eagle*, September 6, 1877, p. 3, "Appropriation for books."

10. *Wichita City Directory and Immigrant's Guide* (1878), p. 119.

11. *Wichita Daily Beacon*, January 18, 1882, p. 3.

12. *Wichita Weekly Eagle*, May 10, 1877, p. 3.

13. *Wichita Daily Beacon*, September 25, 1884, p. 1.

14. Conversation with Mr. W. P. Campbell, April 30, 1935.

15. *Wichita Eagle*, January 16, 1879, p. 3, and March 27, 1879, p. 3.

16. *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, January 15, 1879, p. 5.

17. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, August 30, 1885, p. 4.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Wichita*, city council, "Proceedings," November 23, 1885.

return was to buy five hundred volumes of the Century Library, which included historical and scientific works and the best fiction. Sixty-five dollars was appropriated for the printing of a catalog.²⁰ The fee at this time was a dollar per year, and so anxious was Mr. McIntosh to secure subscribers that he offered to allow them to pay twenty-five cents per quarter.²¹

Perhaps he might have had competition, too, from the Sedgwick County Library which, sponsored by the W. C. T. U., flourished from the middle eighties to the early nineties, although the type of book which the Sedgwick County Library offered the public would probably appeal only to the very serious reader. Tickets in it, too, were one dollar per year.²² In the Sedgwick County Library, Emanuel Swedenborg was represented by twenty volumes; *The Garden of Eden* by Doughty, and the *New View of Hell and Heaven*, revealed by Barrett, were said "to embody a system of philosophy which is exciting the attention of the best minds of the day, and the perusal will not fail to enlighten any one who reads them."²³

In 1888 the board of education accepted the gift of several libraries from both individuals and from societies, and for a year or so made them available to the public, without any legal authority to do so, until during the session of the legislature in 1889, Doctor Stevenson, the superintendent of schools, and members of the board, secured the passage of a law²⁴ giving boards of education authority to establish and maintain public school libraries.²⁵ Though this type of library was called a public-school library, it was open to and patronized by the general public.²⁶

A major development in the progress of Wichita—the building of the city hall²⁷ was contemporary with the establishment of the Public School Library. In making their plans for housing the books, the board, then located in the Sedgwick block, petitioned and obtained permission from the city council to occupy rooms on the first floor of the city hall. In the old quarters the secretary of the board acted as librarian²⁸ until, on May 26, 1893, quarters were secured in the new city hall and Miss Isis Blanche Martin, now Mrs.

20. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 25, 1885, p. 4.

21. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1885, p. 6.

22. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1890, "W. C. T. U. Notes," p. 5.

23. *Wichita Daily Beacon*, December 1, 1886, p. 4.

24. Kansas, *Session Laws*, 1889, Ch. 227, Sec. 33.

25. Wichita, board of education, "Proceedings," Book D, September 6, 1909-September 12, 1916, pp. 106-108.

26. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, July 29, 1893, p. 5.

27. Wichita, board of education, "Proceedings," Book A, October 5, 1885, to August 17, 1891, p. 427. Permission given to the board to occupy rooms in city building.

28. *Ibid.*, Book B, September 7, 1891, to February 6, 1899, pp. 26 and 27. Rules for the governing of the City library adopted November 23, 1891.

Charlesworth, of San Diego, Cal., was appointed librarian.²⁹ The daughter of Dr. C. E. Martin,³⁰ she had come to Wichita in 1877, and living at 411 Sherman, had attended the old "bed bug" school at Second and Wichita streets.³¹

Her tenure of office was short, only a year, but that of Minnie McKibben, her successor, was still shorter, for Miss McKibben officiated only from May³² to December, 1894,³³ when she married Earl Blake, a young attorney. Coming to Wichita in 1877 with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. James A. McKibben, she remained here a short time, and then lived in various parts of the country until 1890, when she returned to Wichita and remained here until her death in 1931. She was a student in Garfield Central Memorial University in 1891-1892.³⁴

Upon Miss McKibben's marriage Dula Pease, afterwards Mrs. William A. Ayres, wife of the congressman, became librarian. A native of Crabb Orchard, Williamson county, Ill., she moved to Wichita when a young girl and was educated in the city schools.³⁵ During her term of office, December, 1894, to July, 1896,³⁶ a catalog of the library was printed, and the organization of the library was such that it was almost self-supporting.³⁷ Marrying William A. Ayres in 1896, she lived in Wichita until 1914, when, upon her husband's election to congress, she divided her time between Wichita and Washington. She died in 1934.

It was during the term of office of Miss Laura Gross, 1896³⁸-1902,³⁹ that the subscription fee of one dollar was removed and the library became free. Beginning March 1, 1900,⁴⁰ the city agreed to appropriate \$50 per month for its support, and that, with the amount contributed by the board of education, made it possible for 920 members to have free cards by May 1, 1900.⁴¹

Agitation started in the seventies was revived at this, the turn of the century, when the Chautauqua Social Union, under the direc-

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171, May 26, 1893.

30. Letter from Mrs. Charlesworth, April 2, 1935.

31. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, September 11, 1932, p. 3.

32. *Wichita*, board of education, "Proceedings," Book B, p. 247, May 7, 1894. Elected.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 292, December 3, 1894. Resigned.

34. Letter from Earl Blake, April 10, 1935.

35. Letter from William A. Ayres, April 4, 1935.

36. *Wichita*, board of education, "Proceedings," Book B, p. 292, December 3, 1894.

37. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, May 5, 1896, p. 5.

38. *Wichita*, board of education, "Proceedings," Book B, p. 364, May 4, 1896.

39. *Ibid.*, Book C, March 6, 1899, to August 24, 1909, p. 163, December 23, 1902.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 34, February 6, 1900.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 42, May 7, 1900.

tion of Mrs. R. M. Piatt, sponsored a movement to obtain a \$50,000 Carnegie library.⁴² Nothing came of it.

Following Miss Gross,⁴³ who resigned to study at the congressional library in Washington, Miss Anna Eugene Wiegand became librarian.⁴⁴ A native Wichitan, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. Wiegand, she had graduated from Lewis academy⁴⁵ and had served as an assistant librarian⁴⁶ for several years previous to her assuming the librarianship.⁴⁷ She resigned in 1908 to marry Mr. W. E. Brickman. After his death she studied secretarial science and is now engaged in that work in Detroit.

Quarters for the library were established on the first floor of the City building in 1893,⁴⁸ and remained there until January, 1908, when the fourth floor became the scene of library activity.⁴⁹

A room especially for children was provided for the first time in these new quarters. There were, besides this room, which was located in the northeast turret, one large room, containing all the books and bound magazines; a reading room; and a large store room.⁵⁰ Miss Kathryn Cossitt, appointed in January, 1908, served as librarian from 1908 to 1915, while the library was in this location. She is a graduate of Lewis academy and of the Municipal University of Wichita. Both she and Mrs. Brickman completed the summer course which Melvil Dewey offered for many years at Chautauqua, N. Y.⁵¹

In 1909 the legislature repealed the law passed in 1889, empowering boards of education to levy a tax for the support of a public library,⁵² but the board continued to operate the library until August 1, 1911,⁵³ when it entered into an agreement with the city commissioners, and the library was turned over to the city. Twelve hundred volumes were given to the high-school library, the remaining 12,000 were consigned to the city without remuneration. The fixtures, consisting of charging desk, steel stacks, and electric fix-

42. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 11, 1900, p. 5.

43. *Ibid.*, December 20, 1902, p. 6.

44. Wichita, board of education, "Proceedings," Book C, p. 163, December 23, 1902.

45. Letter from Mrs. Brickman, April 19, 1935.

46. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1935.

47. Wichita, board of education, "Proceedings," Book C, p. 42, May 7, 1900. First appointed.

48. *Ibid.*, Book B, pp. 170, 177, May 26, 1893.

49. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, January 31, 1908, p. 5.

50. Personal recollections of Mrs. Gibson.

51. Municipal University of Wichita, *Seventh Annual Catalogue*, 1932-1933, p. 15.

52. *Kansas, Session Laws*, 1909, Ch. 217. Act took effect February 27, 1909.

53. Wichita, board of education, "Proceedings," Book D, pp. 104-108, July 24, 1911. Résumé of history of library gives date of July 31, 1911, as that on which the board surrendered jurisdiction of the library to the city commissioners.

tures, were transferred to the city for the sum of \$1,000. The city was to assume all bills and running expenses from August 1, 1911, on.⁵⁴

Negotiations with the Carnegie corporation, asking for funds for a library building, were begun in 1911, under Commissioner E. M. Leach according to Miss Cossitt,⁵⁵ who pushed the project from the first and saw it completed in 1915, but there is no official record until February, 1912, when at the instigation of Commissioner Harts the city clerk was instructed to write Andrew Carnegie, "taking up the matter of donations for a public library."⁵⁶ In August of 1912 the city commissioners accepted the offer of \$75,000 for a building, and agreed to provide \$7,500 for its maintenance and upkeep the first year.⁵⁷ Mr. Anthony Allaire Crowell was the architect, whose plans were approved by the Carnegie corporation and the city commissioners,⁵⁸ and Mr. H. J. Vandenberg was the contractor.⁵⁹ Mrs. R. P. Murdock designed the interior,⁶⁰ with Arthur Covey doing the mural paintings.⁶¹

The personnel of the first library board included: Mayor O. H. Bentley, Mrs. Henry Ware Allen, Al Blase, Dr. A. M. Brodie, C. E. Cosand, Mrs. Will K. Jones, E. M. Leach, Mrs. L. S. Trotter, H. V. Wheeler.⁶²

The building was opened to the public on May 14, 1915,⁶³ but it was not until September of the same year that the formal dedication took place⁶⁴ and Mr. Julius Lucht, librarian from 1915 to 1925, took charge.⁶⁵ A graduate of Harvard University, and of the library science course at Pratt Institute, he had been librarian at Leavenworth and at the University Club of Chicago before coming to Wichita.⁶⁶ It was during his administration that the library was organized into its present departmental state, with a greatly augmented budget, staff and book collection.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 101, July 17, 1911.

55. Statement of Miss Cossitt, April, 1935. She says the records are lost.

56. Wichita, city commissioners, "Proceedings," Journal I, p. 612, February 17, 1912.

57. *Ibid.*, Journal J, p. 63, August 6, 1912.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 124, November 7, 1912. Also p. 137, December 2, 1912.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-272, August 6, 1913.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 343, January 22, 1914.

61. Wichita, city hall records.—Letter of January 30, 1915, from the contractor H. J. Vandenberg to the city commissioners.

62. Wichita, city commissioners, "Proceedings," Journal J, p. 517, April 9, 1915.

63. Wichita *Daily Eagle*, May 13, 1915, p. 2.

64. Wichita, city library, board of directors, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Directors of the Library Board of the City Library of Wichita, Kansas, April, 1915-December 4, 1923," p. 25. Mr. Lucht's acceptance was formally received by the library board on July 19, 1915.

65. *Ibid.*, opposite p. 42, printed program of the dedication. It took place September 29, 1915.

66. Autobiographical sketch written by Mr. Lucht, April 17, 1935.

Mr. Lucht was succeeded in May, 1925, by Miss Ruth E. Hammond,⁶⁷ who came to Wichita from Muskogee, Okla., where she had been librarian for four years. Previous to that she had been a member of the staff at the Hibbing, Minn., public library. She is a graduate of the school of library science of the University of Illinois.

During her years of service the library has grown until its staff now numbers forty-three, its book collection totals 116,000, and its circulation of books has for three years exceeded a million volumes a year.⁶⁸

Little did the members of the Wichita Library Association, men of vision though they were, foresee what their early efforts might bring forth. It was this spirit born of a desire to make their community foremost in all things, financial, cultural, and spiritual, that led them to start a library in this little cowtown of the prairies; it was this spirit which has persisted throughout the years, and which, culminating in the building of the Carnegie library in 1915, has brought forth in Wichita a public library from whose shelves Wichita citizens borrow each year a million books, a public library which in content, and in use, is the largest public library in Kansas.

67. Wichita, city library, board of directors, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Directors of the Library Board of the City Library of Wichita, Kansas, 1924-1931," p. 72, April 8, 1925.

68. Latest statistics available from the records of the Wichita City Library, May, 1935.

Bypaths of Kansas History

A MISSOURI FINGER IN A KANSAS PIE

From *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., July 13, 1854.

A. Guthrie, the individual that was so badly beaten for delegate to congress from Kansas, has been writing abolition letters east, encouraging his brethren to come to Kansas. Citizens of Kansas, we are opposed to the "lynch law." We would hate to see an American citizen hung without the "benefit of the clergy" or a jury. But is there not some way to punish this traitor? Is *drowning* too good for him? We merely ask the question!

ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST EXPRESS IN DENVER

From the *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, K. T., May 14, 1859.

On Saturday evening last—7th inst.—two coaches, the first of the "Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express," arrived in our city, having made the trip in nineteen days, bringing news from the states down to the 18th ult.; also nine through passengers.

This is the beginning of the stupendous enterprise undertaken by the above named express company—the making of a new road, over a comparatively unknown country, and immediately stocking it with a working force of men, animals and wagons, sufficient to forward with promptness and dispatch a daily mail and passenger coach from each end of the line. The coaches which we have seen are the very best of Concord coaches, finished in the best style, and perfectly new, having never turned a wheel until their departure from Leavenworth.

We are indebted to B. D. Williams, Esq., the very able and efficient superintendent, who had sole charge of this pioneer company, and the location of the road and stations, for the following outline of the company's operations, and description of the route:

They started, March 28th and April 1st, a large train of wagons carrying material, camps and supplies for establishing stations on the route. These stations are established at intervals of twenty-five miles after passing Junction City, 135 miles out, to this place. Each station is supplied with tents (soon to be replaced by houses) sufficient to accommodate all the employees and passengers, and occupied by a man and his family—a new feature, and a decided improvement over most stage stations on the plains.

The road, after passing Fort Riley, follows an entirely new route, all the way, keeping along the divide between the Republican and Solomon's forks of Kansas river, crossing the heads of the tributaries of the latter named fork for some distance, then bearing a little northward, crossing the heads of Prairie Dog, Sappa and Crammer creeks, tributaries of the Republican, and striking that river near the mouth of Rock creek, between longitude 101 and 102 degrees; it then follows the south side of the Republican to a point near its source, thence striking due west it crosses the heads of Beaver, Bijou and

Kiowa creeks, tributaries of the Platte, passing through a beautiful pine country for sixty miles, and striking Cherry creek twenty miles above its mouth.

The whole length of the road is 687 miles by odometer measurement, but it will probably be shortened 75 miles by cut-offs in various places—one very considerable one at this end, terminating the road directly at the mouth of Cherry creek. The road throughout its whole length is good when broken and traveled, but the coaches that have just arrived made the first track over it. Water is found at convenient intervals throughout the whole distance; also abundance of wood, except for about 150 miles along the Republican, where it is somewhat scarce. The road throughout its whole length is between lat. 39 deg. 30 min. and 40 deg. north.

The company have 52 coaches, one of which will leave each end of the route each day, except Sunday, at six a. m., and make the trip in ten to twelve days.

They will also dispatch from Leavenworth every ten days a freight and provision train to distribute supplies to the several stations and keep a large stock on sale at this place.

In addition to the passenger business, a money, package and letter express will be carried at reasonable rates, and after the first of June next a regular United States mail.

John S. Jones, Esq., is the resident agent at Leavenworth, Dr. J. M. Fox, at Cherry Creek, and Nelson Sergeant, Esq., is route agent on the western division of 150 miles.

By the energy of this company a new route is marked out for the emigrant across the plains, one that can be followed without the risk of starvation and lingering death which so many unfortunate victims have met on the Smoky-hill route this spring.

WHITE CLOUD "THIEF"

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, November 5, 1863.

Sam Wood's paper comes to us generally directed: "White Cloud Thief." We must acknowledge that is exceedingly smart.

A RUSSIAN WEDDING

From the *Hays City Sentinel*, January 12, 1877.

The following interesting description of a wedding down in the Russian settlement on Big Timber was furnished us by one of our citizens who was present.

"The wedding of Johannes Schaefer to Rosa Draher took place at 11 o'clock a. m., Tuesday last, in Liebenthal, Father Sommereisen officiating; and was celebrated in the real old country style, which is decidedly unique, and will be of interest to those who have never witnessed it.

"After the ceremonies the bride returns to her parents and the groom to his; and then the preparations for the wedding festivities commence. During the afternoon the father of the groom selects two of his intimate friends, whose duty it is to visit each house and extend an invitation to the coming festivities. At each house they make a long speech, in rhyme, picturing in glowing colors the pleasures of the coming frolic, such as good edibles, consist-

ing of meats, cakes, etc.; that they shall have plenty to drink and smoke, and the best of music. At each house fancy colored ribbons are tied to the walking sticks of the two visitors and they are treated to the best the house can afford.

"In the evening all the young and unmarried folks collect and have a dance. The musicians always play free of charge for this dance; but are well supplied with wine, whisky, etc. This closes the first day.

"The next morning the bridegroom, accompanied by the friends of the newly married pair, proceed to the house of the bride, when she comes forth, and from thence the procession, preceded by music and men and boys with muskets, etc., passes through the principal street to the house of the groom's father, and the couple receive the blessing of relatives. Thence the procession proceeds to the church where mass is read. It being now about 12 o'clock, the bridal party go to dinner—to a table laden with all the good things of the season. At the door each lady congratulates the couple; and the groom gives each guest a glass of liquor. As soon as dinner is over the room is cleared for the dance.

"The invited guest not belonging to the village, is given the honor of dancing the first dance with the bride. As it is a custom to dance three dances in succession with the bride and three dances with the bridesmaid, to a person unacquainted with their manner of dancing this is rather too much of a good thing all at the start. The dance is kept up all night and during the next day.

"One of the features of the dinner is the poor groom must stand shivering on the outside while the bride and guests are eating.

"The band of music consisted of two violins, two clarionets and a trumpet, and their music was first class.

"Schaefer, the groom, is the 17 year old son of the head man of the settlement, and is a promising boy. Rosa, the bride, is the 19 year old daughter of Schaefer's neighbor. The bride was dressed in a yellow-striped calico. I am not equal to the groom's costume. After the three days of frolic the young man takes his bride to his new home and they begin life in earnest."

BULLETS IN THE AIR OR EARLY-DAY DODGE CITY AFTER DARK

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

Yesterday morning about 3 o'clock this peaceful suburban city was thrown into unusual excitement, and the turmoil was all caused by a rantankerous cowboy who started the mischief by a too free use of his little revolver.

In Dodge City, after dark, the report of a revolver generally means business and is an indication that somebody is on the war path, therefore when the noise of this shooting and the yells of excited voices rang out on the midnight breeze, the sleeping community awoke from their slumbers, listened a while to the click of the revolver, wondered who was shot this time, and then went to sleep again. But in the morning many dreaded to hear the result of the war lest it should be a story of bloodshed and carnage, or of death to some familiar friend. But in this instance there was an abundance of noise and smoke, with no very terrible results.

It seems that three or four herders were paying their respects to the city and its institutions, and as is usually their custom, remained until about 3 o'clock in the morning, when they prepared to return to their camps. They

buckled on their revolvers, which they were not allowed to wear around town, and mounted their horses, when all at once one of them conceived the idea that to finish the night's revelry and give the natives due warning of his departure, he must do some shooting, and forthwith he commenced to bang away, one of the bullets whizzing into a dance hall near by, causing no little commotion among the participants in the "dreamy waltz" and quadrille. Policemen Earp and Masterson made a raid on the shootist who gave them two or three volleys, but fortunately without effect. The policemen returned the fire and followed the herders with the intention of arresting them. The firing then became general, and some rooster who did not exactly understand the situation, perched himself in a window of the dance hall and indulged in a promiscuous shoot all by himself. The herders rode across the bridge followed by the officers. A few yards from the bridge one of the herders fell from his horse from weakness caused by a wound in the arm which he had received during the fracas. The other herder made good his escape. The wounded man was properly cared for and his wound, which proved to be a bad one, was dressed by Dr. McCarty. His name is George Hoy, and he is rather an intelligent looking young man.

A REBUTTAL IN TWO-BIT WORDS

From the *Cheyenne County Rustler*, Wano, October 30, 1885.

The frisky bachelor who punches up the phosphorescent fires of the kite tail labeled a newspaper, on the eastern line of the county, had better take a dose of paragoric as a palladium for the last game of "draw" he played in the blacksmith shop, or post up on the history of the county in which he resides. This gay, loquacious, looby, who wears a brass collar made by the north-western cattle company, for his use, prints in pica that Wano is six years old. A glance at the last biennial report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture would enlighten this modern ajax. The post office of Wano was established in 1879, one mile west of the present site. The Town of Wano was established April 26, 1885, and now contains over forty houses, and more than one hundred people.

MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH A CYCLONE

C. E. Williams, of Alton, in 1932 wrote the following interesting account of a cyclone in western Kansas.

The morning of May 20, 1918, was a nice typical spring morning. But as the sun began to climb upward, the wind began to blow from the south, and by noon it was something of a gale. There was a smoky, hazy appearance in the sky, and the atmosphere grew sultry as evening drew on.

The day was the first and second anniversary of the cyclone that swooped down on the little village of Codel just over the line in Rooks Co.

This strange coincidence caused the people near the village to look on May 20 as an unlucky day.

On this particular day, we, myself and son Luther, were out on Red Cross work. We had worked the north part of the township and by evening had got to the south side. We drove up to the residence of Frank Erway and found that gentleman hoeing potatoes. As we drove up he greeted us with the

cheering remark that "this is cyclone day and it looks like we might have another one."

Well, we went home and thought nothing more about it. About eleven o'clock that night it was brought to our minds more vividly than we cared to have it. Our babe, a little less than a year old, was fretful and kept us awake, and a little after ten o'clock we were up with him and heard a terrible roar to the south of us. I remarked to the wife that there must be hail about two miles south.

Had we thought it a storm, we could have gotten the family into the cave, as we had plenty of time before it struck us, but we had never run from a storm yet and we didn't think it necessary now. All of a sudden the doors slammed shut (they were all open on account of it being so sultry) and the light was blown out. That was the first twister and it took the barn and granary and scattered the debris south. I arose and opened the doors and made a light but the roar increased in volume so that I didn't go to bed at once. Instead, wife and baby got up and came into the dining room where I was, and wife said we had better go to the cave as she thought the storm too severe to risk staying in the house. I told her that if it was a cyclone we were too late, and besides I didn't like the idea of going to the cave and leaving the children upstairs. Just then I felt the floor raise and in an instant everything was blank.

Of course it was all over in a jiffy, and when I regained consciousness I was lying on the ground with the rain pelting me on the back, and it was so dark I could not see anything only as the lightning would flash and then I could only catch a glimpse of objects for a moment.

As it happened I was in the yard about three rods from where the house stood, and headed east.

As soon as the wind died down enough so I could stand up, I began to look for some of the family. During a flash of lightning I saw Luther walking around looking for the rest of the children. He looked like a ghost as he moved slowly around in his night clothes. As the cold rain would revive one he would begin to make an effort to get up and Luther would see him and help him from under the wreckage.

There were twelve of us all piled up in a bunch in a fifteen-foot circle and we were easier found than if we had been scattered out more.

We had a brooder house dug in the ground and were piled up by it and as each one was found he was placed in it as it was cold outside in the rain.

One of the boys was pinned down in the midst of the broken lumber and he had his collar bone broken on one side and his wrist on the other side, rendering both arms useless. One little girl had her nightgown pulled up around her head and the rain had shut off the air so much that she could hardly breathe when found. After all were located and gotten in the dugout, and a few coats and quilts were found and used to wrap up in, we were quite comfortable, though wet. Soon some of the neighbors came to look for us, as they saw the house was gone, and were surprised to find no one killed. We were taken to the neighbors and the rest of the night was spent in cleaning up and picking splinters out of our scalps and getting in some dry clothing.

When daylight came we started out to see what the result of the storm was. We found the fences all down, our stock out in the fields, and our neighbors'

houses down the same as ours. Soon the reports began to come in of the damage to others. Here is a list of the ones that had their houses and all other buildings destroyed: D. W. Stull, S. E. Williams, Saul Stanfield, W. H. Bales, W. R. Gregory, Jesse Gregory, Mr. Mischler, R. A. Gregory.

The following list had their barns and in some cases other buildings destroyed: D. C. Crutchfield, C. H. Stull, E. E. Gregory, J. M. Baker, B. D. Cooley, C. L. Tucker, Jesse Gregory, Elijah Smith, C. R. Bales, W. J. Hibbs, Ira Snyder, M. C. Lamm, Friends Church parsonage, Fairwest school house.

C. H. Stull was lying a corpse in his home that night when his barn was taken. Crutchfield had a large barn and some granaries completely destroyed.

None of the above persons had stock killed to amount to anything except C. E. Williams and Saul Stanfield. Stanfield's house was made into kindling. One of his matched roan horses was killed as well as two milk cows and some calves. The family escaped serious injury except a son who was bruised up quite a bit. He was in the graduating class of the Alton high school and his classmates brought his diploma and delivered it to him while he was still in bed recovering from his injuries. C. R. Bales' house was moved off the foundation about four or five rods and turned one-quarter way around. He tried to get out of the house while it was in motion and go to the cave but could not get the door open. A cement lid to his cistern filter was lifted and the cement cap of the cistern was dropped in the filter and the lid replaced without cracking it.

The W. H. Bales' home was completely destroyed, outbuildings and all. Mr. and Mrs. Bales were getting along in years and lived alone. When they saw the storm approaching they went in the cellar under the house for safety, but might have been killed or seriously injured had they not crawled under a table used to put jars on. When the house was taken several large rocks of the foundation fell on the table they were under and all around it. W. H. had his car in the barn and it was untouched, while the barn was a total wreck. Mrs. Bales lost an eye in the storm and it was several weeks before it was found. Her son C. R. Bales was one day walking in the wheat field north of the Bales house and he accidentally stumbled on it. As he was walking along he happened to look down at his feet and there was that eye staring up at him. He picked it up and found the glass was as good as ever, so he gave it to his mother and now she can see as well as ever.

The R. A. Gregory family saw the storm in time to get in the cave close by, and thus escaped injury, but their house and large new barn was a complete loss.

W. R. Gregory and wife lived one-quarter mile west of R. A. Gregory. They attempted to go to the cave and while passing through the kitchen were hurled to the yard with the kitchen, and W. R. had both legs broken below the knees. One was a clean break while the other was crushed and as he was getting along in years it was a long time in knitting together. A sucking colt was more fortunate. It and its mother were running in the pasture close by and the next morning it was found in the cave W. R. tried to reach, and was unhurt.

The cellar steps started west and then turned north. The colt made this turn and came out without a scratch.

At Jesse Gregory's place a feather bed was sucked into a window and

lodged there and probably saved the house from going. The houses that were destroyed seemed to explode as all the sides were blown outward.

After the storm had spent its force, Jesse and son stepped out in the yard to listen to the roar as it swept on its way, and while in that attitude they heard something fall to the ground with a thud, just a few feet away from them. On investigating they found the object to be a lamp off a Ford car. Our car was torn to pieces and one of the lamps was gone. If the lamp was off our car it was carried one and one-half miles west and one-half mile south to Jesse's place.

The M. C. Lamm barn was blown away but left a team of horses tied to the manger unhurt. We have one of the horses now.

It is an ill wind that blows no one some good. Ira Snyder had his barn blown away but the house was not hurt. He was away at the time but hurried home when he heard of the storm. There was an unused room to the house and the cyclone opened the door and threw a new work shirt in and closed the door. Ira never found out whose shirt it was and as it fit him he wore it.

One of our boys found, when changing clothes, that a shingle nail had been driven through the skin of his shin just as you would stick a pin through a fold of cloth. He pulled it out with no bad effect.

Those who saw the storm said it looked like a man's hand with the fingers all pointing down. We know there were at least two at our place although one was enough. The first one took the barn south and the next one took the house north. The near neighbors said after the first twister went through they could see our house standing, but after the second one passed they could see the house was gone and they began to investigate.

The trend of the storm was from the southwest to the northeast, and when it left our neighborhood it seemed to raise and the next place it struck was on the river bottom where it unroofed a barn on the old Storer place. From there it raised and next came down on the north river bottom where it did some damage, but just to what extent we never knew.

Well, this is a sort of rambling account of the storm, but if I remember right I was sort of rambling at the same time the storm was.

As a destroying element it was a howling success, and I am satisfied with it and don't care for a repetition soon; if never it will be soon enough to suit yours truly. So far as I know it was the first and only real cyclone to ever strike our neighborhood and there may never be another one, but even now when the wind gets to howling we begin to get creepy and see that the way to the cave is clear. Many a time we have gone to the cave when it was unnecessary, and been laughed at for it, but we neglected to go once when we missed it by not going. We are like the Irishman who said "he would rather be a coward for five minutes than a corpse for the rest of his life."

PIONEER MEDICINE IN BARTON COUNTY

The following is a condensation of an article by Dr. E. E. Morrison published in the *Great Bend Tribune*, August 12, 1936. For the most part it is Doctor Morrison's own words, although in a few paragraphs his statements have been paraphrased for the sake of brevity.

The history of medicine in Barton county begins with the history of the county. Doctors came with the first pioneers in sufficient numbers to care for the physical ailments of those who made up the first settlements. However, on account of distance, lack of roads, and poor methods of travel, many of the early settlers did not have the benefits of medical aid. Then, too, the claim holders who were subduing the raw prairies with scarcely means of sustenance, were inured to hardship. They did not seek medical aid as readily as the people of a more prosperous era.

The first doctors were men of varied attainments. There had been little done to establish legal qualifications for the practice of medicine, and what little had been done, was not observed. Several of the individuals who practiced medicine learned something of the art while caring for the sick during epidemics, or while working in drugstores, or while assisting regular physicians. Others were attracted to medicine through the reading of medical literature. There were still others who were graduates of well established and recognized medical schools. By force of circumstances a few who knew even a little medicine were impressed into service in neighborhoods where medical attention was needed, and such service once begun, often expanded until a fairly large practice was established.

Many times the circuit riders of yesteryear were called upon to prescribe and in other ways to assist in caring for the sick. The activities of these men were first observed during the settlement of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. They continued their work in the advancing frontier and to some extent into this section of Kansas. The rider had several communities in his circuit and preached in each at stated intervals—usually once in every two to six weeks. On Sunday he sometimes preached in three separate communities, covering considerable territory in his travels. Some of these riders carried medicine cases with them, usually well stocked with homeopathic medicines. Barton county, to the writer's knowledge, had one such practitioner.

When medical legislation began to assume something of the form in which it now stands, a provision was made that anyone who had been in the actual practice of medicine for a period of seven years, whether he had had the benefit of medical education or not, might continue to practice his profession without challenge. At that time there were also some lax provisions concerning the registration of graduates in medicine.

The first practitioners had a hard task. Some of them did not have the benefit of such medical training as was then available. However, they did their best and gave considerable aid to the sick. Among the early practitioners were some keen observers, and men of considerable intelligence.

One of these was a man who came to the county from New England. He had been captain of a sailing vessel. It was said that one time a tropical disease reached epidemic proportions on his ship and the physician died. With the doctor's medical literature and medicines at hand the captain did what he could in caring for the stricken crew.

At one time three or four men, near the present station of Millard, were playing cards in a kitchen on a Sunday afternoon. A thunder storm came up, lightning struck the stove pipe, followed it down to the stove, and struck the foot of one of the men who was sitting near it. The foot was torn open. The pious women of the neighborhood said that the event was a providential pun-

ishment for playing cards on Sunday. The members of the family dressed the foot for a long time, and then heard of the sea-faring man who knew something of medicine. They sent for him. His attention was called to the fact that the wound was filled with maggots. He said, "Let them alone. They are only carrying out the dead flesh and dead bone. They never attack anything that is living. They are the best scavengers that you can have. Let them alone." The family was astounded at the advice.

During the World War, a well trained physician in the medical department of the United States army observed in France that the boys wounded by shell fire, who had lain in the trenches for a long time before aid could reach them, had wounds filled with maggots. He further observed that these wounds did better and that the patient made a more prompt recovery than one whose wounds had been kept clean and in which there had been no maggots.

Today some of our manufacturers of surgical dressings provide maggots that are sterilized for the purpose of cleaning out old wounds in which there is necrotic bone tissue. We do not know whether the sea captain of pioneer days evolved the idea in his own mind or whether he had observed somewhere the same thing that fifty years later was observed by the unusual product of an eastern university.

In Barton county, among the early settlers was a father, mother, and two or three children. At a confinement the mother developed puerperal eclampsia. She had no medical attendants. A few women of the neighborhood who were taking care of her were terrified, and helpless. They sent some distance for a man who had been a "horse doctor" in Kentucky. He came and, with an instrument which at that time was known to veterinarians as a fleam, removed about a pint and a half of blood from the woman's veins, and terminated her convulsive attacks. The woman had been infected during delivery, and after several weeks died. Her coffin was made of pine boards lined with cloth obtained by tearing up two black dresses that had been brought by a woman of the neighborhood from her home "back east."

In the late 1870's or 1880's, a father living in what is now the Olmitz country, had a boy who had been bitten by a rattlesnake. It appeared that the boy was about to die. Medical aid could not be obtained. The father amputated the boy's arm, with a knife and saw. The boy recovered, grew to manhood, was engaged in business in one of our towns for a long time, and then moved to another part of the country.

One of the early practitioners was an "army surgeon" who had served his country during the Civil War. This man when he was doing surgical work, held his knife, when not in use, by its back between his teeth. Another "army surgeon" of a nearby county used the same technique. Carl Schurz once described a visit to an army hospital after one of the great Civil War battles. He wrote of the piles of amputated arms and legs and mentioned the surgeon's practice of holding his knife between his teeth. Some of this technique was left over for Barton county. At that time a full beard was the usual adornment of the surgeon.

In 1879, diphtheria occurred in three families living near the line between Barton and Rush counties. In one family two children died within a few days. In another three children died within six or seven days. In the other there were four deaths in one week. This was long before the days of antitoxin.

While medical aid was available only to a limited extent, there was little to be done for the disease at that time.

In the early days it was the custom when anyone was seriously ill, for the neighbors to take up the work of caring for the sick person and to render what aid they could. Neighbors volunteered to "sit up" with the sick person during the long hours of the night. About all that they did was to give medicine at regular intervals. They had little knowledge of the many things that a trained nurse does today.

In contagious diseases the management was the same. A number of people often came during the day and at night. And in the winter time they would sit around the stove in a closed room and visit. Usually a rapid spread of the contagion resulted. Householders having in mind only their own convenience, and not thinking of the spread of the disease, resented quarantine.

A recent issue of the Great Bend *Tribune* in its item of "Fifty Years Ago," mentioned the organization of the Barton County Medical Society in Great Bend. This organization was effected by the physicians of Barton county. There were in attendance a number of physicians from surrounding counties. The official records of the medical society of this early date have vanished. However, it is probable that this organization which was perfected in 1886, was the first appearance of organized medicine in Barton county. Since that time an organization, subject to periods of little attention by the practitioners of the county, has been maintained.

During the last thirty years it has been active and has been the cause of considerable progress. The doctors of the county have met in its sessions and have discussed mutual problems.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Histories of northeast Kansas Catholic institutions are sketched from time to time in *The Catholic Register*, a weekly newspaper of Kansas City, Mo.

The history of bands in Greensburg was reviewed in the *Progressive-Signal Magazine*, of Greensburg, for March, 1936. "The first real organization came in 1897 . . . after . . . other sporadic attempts," it was stated. A. J. Olson was the leader.

Glenn Miller's recollections of his uncle, Sol. Miller, and "His Last Words" at his death before the turn of the century, were reprinted in *The Kansas Chief*, of Troy, December 17, 1936.

The story of the life of the late William Alexander Lewis, president of Fort Hays Kansas State College from 1914 to 1933, was featured in *The Aerend*, quarterly publication, in its Spring, 1937, number. The memorial occupied thirty-four pages.

Articles contributed by Dr. Edward Bumgardner to the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World* in recent months include a story of the planting of the Kansas University lilac hedge along the east side of the campus, in the issue of May 20, 1937; and Chester Arthur's visit to Kansas territory in 1857, in the August 10 number. The buildings used by Douglas county officials since territorial days were located and discussed in the October 7 issue.

J. T. Bristow's story of the old overland trail connecting Fort Kearney with Fort Leavenworth, published in the Wetmore *Spectator* and the Horton *Headlight* in December, 1936, was issued by the *Headlight* in pamphlet form in June, 1937.

An interesting and profusely illustrated pamphlet entitled *The Thrilling Story of Famous Boot Hill and Modern Dodge City*, edited and published by Henry L. Carey, has been issued recently. Included in its 28 pages are pictures illustrating the following chapters, listed in the "Table of Contents": "The Founding of Dodge City"; "The Buffalo Hunting-Indian Era"; "Coming of the Texas Cowboy and the Long Horn Cattle Herds"; "Famous Marshals, Sheriffs and 'Dead Shots' of Old Dodge"; "The Old Santa Fé Trail"; "High Lights and Scenes of Wild and Woolly Dodge City"; "Historic Fort

Dodge (Kansas Soldiers' Home)"; "Famous Boot Hill," and "Modern Dodge City."

Greensburg's Christian Church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding June 13, 1937. Its history was reviewed in *The Kiowa County Signal*, of Greensburg, June 10.

The history of Shawnee Sunday School of Johnson county was recorded by Mrs. R. E. Baker in *The Suburban News*, Merriam, June 24, 1937. The school was founded in June, 1863.

Early Garden City ordinances, as published in 1887 in the city's first ordinance book, were discussed by the *Garden City News*, June 24, 1937.

Accounts of the early-day experiences of Swedish settlers living near Enterprise are being included by Mrs. Carl Peterson in her Pleasant Hill notes, printed regularly in current numbers of the *Enterprise Journal*.

Hamer Norris has been contributing a series of articles to the *Garden City News* under the heading "The Story of Half a Century—Fifty Years Observation of the Events in the History of Finney County and Garden City, and Personal Observations of the Lives and Works of the Early Pioneers." The series of notes began in the issue of August 5, 1937.

A history of Angelus community, Sheridan county, was briefly sketched by Father Menig in the *Grinnell Record-Leader*, August 5, 1937. The community celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its beginning with an all-day picnic August 11.

"Colorado's Deal With Ralph Fleagle Recalled by Participant," was the title of a page article in *The Southwest Tribune*, of Liberal, August 5, 1937. In the story Justice W. A. Smith, now of the Kansas supreme court, discussed his part as the attorney-general of Kansas in the apprehension of the criminals and reviewed the legal and moral angles of Colorado's agreement with the bandit.

The fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of South Haven was observed in a special forty-page illustrated anniversary edition issued by the *South Haven New Era*, August 5, 1937. The edition reviewed the histories of the city's churches, clubs, lodges, and business houses. Among the featured articles were: "Incorporation of South Haven and First Election, July 26, 1887"; "Thos. Hunter Was Father of South Haven"; "Three Fires Failed to Kill Town's Un-

quenchable Spirit"; "Railroads, Coal Deposits, Sought for in Early Years"; "Mina Edwards, Local Constable, Figures in Horse-Thief Arrest"; "Glorious Fourth of '87 Celebrated by Locals at Black's Grove"; "Evidence of Indians Still to be Found Near South Haven"; "South Haven Men May Have Taken Part In Horse-Thief Lynching"; "First Rural Free Delivery Service Here July 15, 1902"; "H. F. Dodson Only Boy Among First High School Class in 1903"; "Dust Storms Are Not New, as Storm of 1904 Indicates"; "Completion of the 'Border Road' a Joyful Occasion Here"; "South Haven Horse Show of 1892 Attracted Many Classes, Breeds"; "Brick for Peckham Building Was Burned at Kiln East of Town"; "Race for Oklahoma Lands in 1893 Was Exciting Event"; "Eyewitness Tells of Opening From Line East of South Haven"; "Portland Community, As Now, Was Live Center for Pioneers"; "David Payne Helped Speed Opening of Cherokee Outlet"; "Death Resulted From Cyclone of 1892, Much Property Damage"; "Harvest Home Picnic Was the Forerunner of South Haven Fair"; "Cemetery Association Has Been Active Here Since in the '90's," and "Santa Fé Railroad Built Through Here to Hunnewell in 1880."

William Allen White's tribute to the memory and achievements of Dr. Vernon Lyman Kellogg, who died in Hartford, Conn., August 8, 1937, first printed in the *Emporia Gazette*, was republished in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, August 24. Doctor Kellogg was a native son who went from Emporia and the University of Kansas to win renown as a scientist.

Forrest Davis' biography of Glenn Luther Martin, famous airplane designer and builder, was featured in *The Saturday Evening Post*, August 14 and 21, 1937. Mr. Martin came with his parents from Iowa to Liberal in 1888 at the age of two. At nine young Martin removed with the family to Salina and remained there for ten years when another move was made, this time to California. Mr. Martin has been interested in aircraft all his life. At six he sailed a novel biplaned kite into the western Kansas winds. At twenty-three he flew his own first, improvised airplane.

Included among Victor Murdock's recent articles of historical interest in his daily column in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* are two in which he raises the question whether Pat Hennessey and his two freighting partners met death at the hands of "Red Men" in July, 1874, as most reports have it, or at the hands of "Pale Faces." Seventy-five pounds of coffee found in a wagon from which some white

horse thieves escaped, Mr. Murdock thinks, may have had a story in it of famous prairie tragedy. These stories appeared in the issues of August 14 and September 28, 1937. Other articles and dates of publication are: "First-hand Account of the Most Famous Duel Ever Fought in Wichita," between Michael Meagher, city marshal, and Ves, bus-driver, on New Year's, 1877, recalled by Charles H. Morehouse and recorded August 17; "Miseries of One Summer [1874] Tried the Souls of Men Who Had Settled Here," August 23; "Giants of Resolution Who Stuck by the Farm When Dust-storms Blew," August 31; the El Dorado-Augusta county-seat fight of 1870, September 1; "When Curtain Went Down on the Drama of Cheap Land Forty-four Years Ago Today," September 16; "Rainey Gives Account of Jack Hardesty's War in Old No Man's Land," October 9; "Panic [from an Indian 'Scare'] That Cost Family a First-class Kansas Farm Down in Sumner in 1874," October 26; "Guns Were Within Reach but Cautiously Used in Early Wichita Days," November 9.

"A Wartime Memory of Fort Riley and Its 'Ninety-day Wonders'," was the title of a two-column article in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 21, 1937.

A brief story discussing the homecoming, life and art of John Steuart Curry, native of Dunavant, was recorded by Conwell Carlson in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, August 22, 1937. Mr. Curry has been engaged to paint the murals in the Kansas statehouse.

The first murals in the Kansas statehouse, painted by an artist selected by the Populists, were later destroyed by the Republicans, who replaced them with more "conventional pictures which still adorn the dome of the statehouse," writes Cecil Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 24, 1937. Another article by Mr. Howes discussed the menus used at a Fort Scott pioneer dinner in 1867 and a dinner served Grand Duke Alexis of Russia in Topeka in 1872. The story, under the heading "The Kansas Pioneers Ate Long, Drank Deep at the Festive Board," was printed in the *Times*, September 3.

"The Northern Boundary of Oklahoma," a twenty-page article by J. Stanley Clark, was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, for September, 1937. It reviews the general history of the boundary and supplements a story, "The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey," which appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

A brief biographical sketch of William de la Montagne Cary, artist-adventurer, and his exciting life on Indian and pioneer trails was printed in the September 9, 1937, issue of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*. Eighteen of Cary's frontier pictures were exhibited in the Memorial building at Topeka during October by the Kansas State Historical Society.

The history of Kiowa Lodge No. 293, A. F. and A. M., of Greensburg, organized in 1887, was printed in the *Greensburg News*, September 10, 1937.

"Across the Years—1866-1937—Up Mount Oread," is a feature story by Dr. Robert Taft, of Lawrence, which appeared in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, September 12, 1937. Doctor Taft, among other things, touched upon the controversy over the location of Kansas University, the selection of the site, and events of the first year.

"The Early Settlers of Kansas Were Good Builders of Colleges" is the title of an article briefly reviewing the history of Kansas colleges, in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, September 22, 1937. Abraham Lincoln contributed \$100 toward the erection of Baker's old Science Hall.

Early days in Kiowa county were described by Mrs. Lina Anderson, of Wellsford, in the *Greensburg News*, *Kiowa County Signal*, and the *Haviland Review* in their issues of September 23, 1937. The article was prepared originally for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Wellsford Methodist Church, held September 19.

On October 6 and 7, 1937, Medicine Lodge celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty between the United States and the Five Tribes of Plains Indians, which was held at the confluence of Elm creek and Medicine river in October, 1867. A pageant written and directed by F. L. Gilson of the Emporia Kansas State Teachers College was presented each afternoon in the natural amphitheater overlooking the site of the council grounds. The forty-eight page "Indian Peace Treaty Edition" of *The Barber County Index* issued September 23, was a new record for special editions in Medicine Lodge. About twenty-five feature articles discussed in detail various phases of the treaty meeting. Included were a copy of the treaty and eyewitness accounts of the formalities of the gathering. Medicine Lodge officially commemorates this event with a celebration every five years. The first was in 1927.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missouri synod, near St. Francis, celebrated the golden anniversary of its founding September 26, 1937. The church's history was briefly reviewed in the September 23 issue of the *St. Francis Herald*. The Immanuel Evangelical Church, Missouri synod, near Haigler, Neb., also celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with special services held on October 3. Its history was outlined in the *Herald* of September 30.

At 96, White Cloud, last chief of the Iowas, still directs tribal affairs on the reservation northeast of Hiawatha. He remembers his experiences in fighting with the Kansas troops during the Civil War. A brief sketch of his life is recorded in an article in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, September 24, 1937.

"First Woman Mayor—1887," an article by Lewis Spencer Salter, appeared in the *Kansas Government Journal*, Lawrence, in the October, 1937, issue. Mrs. Susanna Madora Salter was elected mayor of Argonia in 1887. She now resides at Norman, Okla.

Memorial services for the late Chief Justice William A. Johnston of the Kansas Supreme Court were held in the court room in the statehouse, October 4, 1937. St. Elmo Else, of Osborne, official court reporter, delivered the formal notification to the court of the passing of the justice. The eulogy, touching upon his life and official conduct, was delivered by Associate Justice W. W. Harvey. The addresses were printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, October 4. The life story of Edgar Watson Howe, who died October 3, was reviewed in an Associated Press dispatch in this same issue.

Citizens of Moundridge celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the city's incorporation with a community fair October 8 and 9, 1937. The *Moundridge Journal* issued a 34-page, illustrated "Golden Jubilee Edition" October 7, featuring reminiscences and biographical sketches of pioneers and histories of business houses, industries and clubs. Stories include: "Early Doctors" and "The Founding of Moundridge," by Elinor Krehbiel; "Evangelical Church," by the Rev. F. W. Kaiser; "The First Court Trial," by Robert Showalter; "The Fire Department" and "History of Our Early City Government," by Tom Harmon; "Early Moundridge Studios," "First Water System for Fire Protection Only" and "Tornado of 1895," by Betty Dester; "First Mennonite Church of Christian," by the Rev. P. P. Wedel; "Moundridge School Is One of the Finest," by Margaret Krehbiel; "The Lutheran Church," by the Rev. B. Loesel; "Postal

Service," by Mrs. Anna Smith; "Oil Development Aids in Progress," by Leland E. Lindell; "Parent-Teachers Association" and "The Christian Church," by Mrs. Doc Smith; "Moundridge Lodge No. 346, A. F. & A. M.," by Clayton Lehman; "Only One Moundridge Bank Robbery," by Paul Goering; "Golden Wedding Anniversaries"; "Moundridge Telephone Co."; "When Main Street Burned"; "Moundridge O. E. S."; "The Flood of 1904"; "The First Meridian School"; "Coming of Railroad Boon to Moundridge"; "West Zion Mennonite Church"; "Methodist Church." In the issue of October 14, "Hi-Y History," by Marlo Dirks; "History of the H. S. Pep Club" and "History of the Girl Reserves," by Ruth Brubacher; "Short History of Local Concerns," and "*Journal* Was One of Early Establishments," were the titles of historical stories printed.

The Silver Lake Baptist Church observed the sixtieth anniversary of its founding at special services October 10, 1937. The organization's history was briefly reviewed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 9. Articles in the *Capital*, October 10, suitable for a Kansas history scrapbook, include: "Kansas Writers Capitalized," by May Williams Ward; "Historic Bell Hangs in Lawrence Junior High School Building," and the reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Schmitt, pioneer Brown county residents.

"Brahmin Culture Made Kinsley the 'Athens of the Arkansas Valley'; Greatest Number Artists Per Acre," Fred Henney reported in a three-column story in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, October 10, 1937.

The centennial of the founding of the old Presbyterian mission east of Highland was observed by the Highland community with special programs on October 10 and 11, 1937. The occasion marked the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Irvin and the transfer of Indians from northwest Missouri to present northeast Kansas. The pageant, which was a part of the program sponsored by the Northeast Kansas Historical Society, was published in the October 21 issue of the Highland *Vidette*. Histories of the Highland Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. G. W. Nelson, of Herington, and Smithton lodge No. 1, A. F. and A. M., by Paul Guthrie, read at the centennial, were printed in the *Vidette*, October 14.

Irving history as reviewed in the Irving *Blue Valley Gazette*, July 8, 1876, was republished in the Irving *Leader*, October 14 and 21,

1937. The article was written "by one of the original preëmpters of Irving."

On October 16, 1937, *The Catholic Advance* of Wichita issued a 96-page supplement celebrating the golden jubilee of the Wichita diocese. The front cover contains a portrait of the Most Reverend Bishop Schwertner reproduced in colors from a life-size oil painting by Francis O. Raab, of Chicago. The growth of the Catholic church in the See City of Wichita, with special emphasis on the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, is reviewed in a five-page article entitled, "History of the Cathedral, Wichita." Short biographical sketches of P. M. Ponziglione, famous pioneer Jesuit at Osage (St. Paul) mission, and of Mother Bridget, "the guiding star of Osage (St. Paul) academy," by the Rev. William Schaefers, were printed. A sketch of the life of Bishop J. Henry Tihen, pictures of churches in the diocese and names of their resident pastors were other features. Titles of other articles included: "History Sketch of Sisters of St. Joseph, Wichita," by Sister M. Victoria; "Dodge City During the Heyday of Buffalo Hunting Industry"; "United States Army Chaplains"; "Early Day Scenes in Wichita, Kansas"; "St. Francis Hospital, Wichita, Kansas"; "Members of the Diocesan Curia and the Offices They Hold," with a description of the organization of a diocese; "Fifty Years With the Sisters of Mercy in Kansas"; "History of St. Anthony's Parish, Wichita, Kansas"; "Organization of the Blessed Sacrament Parish"; "St. Patrick's Parish, Wichita," and "*The Catholic Advance* Has Thirty-Six Years of Service to Its Credit." Other special supplements reviewing in detail the history of the diocese were issued as part of the October 17 numbers of the *Wichita Sunday Beacon* and *Eagle*.

In a historical article on Platte City, Mo., in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 17, 1937, the writer tells how the Missouri river ferrymen aided or hindered immigration into the territory as the sympathies of the immigrants agreed or conflicted with those of the owner of the ferry. With the help of a cow and a bear the Platte county ferrymen distinguished the Southern from the Eastern immigrant. The discovery of oil in Neosho Falls was the turning point in Neosho Falls history, Paul I. Wellman reported in an article in the same issue of the *Star* under the title "After Fifty Years Luck Changes for Neosho Falls."

The rise and fall of Cave Springs, Elk county boom town, was discussed by W. M. Richards, superintendent of the Emporia Public

Schools, in a two-column article in the *Topeka State Journal*, October 18, 1937.

Judge W. E. Hutchison's recollections of the part he played in the Kansas county-seat wars and other stirring events in his law career were discussed by Cecil Howes in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 19, 1937.

Topeka's Young Women's Christian Association celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with special programs during the fall of 1937. The *Topeka State Journal*, on October 20, issued a special section reviewing the association's history and activities.

Early Plainville history as recalled by W. F. Hughes, of Stockton, at a pioneers' banquet given by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Plainville, October 12, 1937, was briefly sketched in the *Plainville Times*, October 21.

Pike's visit to Pawnee village in 1806 and the raising of the Stars and Stripes in place of the Spanish flag was recalled by Bliss Isely in *The Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge, October 21, 1937. Kiwiktaka, a Pawnee chief, removed Spain's flag, Mr. Isely stated.

"The Kansas Army That Rescued Two White Girls From Indians," is the title of a feature article by Paul I. Wellman in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 21, 1937. The incident was recalled by the recent death of John McBee, of Topeka, one of the soldiers who served the state when Kansans went to war to rescue Sarah White and Mrs. Anna Brewster Morgan from the hostile Cheyenne Indians in the winter of 1868-1869.

Divorce cases listed in the "appearance docket" for the circuit court of Shawnee county in the early 1860's were mentioned by Mark Garlinghouse in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 24, 1937. The cases were recorded in an old volume preserved by the Shawnee county district court.

Letters from Arkansas City's old settlers were featured in the "Arkalah Edition" of the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 28, 1937.

The early history of Skiddy, Morris county, was reviewed by Mrs. R. A. Galbraith in the *White City Register*, October 28, 1937. The town's name was once changed to Camden, but there were several other towns bearing that name in the United States. To avoid confusion in the mails the name Skiddy was readopted.

A history of the Kiowa County Farm Bureau, organized in December, 1933, was sketched in *The Kiowa County Signal*, of Greensburg, and the *Mullinville News*, November 4, 1937. Mullinville's United Brethren Church history, written for the homecoming celebration, October 31, was also printed in this issue of the *News*. The church was organized in June, 1893, by the Rev. L. A. Parker.

Plymouth's school history was reviewed by Mrs. S. H. Bennett, of Peabody, in the *Emporia Gazette*, November 11, 1937. The town's first school was opened in 1862 in a private dwelling and was taught by Mary Hammis.

The history of the old Pottawatomie manual training school, two miles west of Topeka, was recounted by H. E. Coats in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 14, 1937. Dr. Johnston Lykins founded the school in 1848.

Excerpts from the diary of Dietrich Gaeddert, Mennonite immigrant to Kansas in 1874, were supplied by O. D. Unruh, a grandson, to Walter E. Ewert in a *Hutchinson News-Herald* feature article appearing November 14, 1937. The diary begins while the writer was in southern Russia in 1871 and ends in 1879 after the party of immigrants had settled near Hutchinson.

Lawrence's historical markers were mentioned in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 15, 1937.

Assumption parish of Topeka observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with a special Thanksgiving program, November 25, 1937. Notes on the history of the parish, founded in 1862 with Father J. H. Defouri as the pastor, were published in Topeka newspapers contemporaneous with the anniversary observance.

Kansas Historical Notes

A Pony Express marker was placed in the Troy courthouse square late in November, 1936, stating that the express passed near the city. The marker, a gift from the American Legion, was mounted on a large granite boulder.

The Chase County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Cottonwood Falls, September 4, 1937. Officers of the society are: Claude W. Hawkins, president; C. A. Sayre, first vice-president; George Starkey, second vice-president; Mrs. Walter Austin, secretary, and S. H. Baker, treasurer. The board of directors and the townships they represent are: George Starkey, Falls; W. R. Sayre, Cedar; Court Crouch, Toledo; J. E. Stout, Strong; Mrs. Charles Thompson, Homestead; L. E. Rogler, Bazaar; T. R. Wells, Diamond; Edwin Jackson, Cottonwood, and Mrs. Clara Hildebrand, Matfield. William Harris' log cabin, built within the present boundaries of Chase county eighty-two years ago, was removed the past summer to Swope park in Cottonwood Falls by the historical society. Miss Kittie Houghton, of California, owner of the cabin, was the donor. It had been located on her farm near Elmdale. On August 27 the society held its third annual picnic in the park.

Mrs. J. W. King is the new recording secretary of the Franklin County Historical Society. She was selected to succeed Howard Rounds. Asa F. Converse delivered a paper on "Historical Records" at the meeting of the executive committee September 11, 1937.

A bronze tablet placed on the south side of First street bridge in Abilene marking Mud creek ford of the Overland trail was dedicated September 23, 1937. The plaque was presented by the Daughters of the American Revolution to the Dickinson County Historical Society. C. M. Harger gave the dedicatory address and W. A. Stacey represented the historical society. Miss Helen Seelye, regent of the D. A. R., presided.

Prof. C. M. Correll, of the department of history and government at Kansas State College, was reelected president of the Riley County Historical Society at a meeting in Manhattan, October 4, 1937. Other officers elected are: Mrs. Medora Flick, vice-president; Mrs. G. H. Failyer, secretary; Grace Given, treasurer; G. H. Failyer, historian and director of the cabin in the city park, and W. D.

Haines, assistant historian. Others on the board of directors, which includes the above officers excepting Mrs. Failyer, are: Charles Emmons, Mrs. F. L. Murdock, Mrs. Loyal Payne, and Mrs. Carolyn Smith.

Frank B. Dodds, of Lawrence, was elected president of the Twentieth Kansas Regiment Association at the closing session of the annual two-day reunion held in Topeka, October 10 and 11, 1937. C. E. Steele, of Pomona, is vice-president; Harry Brent, Topeka, secretary-treasurer, and Jerry C. Springstead, Topeka, historian.

The Kiowa County Historical Society designated the last week in October, 1937, as "Historical Week," during which a membership campaign was sponsored and relics were collected. Officers and directors of the society who will serve during the coming year are: Bruce Kennedy, Mullinville, president; J. H. Olinger, Greensburg, first vice-president; Frank Dowell, Wellsford, second vice-president; Sam Booth, Wilmore, third vice-president; Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary; Mrs. Chas. T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer; directors, W. A. Woodward, A. R. Kendall, Mrs. S. R. Lanier, Haviland; Herbert Parkin, Ed Brown, Greensburg; John Bowers, Mrs. Lina Anderson, Wellsford; Bert Barnes, Mrs. Oren Johnson, Mullinville, and Mrs. Frank McQuey, Belvidere.

New officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society elected at its regular meeting in Overland Park, October 25, 1937, are: Mrs. Carl Harder, president; Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, vice-president; Mrs. George L. Davis, recording secretary; Mrs. A. V. Fuller, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. C. Hill, treasurer; Mrs. Frank A. Hardesty, historian, and Mrs. A. L. Cross, custodian. Mrs. Ross Smith was reappointed parliamentarian. Mrs. John Sanders, the retiring president, was presented with a past-president's pin, Mrs. R. R. Sandmeyer making the presentation. The society now has ninety active members.

A memorial to Jed Smith, famous trader and explorer, was recently erected in Grant county near Wagon Bed Springs, where it is thought he met his death. The monument, which is located twelve miles south of Ulysses on highway No. 25, was unveiled October 29, 1937. Erected by the Grant county 4-H clubs, the marker reads: "In Commemoration of Jedediah Strong Smith, 1798-1831, a Great Plainsman Who Was Killed Near This Spot by Comanche Indians."

The Lyon County Historical Society was organized November 1, 1937, at a dinner meeting sponsored by the Emporia chapter of the D. A. R. Mrs. Clyde E. Partridge, regent of the chapter, presided. The following officers were elected: William L. Huggins, president; Harry A. Wayman, vice-president; Charles E. Ryan, secretary, and John Langley, treasurer. Kirke Mechem, representing the Kansas State Historical Society, spoke at the meeting.

Members of the Thirty-fifth division, World War unit composed largely of Missouri and Kansas men, held their annual reunion in Lawrence, November 11, 1937. Newly elected officers are: M. C. Sullivan, Kansas City, Mo., president; Col. Charles H. Browne, Horton, first vice-president; Sen. Harry S. Truman, Independence, Mo., second vice-president; Capt. Mahlon Weed, Kansas City, third vice-president, and Col. Edward McMahan, St. Louis, fourth vice-president.

The Douglas County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Lawrence, November 15, 1937. Officers for the coming year are: Mrs. E. M. Owen, president; Ida Lyons, first vice-president; F. N. Raymond, second vice-president; A. E. Huddleston, secretary, and Walter Varnum, treasurer. Approximately eighty persons traveling in thirty automobiles participated in the society's tour of historic points of interest in eastern Douglas county on October 10.

An illustrated *History of the Kansas Editorial Golf Association* compiled by J. C. Mohler, of Topeka, and published by S. R. Knox and H. E. Sheldon, of Manhattan, was distributed at the fall tournament in Herington. The book was dedicated to H. L. "Bert" Harris, official host of the Herington meet.

Quivira, the popular book of Coronado and his journeys, by Paul A. Jones, of Lyons, which went through two editions, has been considerably enlarged and was republished this year under the title *Coronado and Quivira*. The new volume, which is abundantly illustrated, incorporates a bibliography and much new material on Coronado which Mr. Jones has gathered through travels and research during the past several years. The book was printed by the McCormick-Armstrong Co., of Wichita, and is distributed by the Lyons Publishing Co., of Lyons.

Howard Ruede's account of life in Osborne county in 1877-1878, edited by John Ise, of Lawrence, was published by the Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture (N. Y.,

Columbia University Press, 1937) under the title *Sod-House Days*. Mr. Ruede came to Kansas in March, 1877, and settled near Kill creek, about fifteen miles southwest of Osborne. His letters to relatives in Bethlehem, Pa., before they joined him in Kansas, entries from his diary and stories he later contributed to the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, make up the volume.

The Sod-House Frontier, a social history of the northern plains, comprising the states of Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, 1854 to 1890, written by Everett Dick, of Lincoln, Neb., and published by D. Appleton-Century Co., of New York, is a recent book of general interest. Mr. Dick was concerned with the settlers' business of living. He describes in detail frontier homes and recalls numerous specific problems encountered by first settlers of the region. Many incidents happening in early Kansas history are featured in the narrative. Much of this material was gathered from the Kansas State Historical Society's publications and collections of newspapers, pictures, county histories and manuscripts which were available to the author on his numerous visits to Topeka. Mr. Dick is a native Kansan and a life member of the Society.

A Son of John Brown, a story based upon the Brown family's participation in Kansas affairs and the nation's slavery controversy of the 1850's, was published September 15, 1937, by Thomas Nelson and Sons, of New York. Dr. Charles Henry Lerrigo, of Topeka, is the author.

The Story of Maj. David McKee, Founder of the Anti-Horse Thief Association, is the title of an eighty-page booklet by Hugh C. Gresham, of Cheney. Included in the volume are copies and excerpts from speeches, documents, newspapers and manuscripts relating to the history of the Anti-Horse Thief Association and its successor, the Anti-Thief Association.

Index to Volume VI

A	PAGE		PAGE
Abel, Anna Heloise	228	Anderson, Dr. George L., of Colorado	
Abert, J. W., early mention of Wakarusa		College, Colorado Springs	107
creek	17	Anderson, Capt. George Thomas	353
Abilene, McCoy's cattle yard at	177	— became brigadier general in Confeder-	
— marks Mud creek ford of Overland trail,	414	ate army	357
— note on early days in	215	— commanding escort to Johnston survey-	
Abilene <i>Daily Chronicle</i>	212	ing party	357
Abilene <i>Daily Reflector</i>	212	Anderson, Mrs. Lina, of Wellsford ..	408, 415
Abram, Lincoln county ghost town, note		Anderson county, colony from Kentucky	
on history of	212	settled in	159
— site marked	223	— ferry in	146
Abolitionists	98, 100	— history of, written by Harry Johnson, ..	111
Achilles, Leona	333	— notes on history of	106, 160
Ad Aspera Per Aspera, maxim on tomb-		— Yankee Robinson's circus, first to show	
stone	324	in	146
Adair, Rev. S. L., mentioned	134	Andrews, Mrs. Frank	220
Adams, M. S., Wichita	387	Angelus community, Sheridan county, note	
Adders, hissing	207	on	405
"Additional Notes on the Gardner Photo-		Animal vertebra, found in Solomon ..	71, 72
graphs of Kansas," article by Robert		Annis, Rev. A. H., first permanent clergy-	
Taft	175-177	man in Russell county	327
Admiral, Missouri river steamboat	272	Antelope	92, 366, 368, 382
Advertiser, Herington, cited	218	— near Wichita	102
Advocator, <i>The</i> , of Topeka, special in-		— seen on South Fork of Solomon	73
augural edition of	110	Anthony <i>Times</i>	333
Aerend, <i>The</i> , Fort Hays	328, 404	Anti-Horse Thief Association, note on	
African national game, lap jacket	322	story of	417
Agricultural Adjustment Administration,		Anti-Thief Association, note on story of, ..	417
Land Policy Section	107, 108	Apache Bill, scout guiding Nineteenth	
Agricultural surpluses, how disposed of ..	6	Kansas	380
Ague	167, 380	Apache Indians, terrorize Mexicans ..	122
Aiken, Dr. Robert, assistant surgeon of		Arapahoe Indians, trouble with	75
Nineteenth Kansas	382, 385, 386	Argonia, first woman to be elected mayor	
Aitchison, R. T., Wichita	95	in the United States, a resident of ..	324
Albuquerque, N. M.	6, 7	Argonia <i>Clipper</i>	324
Alden, John P.	203	Ariba, Rio	7
Alderman, Amos, ferry incorporator ..	134	Arkansas City	412
Aldrich, Ben W., Wichita	387	— ferry on Walnut river near	144
Alexis, Grand Duke, of Russia, visits in		— note on early views of	215
Topeka	407	Arkansas City <i>Daily Traveler</i> , quoted ..	143
Algodennis	7	144, 215	
Allen, Floyd, note on his run into Chero-		— pioneer letters published in	412
kee outlet	218	Arkansas City Junior College	224
Allen, Henry Ware, Wichita	392	Arkansas river	75, 88, 90, 143, 160, 295
Allen county	14, 139, 161, 163	345, 353-355, 357, 364, 372	
Allison, A. J., bridge incorporator	145	374-376, 378, 380, 383	
Alma <i>Enterprise</i>	327	— ford used by Osages	354
Alton, Camp Lawrence near present ..	72	— Johnston's surveying party ferried	
Alton High School	399	across in ammunition wagons lined	
American Guide, Federal Writer's proj-		with sheet iron	354
ect	79, 106	— Salt Fork of	358
American hotel, Kansas City, Mo., for-		Arlington, mentioned	142
merly Union hotel	271	Armigo, J. C., Mexican trader	7
American Legion, Manhattan post	335	Army caps, McClellan	302
— Troy, erects marker to Pony Express ..	414	Army of Defense, Lawrence headquar-	
American Newspapers, 1821-1936, a Union		ters	275
List of Files Available in the United		Arnold, Joseph	324
States and Canada, Winifred Gregory,		Arthur, Chester, visits Kansas	404
compiler	82, 336	Asher creek	63
American party, union with Republi-		Associated Press, quoted	16, 409
cans, 1856	289	Atchison, Sen. David R.	22, 99
American traders, Mexican authorities		— incites fellow Missourians to invade	
discriminated against	118	Kansas	25
Ames, J. W., built Ames House, Wamego, ..	216	— scheme to defeat Benton	22
Ames, Mrs. J. W.	216	— speech at Liberty, Mo., in 1854, quoted, ..	23
Ames House, Wamego's first real hotel ..	216	— Stringfellow brothers lieutenants of ..	23
"An Old Play on John Brown,"		— used by Missouri politicians	24
article	34- 59	Atchison, pictorial biographies of several	
Ana, Donna	7	leading citizens, featured in Atchison	
		<i>Globe</i>	330, 331

	PAGE		PAGE
Atchison county, mentioned	144, 145	Bancroft, Union church of, note on history	220
— St. Patrick's parish	334	Bandel, Eugene, private in Sixth U. S. infantry, letters and journal of, mentioned	339
Atchison <i>Daily Globe</i>	145, 334	— surveying party attacked by Kiowas	361
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad, 60 81, 105, 215, 241		Banie, J. M.	327
— building westward	88	Bank, National Bank of America, Sallina	211
— built through South Haven	406	<i>Bank News</i> , Wichita, cited	220
— to Colorado line	87	Bank of Missouri, State, mentioned	280
— founded by Cyrus K. Holliday	214	Banks, Labette County State Bank, Altamont	221
— reached Colorado line on December 28, 1872	90	— Peoples', Pratt	221
— survey for	324	Baptist church, Grand Center community, Russell county	326
— Topeka depot, Indians at	321, 322	— Larned	328
"Athens of the Arkansas Valley," Kinsley referred to as	410	— McPherson, note on history of	329
Atherton, Lewis E., article, "Disorganizing Effects of the Mexican War on the Santa Fé Trade"	115-123	Barbed-wire fencing, before days of	313
— instructor in history, University of Missouri	114	Barber county, note on sixty years' residence in	218
Atrisca	7	<i>Barber County Index</i> , Medicine Lodge, cited	218, 412
Atwood, J. M., Wichita	387	— issues "Indian Peace Treaty Edition,"	408
Aubrey, Francois Xavier, trader, freighter, and rider	242, 367	Barker, Col. —, staff officer under General Grant	295
Aubrey's trail	367	Barnes, Bert, Mullinville	415
Augusta, mentioned	143	Barnes, Lela, curator manuscripts, Kansas State Historical Society	226, 227
Augusta-El Dorado county-seat fight	407	— "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday 1854-1859," edited by	241-294
Aull, James	116, 119, 120, 123	Barrett, —	389
— fatally stabbed by Mexicans and his store looted	121	Barrett, note on early history of	330
— sent own agent to Santa Fé with a supply of merchandise	116	— post office established 1857	330
— sold goods to Santa Fé traders	116	Bartels, Mrs. A.	333
Aull, James and Robert, chain of stores operated by	115, 116	Bartels, Minna	333
— and Samuel Owens, disastrous expedition of, to Santa Fé	115, 117	Bartholomew, Elam, manuscript collection of	81
Aull, Robert, Lexington, Mo.	115, 116 120, 121	Barton, A. O., Madison, Wis., donor	83
Austin, Edwin A.	86	Barton, D. W. ("Dock"), corral built for cattle disappears during his absence	90
— elected president Kansas State Historical Society	95	— early-day cattleman of Ingalls	88
— vice-president of Kansas State Historical Society	77	— established first cattle camp west of Dodge City	88
Austin, Mrs. Walter, Chase county	414	— experiences of	88-90
Automobiles, Kansas law regulating use of, in 1903	209, 210	— and brother, start from Texas for Kansas with 3,000 longhorns	88
— road building for, note on	325	Barton, Henry	88
Ayer, Edward E., manuscript collection of	335, 336	Barton county, diphtheria in, during early days	402, 403
Ayres, William A., congressman	390	— pioneer medicine in, discussed	400-403
Ayres, Mrs. William A.	390	Barton County Medical Society, organization of	403
B		Basham, Dr. David W.	218
Bacon, fifty cents a pound	303, 305	Bass, white, found near Wichita	102
Baerg, Mrs. F. W.	333	Bates county, Missouri	377
Bailey, Dr. Mahlon	338	Battle, Beaver creek	211
— biographical sketch of	379	— Beecher's Island, note on history of	219
— established first bank in Neosho county, 379		— Black Jack, mentioned	283
— "Medical Sketch of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry Volunteers," article by	378-386	— Gettysburg	354, 358
Bailey, Mrs. N. H.	331	— Pocket canyon, note on	216
Bailey, Wm. D., ferry incorporator	138	— Sacramento, fought on February 28, 1847	119
Baker, J. M., cyclone destroys buildings of	339	Baxter Springs	347
Baker, Mrs. R. E.	405	— ferry on Spring river near	141
Baker, S. H., Chase county	414	— military escort of surveying party encamped near	339
Baker University, Abraham Lincoln contributes to	408	— road to, from Fort Scott	16
Baldwin, Dell, acting librarian of early Wichita library	388	Baxter Springs Bridge and Ferry Co., charter members of	142
Baldwin, Nerius, photograph gallery of, used by Wichita library	388	— never functioned	141
Bales, C. R., cyclone destroys buildings of	399	Bazine, cemetery, note on history of	329
Ballard, John, and Martin Taylor, earliest ferry in Linn county established by	133	<i>Bazine Advocate</i>	328, 329
Ballard's ford, on Marais des Cygnes river, Linn county	133	Beardsley, Mr. —, editor Burlington <i>Hawk Eye</i>	297
B. & M. railroad	209	Beatty, Joseph B., ferry of	145, 146
Balzer, Mrs. A. W.	333	— right to build toll bridge granted by a legislature	145, 146
Balzer, J. P.	333	Beaver county, Okla.	371
		Beaver creek, battle of	211
		Beaver creek, Missouri, ford of	342
		Beaver creeks	353, 394

PAGE	PAGE
Beaver dams, frequent along Solomon river	62, 65
Beaver township, Republic county	325
Becock, Lieut. Joseph, accompanies Mc-Bratney exploring party	64, 74
"Bed Bug school," Wichita	390
Bedell, Grace, note regarding letter of Abraham Lincoln to	218
Bedwell, J. C., oldest continuous resident of Kansas	214
Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin	93, 96
Beers, Henry Putney	217
Beeson museum, Dodge City, mentioned	329
Beezley, Geo. F., Girard	93, 96
Bell, David D., first lieutenant, First U. S. cavalry, with Johnston's surveying party	359, 363, 365, 366, 369
Belle Plaine, history of, noted	325
— note on history of Methodist Episcopal Church	325
Belle Plaine News	325
Belleville, Catholic church	332
— development of water supply, note on	332
— fiftieth anniversary of incorporation of	332
— first train to city in 1884	332
— note on activities of Chamber of Commerce of	332
Belleville Telescope	208, 325, 332
Beloit, Mitchell county	63, 104
Beloit-Colby cutoff, logging of	325
Beloit Daily Call, cited	214
Beloit Index	103
Beloit Mirror	104
Benjamin, Jacob, mentioned	134
Bennett, —	103
Bennett, Mrs. S. H., Peabody	413
Bennett Springs, Potter platted as	333
Bennington, Ottawa county	76
Bent, Col. William	8
Bent, —, and Campbell, —, freighters of Indian annuities	11
Bent, —, and St. Vrain, —, traders	4
Bentley, O. H., former mayor of Wichita	392
Benton, Thomas Hart, early Democratic boss of Missouri	3, 24, 33
Bentonite and anti-Bentonite factions	22
Bent's fort	7, 8
Bernalillo	7
Berryman, J. W., Ashland	95
Bessee, B.	207
Bethel College, Newton	224
Betzer, —, settler in Cherokee county	304
Biby, William A., Topeka	111
Bieber, Dr. Ralph P.	116
— letters and journal of Eugene Bandel, private of Sixth infantry, edited by	339
Big Bull creek	154
Big Peine, mountain stream of Missouri	342
"Big Roller," dust storm of April 14, 1935, note regarding	329
Big Springs, Douglas county	18
Big Springs Convention	266
— provided for by Topeka Free-state convention	263
Big Sugar creek, Linn county, Samuel Carnack granted ferry privileges on Marais des Cygnes at mouth of	132
Big Timber creek, big timber on	209
Bigelow, Bernell	109
Bighead, Osage Indian chief	355
Bijou creek	394, 395
Billings, H. D., Delphos	218
Bird, Kansas state	223
Birges sharpshooters	302
Blachly, John	203, 205
Black Jack, Douglas county, battle at, mentioned	283
Black jack timber, in Missouri	341
Black walnut, on Neosho river, profusion of	304
— furniture	156
Blackman, W. I. R., first captain of the Stubbs	181
Blackmar, Frank W., cited	27
Black's Grove, South Haven	406
Blair, Gen. C. W.	295
Blake, Earl	390
Blase, Al, Wichita	392
Blaylock, Richard	220
Blazed trees, mark western boundary of Missouri	339
"Bleeding Kansas"	77
— became national issue	32
Blevins, J. J., Manhattan	88
Blizzard, of 1886	211, 328
— dealt cattle industry a mortal blow, 88, 89	211
— recalled	211
— sheep and cattle frozen to death in	92
Block houses	315
Bloomington, Ill.	213
"Blue Lodges" crossed into Kansas to vote	24
— secret society of Missouri	23
Blue racer snakes	207
Blue river, Big, old Pittsburg at mouth of	204
Blue river, Johnson county	170
Bluejacket, Chas., brief biography of	17
— crossing at Wakarusa, the importance of	19
— ferry operated by	17, 19
— flatboat built by Tula or Tooley	18
— location of	18
Bluejacket, William	18
Bluff City, note on early history of	108
Bluff City News	108
Bluff (Pa-ha-be) creek	355, 374
Blunt, Gen. James G.	295
— major general, Henry rifle presented to, by staff members	83
Blunt, James G., Houston, Tex., donor	83
Bocher, W. C.	224
Bogner, Lester W.	334
"Bogus" election, March 30, 1855	25, 26
— galvanizes Free-state sentiment	26, 27
"Bogus laws" enacted by Proslavery legislature	27
Bohnet, Ernest	111
Boldt, Fred	220
Bonds, sale of	276
Bone business, in western Kansas	208
— hauling	323
Bone creek	310
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka	93, 96
Bonheur, Rosa, mentioned	171
Boniface, G. C., actor	36, 38
Boniface, Mrs. G. C., actress	38
Bonner Springs, formerly Tiblow	325
Bonner Springs Chieftain	325
— date of founding	219
Boot Hill, Dodge City	329
— first twenty-four buried there died with their boots on	89
— pamphlet on	404, 405
Booth, Sam, Wilmore	415
Border editor, frowns on troubles of Kansas City, Mo.	8
Border Line and Town Co., sold lots for Bluff City	108
Border Ruffian War, Kansas the theater of	317
Border Ruffians	279, 284
— dress described	200
— killed near Osawatomie by two Wisconsin men	285
— Lawrence besieged by host of	281
— sketch of	200, 201
Border troubles, 1856, Stubbs continually on field during	125
Borton, Judge —, of Cloud county	208
Boston, Mass., Kansas meeting held at, in 1856	289
Boston Daily Advertiser, cited	30

	PAGE		PAGE
Boston Mills, Cherokee county	142	Buchanan, President James, plan to de-	289
— ferry over Spring river at	141	— feat	289
Botsford, E. W., bridge incorporator	142	Buckeye creek	61
Boucicault, Dion, Irish-American play-		Buckles, Sim, made trail by dragging log, ..	92
wright	34	Buffalo	204, 316, 356-358, 371-374
Bourbon county	107	— bones	91, 92
— ferries operating in	16, 17	— business of gathering	208
Bourgmont, French explorer	145	— chips	104, 209, 355
Bow creek	69, 72	— only fuel	356, 363
— camp McBratney surveying party		— clumsy but run with great speed	359
on	68, 72	— guns, fixed ammunition for	91
Bowers, John, Wellsford	415	— herds almost paralyzed with cold	320
Bowersox, John, last original settler of		— hides, 5,000 tons of, in Westport	4
Republic county	332	— huge numbers killed	104
Bowie knives	149, 173	— hunt, account of, from Wyandotte	
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola	93, 96	<i>Gazette</i>	203-206
Boyd, Mary A., opened and taught first		— hunted in western Kansas in 1879	104
school in Newton	219	— hunters, battle with Comanche In-	
Branscomb, Josephine, legislature grants		dians, mentioned	216
divorce to in fifteen minutes	293	— massacred by Indians	223
Branson, Jacob, arrest and rescue of, pre-		— sold hides to John O'Loughlin	91
cipitated Wakarusa War	124	— immense herds	371
Brant	371	— "jerkling" a method of preparing	205
Breezy Meadows, Scott county, life at,		— kept grass along Solomon grazed	
note regarding	331	short	69, 71
Brent, Harry W., Topeka	415	— killing of, in Cloud county, note on	108
Brickman, W. E.	391	— meat, Nineteenth Kansas lived on	381
Brickman, Mrs. W. E.	391	— must be dressed immediately	205
Bridgdon, —	242	— near Wichita	102
Bridges, erected over Wakarusa creek	19	— paths made by	67, 69
Bridget, Mother, "guiding star of Osage		— plains, eastern terminus of	344
academy"	411	— plentiful along Solomon	67, 68, 70-74
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove, ..	95	— reported scarce by Osages	356
Brinkerhoff, F. W., Pittsburg publisher, ..	137	— robe	246, 249
Bristow, John T.	328, 404	— skins, mentioned	148
Broderick, John, drowned in Minnescah		— slaughter of, in 1860	204
river by upsetting of ferry boat	143	Buffalo creek, tributary of Cimarron	371
Brodie, Dr. A. M., Wichita	392	Buffalo fish, found near Wichita	102
Brooks, —	297	Buffalo valley, Cloud county, note on	
Brooks, Sarah White, note on capture of,		history of	214
by Indians	325	<i>Bugle Horn of Liberty</i> , Griffin, Ga.	35
Brown, —, death of	267	Bugle on the plains, note on	224
Brown, Ed, Greensburg	415	Bugs, sand, large black	356
Brown, George W., editor of <i>Herald of</i>		Bull creek	154, 170
<i>Freedom</i>	30, 253	Bull fight, note on	21
— letter of, cited	17	Bull whips	322
— member Executive Committee of Kan-		Bullene, Miss Madge, Lawrence, donor ..	83
sas	275	Bullwhacking business, near end	81, 94
Brown, Jason, capture of and imprison-			95, 213, 424
ment at Lecompton	283	Bundy, Josiah, ferry operator	135
Brown, John	282, 328	— ferry of, described by Horace Greeley, ..	135
— escaped with 15 or 20 runaway slaves, ..	292	— ford of, on Marais des Cygnes	135
— execution of	34	Burdett community school, District No.	
— new book on, by Dr. C. H. Lerrigo	417	18, note on history of	218
— Old Play on, article	34-59	Burke, —, actor	38
Brown, John, Jr., capture of and im-		Burke, J. C.	103
prisonment at Lecompton	283	Burlington (Iowa) <i>Hawk Eye</i>	298, 300, 313
Brown, John Carter, president of Emi-		— E. F. Ware employed on	296, 297
grant Aid Co.	29	Burnes, Lewis	98
Brown, Ol, sheriff of Finney county	88	Burnett, Adel Mehl, Pittsburg	106
Brown, Orville C., ferry incorporator	134	Burnett, Ward B., surveyor general for	
Brown, Richard, Brownville, Neb.	202	Kansas and Nebraska	164
Brown, Thomas J.	328	Burr Oak Civilian Conservation Corps,	
Brown, W. E., Salina printing offices of		note on history of	325
fifty years ago recalled	211	Burr Oak <i>Herald</i>	224
Brown, Russell, & Co., freighters	9	Bush creek, Missouri	342
Brown county, Irving township, note on		Bushton, history of, noted	219, 220
history of	108	— schools, note on history of	220
— note on routing of overland trail		Bushton <i>News</i> , historical edition of	219, 220
through	327, 328	Business, dull in 1855	263
Browne, Charles H., Horton, 93, 96, 335, ..	416	Butler, —, mentioned	168
Brown's creek	6	Butler, Dr. Ruth Lapham	335, 336
Brownsville	7	Butler, Jefferson (?) county	7
Brownville, Neb., proceedings of annex-		Butler county	14, 143, 144
ation meeting at	202, 203	— Tennessee bend, note on history of ..	110
Brownville (Neb.) <i>Advertiser</i> , quoted, ..	201-203	Butterfield Overland Despatch, relocat-	
ing	142	ing of relay stations	211
Broylis, John, ferry operator	142	Butterfield trail, note regarding remount	
— road commissioner	410	stations on	211
Brubacher, Ruth	410	"Bypaths of Kansas History"	97-105
Bryant, Col. —, Cherokee trader	8		200-210, 315-324, 394-403
Buchanan, President James	238		

C	PAGE	PAGE	
Cabin creek, government wagon train robbed at	12	Carnegie Corporation, Wichita seeks funds for library building from..... 392	
Cabot, Dr. Samuel, member of Emigrant Aid Co.	30, 32	Carnegie library, planned for Wichita.. 391	
Caddoan tribes, in vicinity of Wichita, note on	218	Carols on air in Dodge City, note on how they originated	213
Caldwell, Martha B.	227	Carpenter, Mrs. Laura Perry, St. Louis.. 176	
— "Exploring the Solomon River Valley in 1869," article edited by.....	60-76	Carr, Mrs. D. R., donor..... 81	
— member staff Kansas State Historical Society	2, 114, 338	Carr, Frank O.	108
— "The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey," from journal of Hugh Campbell, astronomical computer, edited by	339-377	Carr, J. E.	324
— "The Stubbs," article by	124-131	Carr, J. Arthur	326
Caldwell, institutions of, note on histories	216, 217	Carr, or Carl creek	65
Caldwell <i>Daily Messenger</i> , cited, 216, 217, 222		Carson, F. L., Wichita	95
Caldwell <i>News</i> , note on fiftieth anniversary of	216, 217	Carter, John	322
California, gold rush of 1849.....	124	Caruthers, Samuel	99
— Independence, Mo., important point for trade with	315	Carver, Dean, Oakley.....	211
Call, Henry Laurens	330	Cary, William de la Montagne, frontier pictures of, exhibited by Historical Society	408
Camden, Skiddy once named	412	— note on biographical sketch of.....	408
Camp Becock	74	Castholm, Mrs. Sophia	220
Camp Beecher, arrival of Nineteenth Kansas at	380	Castleton, Reno county	142
— date of establishment	380	Caswell, M. F., agent stage line.....	101
— Nineteenth Kansas cavalry ordered to, 378		Catfish, black and yellow, near Wichita, 102	
Camp Funston, memorial to Gen. Leonard Wood dedicated at	335	Catholic <i>Advance</i> , Wichita, cited.....	220
Camp Lawrence, on South Branch of Solomon	72	— historical edition of	411
Camp Marshall, near present Osborne... 73		Catholic church, Belleville, history of noted	332
Camp Pond Creek Station, later named Fort Wallace	211	— mission	204
— on Butterfield route	211	— northeast Kansas, note on histories of churches in	404
Camp Retreat, near present Logan.... 71		— St. Anthony's parish, Wichita.....	220
Camp Snow	350, 375, 376	— St. Francis Church, Timbered Hills, Wilson county	325
Camp Stanfield, near Downs	66, 67	— Topeka Assumption parish, note on history of	413
Camp Supply, Indian territory..... 378, 379		— Wichita, date of dedication	220
..... 381, 382		— note on history of institutions of.....	411
Camp Supply-Fort Dodge military road.. 217		<i>Catholic Register</i> , Kansas City, Mo.....	404
Camp Whitney, near present Irwin..... 71		Cattle, brands advertised in Garden City	
Campbell, Mr. —	297-299	<i>Irrigator</i>	88
Campbell, —, and Bent, —, freighters	11	— industry, southwest Kansas, blizzard of 1886 dealt mortal blow to.....	88
Campbell, Hortense Balderston. <i>See</i> Gibson, Hortense B. C.		— lost in Utah expedition	201
Campbell, Hugh, "The Southern Kansas Boundary Survey," from the journals of, edited by Martha B. Caldwell, 339-377		— Texas, driven to Wichita	103
Campbell, W. P., Wichita.....	287, 388	— Spanish fever spread by	165
Canadian river	88, 340, 346	Cavalry and infantry, accompanying Johnston surveying party... 347, 352, 356	
— Col. Johnston goes to, for reconnaissance	372	Cave, eight miles east of Wichita.....	102
— North Fork of.....	340, 363, 365, 367-369, 371, 376, 382	Cave Springs, Elk county boom town, 411, 412	
— preparations for reconnaissance of	368, 372	Cavert, Geo. W., ferry incorporator.....	134
Cannon	284	Cawker City	103, 104
Canton, Anderson county.....	159, 167	Cawker City <i>Tribune</i> , quoted.....	103, 104
— description of	158	Cedar creek	367
Cantonment Burgwin	6	Cedar Point, Chase county	139
Cantonment Leavenworth, survey of	17	Cedarvale <i>Messenger</i> , cited	219
Cantor, Mrs. —, actress.....	36, 38	Cedarvale Methodist Church, note on history of	219
Canville, A. B., trader with Osage Indians, 8		Cedarville	103
Capper, Arthur, Topeka	95	Cemetery, Bazine, note on history of.....	329
Carden, —, actor.....	38	— Inman municipal, note on	333
Carey, Henry L., issues pamphlet on Dodge City	404	— South Haven, note on history of.....	406
Carl or Carr creek	65	Census, 1855, referred to.....	357
Carlson, Conwell	407	— 1860, mentioned	136
Carmack, Samuel, granted ferry privileges at mouth of Big Sugar creek on Marais des Cygnes river.....	132	Centropolis, Franklin county	7, 282
Carnegie, Andrew	393	— town company	282
— donates money for Wichita library.... 392		Challiss, James M., Atchison.....	86, 95
		— elected second vice-president Historical Society	95
		— gift of	81
		Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.....	221
		Chanute	379
		— note on first schoolhouse in.....	108
		Chanute <i>Tribune</i>	108
		Chapman's creek, mentioned	204
		Charleston	90, 98
		Charlesworth, Mrs. —, San Diego, Cal., 390	
		Chase county	139, 140
		— ferries in	140, 141
		<i>Chase County Banner</i> , Cottonwood Falls, quoted	140, 141
		Chase County Historical Society.....	81, 94
		— activities and officers of	414

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Chase County Leader</i> , Cottonwood Falls, 108		Christian (or Munsee) Indians, lands of,	
Chautauqua Social Union, Wichita.....	390	— speculators covet	229
Chaves, Jose, Mexican trader.....	7	— squatters settled on	232
Cheney <i>Sentinel</i>	330	— tract	228, 229, 236
Cherokee county	303, 313, 376	— where located	228
— ferries in	141, 142	— wished lands allotted in severalty	237
Cherokee Indians	8, 141	<i>Chronicles of Oklahoma</i> , Oklahoma City, 407	
— lands cultivated by half breeds.....	353	Chrysler, Walter P., life story of, ap-	
— trade from country of, in 1850's.....	7	peared in <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> dur-	
Cherokee neutral lands, litigation.....	312, 313	ing 1937	330
Cherokee outlet, Floyd Allen's run into,		Church, Judge —, of Pennsylvania.....	288
in 1893	218	Church, Topeka, 1855.....	252
— note on the 1893 run into.....	332	Church of the Holy Nativity, Kinsley and	
— opening of, note on	406	Lewis, note on history of	221
Cherry creek, Arapahoe county.....	395	Cimarron	88
— discovery of gold at, did not greatly		— branch Santa Fé trail starts from, 89, 90	
affect economic life of Kansas City, 8, 9		— crossing of Arkansas at.....	90
Cherry creek, Cherokee county.....	307, 311	Cimarron-Ingalls county-seat war, men-	
Cherryvale, Picket Rock southeast of.....	218	tioned	326
Cherryvale <i>Republican</i> , cited.....	218	Cimarron river	359-361, 363, 367
Chestnut, William, ferry incorporator.....	134	371, 381, 383	
Chetopa	79, 349	— canons of	365, 378
— ferry over Neosho mentioned.....	141	— Red Fork of	371
Chevalier, T. Y.	229, 232	— salt water from, used to season buffalo	
— squatter on Indian lands	233	stew	381
Cheyenne county, timber in	209	— water found in, by digging, impreg-	
<i>Cheyenne County Rustler</i> , Wano.....	397	nated with sulphur and soda.....	364
Cheyenne Indians	206, 370	Circuit riders, sometimes assisted in care	
— attack Kaw Indians at Council Grove, 378		of the sick	401
— in White Mound Valley, old Garfield		Circus, Yankee Robinson's, ferried over	
county	89	Pottawatomie creek	146
— scalps of, at 10 cents each.....	206	<i>Citizen-Patriot</i> , Atwood, cited.....	220
— search for, by Custer	382	Citizens, right to claim land in Kansas..	97
— troubles with	75	Civil War	83, 130
— white women captives rescued from,		— Bushnton veterans, note on	220
379, 412		— effects on western trade.....	12, 13
Chicago, Alton & St. Louis railroad.....	270	— its effect on Santa Fé trade.....	10
Chicago & Mississippi railroad.....	255, 270	— mention of surgical work done during, 402	
Chicago (Ill.) <i>Tribune</i> , cited.....	219	— White Cloud, Iowa chief, fights in.....	409
Chick, W. H., built warehouse at West-		Claims, requisites for holding.....	308
port, Mo.	4	Clair, Mrs. Anna Rees.....	220
Chico, Anton	7	Clark, Carroll D.	111
Chihuahua, Mex., occupied by American		Clark, J. Stanley	407
troops	229	Clark, John H., astronomer with John-	
Childers, Mr. —	349	ston's surveying party... 339, 341, 344-347	
— house of, on Neosho river.....	376	349, 352-354, 361, 374, 375	
Chills	167, 168, 172	— teamster threatens life of.....	377
— congestive, prevalent where lead mines		Clarke, George W., Indian agent, Potta-	
are worked	344	watomie agency	228, 233
— contracted while surveying southern		Clay Center, note on views of, in 1878... 107	
boundary of Kansas	165	— street cars of boom days, note re-	
Chilocco, Kay county, Okla.....	354	garding	332
Chippewa and Munsee Indians.....	228	Clay Center <i>Dispatch</i>	107, 328
Chisholm, Jesse, trail builder.....	329	Clay Center <i>Times</i>	328
Chisholm creek	102	Clay county, Missouri, Kansas meeting	
Chisholm trail	88, 217	held in	98, 99
— note on	109	— liquor distillery in	8
Cholera, at Fort Riley	264	Clayton amendment, mentioned	97
— among Mormon emigrants near West-		Clearwater <i>News</i>	326, 329
port, Mo.	316	Clergyman, first in Russell county.....	327
Chouteau family	79	Cleveland and Toledo railroad.....	270
Christian church, Eureka, seventy-fifth		Cline, Mrs. Foster	333
anniversary celebrated	329	Cloud county, Buffalo valley	214
— Greensburg, anniversary of	405	— exploring party through	63
— Hugoton, twentieth birthday of.....	327	— last buffalo killed in during 1872 and	
— Liberal, note on	106	1873	108
— Moundridge, note on history of.....	410	Coal, found on tributaries of Spring	
Christian (or Munsee) Indians.....	228, 229	river	348, 349
234, 235		Coats, H. E.	413
— annuity of, \$400 a year.....	230	Codell, description of cyclones at... 397-400	
— chief income of, came after white in-		Cofachique	7, 162
vasion	230	— origin of name and town described... 163	
— lands of, desired by promoters of		Coffeyville	351
Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western		— Osage villages once located on site of, 375	
railroad	234	Coffin, E. E.	331
— disposal of tract of.....	227-240	Colburn, Sgt. Jonas, of the "Stubbs"... 125	
— extent of	228	Colby, Farmers and Merchants State	
— price offered for	231	Bank, note on anniversary of.....	213
— protest over sale of.....	237	Colby-Beloit cutoff, logging of.....	325
— purchased lands of the Delawares.. 228		Colby <i>Free Press</i> , cited	212
— scandal connected with sale of..... 235			

	PAGE		PAGE
Colby Presbyterian Church, note on anniversary of	212	Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.	108, 226
Cold Springs, Cimarron county, Okla.	367	Coronado, Spanish explorer	333, 334
Coleman, L. D., mentioned	125	<i>Coronado and Quivira</i> , new book by Paul A. Jones	416
Coleman, W. C., president Coleman Lamp and Stove Company	214	Coronado-Leoti county-seat war, mentioned	326
Coleman Lamp and Stove Company, Wichita, note on history of	214	Correll, Charles M., Manhattan, member faculty Kansas State College	87, 94
Collier, J. F., date settling in Rawlins county	323		95, 414
Collies, Daniel W.	134	Cory, Charles E., cited and quoted	14, 16
Colonial Dames, Society of	134		163, 295
Colonists, from Kentucky, settled in Anderson county	159	Cosand, C. E., Wichita	392
Colorado, ghost town of Lincoln county	211	Cossitt, Fred J.	213
Colorado (state)	112	Cossitt, Miss Kathryn, appointed librarian Wichita Library	391, 392
— deal with Ralph Fleagle noted	405	Coston, Willis A.	330
Colorado College, Colorado Springs	107	Cotton gin, operated in Montgomery county by Daniel McTaggart	139
— Publications cited	107	Cottonwood creek, tributary of Salt Fork of Arkansas river	368, 373
Colorado river	364	Cottonwood Falls	139
Colt revolvers	83, 203, 310	— ferry at, on Cottonwood river	140
Colton, Geo. A., ferry for Trading Post sponsored by	133	— William Harris' log cabin placed in	414
Colton, G. W. and C. B., map of Kansas published by	67	Cottonwood river, description of	139, 140
Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture	416	— drainage area of	140
Columbus, road from Sovereign's ferry to	142	— ferries on	139-141
Comanche county	359	— small steamboat on	140
Comanche Indians, kill Jed Smith in present Grant county	415	Cottonwood Springs	12
— note on battle between Kansas buffalo hunters and	216	Cottonwood tree, official state tree	223
Commerce Mining and Royalty Company, Miami, Okla.	340	— on state house square	217
<i>Commercial Gazette</i> , Wyandotte	83	Cottonwood trees, on Arkansas river	90
Commission house, first in Westport, Mo.,	4	Council Grove	7, 14, 244, 378
<i>Commonwealth</i> , Topeka, quoted, 103, 104, 206		— church history of, note on	107
Conant, F., ferry incorporator	134	— Santa Fé trail traffic through	7
Concord coaches, used by Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express	394	Council Grove Press, cited	12
Concordia <i>Blade-Empire</i>	108	Council Grove Republican	107
Confederacy, Indians joining	295	County-seat wars in western Kansas, note on	326
Congestive chills, prevalent where lead mines are worked	344	<i>Courier-Tribune</i> , Seneca	327
Congregational church, Council Grove, note on history of	107	Covered bridges, over Stranger creek, steps toward preservation of	94
Congress, bills organizing Kansas and Nebraska territories introduced in	97	Covey, Arthur, mural paintings for Wichita library done by	392
— Kansas affairs investigated	22, 25, 30	Cow chips, for fuel	91
Congressional library, Washington	391	Cow creek, tributary of Spring river	348
Connecticut Kansas colony	79	Cowboys, not as bad as painted	89
Connelley, Dr. —, engaged in business ventures with Samuel Owens in Chihuahua, Mex.	122	— start gun battle in Dodge City in 1878	396, 397
Connelley, Wm. E.	118, 119, 295	Cowskin creek	102
Connor, John	371	Coxey's army, gave Scott City a thrill, note regarding	331
Connors, Jim, Delaware Indian guide, 356, 357		Coyotes	92
Conventions, series of, to form Topeka constitution	28	— seen on Solomon river	73
Converse, Asa F., Wellsville	111, 414	Cracklin, Joseph	131
Cook, —, mentioned	168	— biographical sketch	124
Cook, Mrs. —, mentioned	150	— captain of "Stubbs"	124
Cook, George F., first white child born in Russell	213	Craik, E. L., cited	21, 22
Cook, Hall, driver for McBratney party, 61		Crain, —, teamster with Johnston survey, threatens Mr. Clark	377
Cook's prairie hotel, Johnson county, described	150, 151	Cram, F. W., ferry operator	134
Coolbaugh & Brook's Bank, Burlington, Iowa	297	Crammer creek	394
Cooley, B. D., cyclone destroys buildings of	399	Cranes	243
Copley, L. G. A., Paola	214	Crawford, Geo. A., ferry incorporator	132
Coppoc, Rev. J. S., pastor Larned Baptist Church	328	Crawford, H. C., ferry incorporator	138
— two uncles of, with John Brown at Harper's Ferry	328	Crawford, Gov. Samuel J.	313
Cordon, F. A.	220	— appointed colonel of Nineteenth Kansas cavalry	378
Corn, Indian	149	— called upon for regiment of cavalry	378
— meal, \$2 a bushel	305	— with half of Nineteenth Kansas regiment sets out to find Camp Supply	381
— one dollar and twenty-five cents a bushel	309	Creager, Thornton, of Linn county	133
— twelve to sixteen feet high	262	Creek Indians	8
		Crockery, found in mound at Delphos	62
		Crop conditions, 1855	264
		Cross, Mrs. A. L.	415
		Cross creek, ford near	204
		Crossfield, Jim, note on recollections of Pratt county-seat fights	218
		Crouch, Court, Chase county	414
		Crow, August Oran, third baby born in old Sequoyah county	91

	PAGE		PAGE
Crow, Sallie, settler of Sequoyah county, frontier experiences of	91, 92	Delahay family, of northeast Kansas, relatives of Abraham Lincoln	221
Crow, William H.	92	Deland, Private —, wagon master, McBratney party	66
— veteran of Ninety-first Ohio Volunteer cavalry	91	Delaware crossing, Wakarusa creek, ferry operated at	18
Crowell, Anthony Allaire, architect for Wichita library building	392	Delaware Indians	229, 234, 235
Crutchfield, D. C., cyclone destroys buildings of	399	— agency of	228, 231
Cuba, note on school history of	325	— Benjamin F. Robinson agent for	231
Cuba High School, note on alumni of	219	— Chas. Robinson's contract with, for purchase of logs	231
Cuba <i>Tribune</i> , cited	219, 325	— Christian Indians purchase lands near Leavenworth from	228
Cullison, note on history of	216	— Doctor Eddy commissioner for sale of lands of	230
Cumming, James, freighter	6	— Jim Connor, Benjamin Love and George Washington, guides	356
Cummins, Col. A.	235	— log hut of one, on Quapaw reserve	345
Cundiff, J. H. R.	98	— survey of reservation of	17
Currency, bills of State Bank of Missouri, regarded as most secure in early Kansas banks	269	— trust lands of	229, 234, 236
— postage stamps for	206	— settlers on, extort privilege of buying from government	233
Curry, John Steuart, engaged to paint murals in state capitol	407	— valuable timber owned by	316
— note on biography of	407	Delgado, P., Mexican trader	7
Curtis, Mrs. Jerry	328	Delphos, crockery found in mound at	62
Custer, Gen. George A.	90	Delta State Teachers College, Cleveland, Miss.	109
— Indian campaign of	379	— <i>Bulletin</i> of	109
Cutler, Capt. A., mentioned	125	<i>Democrat</i> , Wichita	325
Cutler, Dr. C. A., cited	25	<i>Democratic Messenger</i> , Eureka	329, 331
Cyclone, Wellington, note regarding	329	Democratic party in Kansas, note on history of	110
Cyclones, Kansas, C. E. Williams' account of	397-400	<i>Democratic Platform</i> , <i>The</i> , of Liberty, Mo., quoted	97-100, 394
D		Democrats and Whigs, combine to defeat Benton	22
Dacy, D. C.	217	Denious, Jess C., publisher Dodge City <i>Daily Globe</i>	95
<i>Daily Missouri Republican</i> , St. Louis. See <i>Missouri Republican</i> .		— honored with dinner	213
<i>Daily Western Journal of Commerce</i> . See Kansas City, Mo., <i>Journal of Commerce</i> .		Dennis, Eli, ferry incorporator	138
Dalrymple, Capt. —, accompanys McBratney's exploring party	63, 66	Dennison, A. S., bridge incorporator	142
Danford, Addison, ferry projector	132	Dens, —, freighter	6
Darkes, L. L., school teacher	328	Denton, R. A., built old mill on Marais des Cygnes river	133
Darling, T. J.	203, 205	Denver, Gen. James W.	232, 235, 237, 239, 240
Daughters of American Colonists	84	— commissioner of Indian Affairs	228, 230
Daughters of the American Revolution	84	— receives appointment Commissioner of Indian Affairs	236
— Abilene, places Overland trail plaque	414	Denver, Colo.	63, 209
— Emporia chapter, sponsor organization of historical society	416	— first Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express arrives at	394, 395
— Wellington chapter	335	Denver and Rio Grande Railway Co., Palmer promoter of	107
Daughters of 1812	84	Depp, Leon O.	333
Daughters of Kansas Pioneer Mothers	93	Derickson, —, private banker	280
Davenport, —, actor	38	DeSaussure, Wm. D., captain First cavalry	358
Davis, Claude K., donor of	81	— lost life at Gettysburg	358
Davis, Forrest	406	— pursues Kiowa Indians	361, 362
Davis, Mrs. George L.	415	Desert, west of Colorado river of California	364
Davis, John W., Hugoton	95	DeSoto, expedition of	163
Davis, William Morris, member Pennsylvania Republican State Committee	286	Dester, Betty	409
Dawson, Judge John S.	78, 94, 95	Destine post office, Cherokee county	142
Day, John H.	232	Dexter, E. S., Newtonville, Mass.	282
Dean, John S.	93, 96	Dexter, note on discovery of helium at	222
Decatur massacre, reason for	211	Dewey, Melvil	391
Deer	92, 366, 382	Dick, Mrs. Aron	333
— black tailed	72	Dick, Everett, Lincoln, Neb., author of <i>The Sod-House Frontier</i>	417
— near Wichita	102	Dickey, Col. Milton C.	255, 281
— plentiful	305	— ferry operator	138
— seen on South Fork of Solomon river	73	— one of the founders of Topeka	138
Deer creek	309	Dickinson, Tom	334
— Allen county	162, 165	Dickinson county	104
— footnote regarding	161	Dickinson County Historical Society	414
— timber on	161	— newly elected officers of	224
— Anderson county	159	Dighton <i>Herald</i> , cited	212
— Cherokee county	304, 307, 308, 312, 313	Dimmock, Charles, map of 1837 cited	14
Deer creek club, made laws of the community	308		
Defouri, Father J. H.	413		
Deighton, Richard, town of Dighton named for	212		
Deitzler, Col. Geo. W.	130		

	PAGE
Dimon, Maj. —	382
Diphtheria, in early-day Barton and Rush counties	402
Dirks, Marlo	410
District of the Border, army depot for, established at Kansas City, Mo.	12
Divorces, granted by legislatures up to 1860	293
Dixon, Tom, famed buffalo hunter	104
Dodds, Frank B., Lawrence	415
Dodge, Lieut. —, of Wisconsin bat- tery	320
Dodge, Gen. Grenville M.	90
Dodge, Zachariah F., Civil War veteran, note on reminiscences of	214
—settled in Jewell county in 1870.	214
Dodge City	89
—account of an 1873 gun battle in, 396, 397	
—Boot Hill and Beeson museum, note regarding	329
—cost of coal in 1879	104
—notes on history of	106, 404, 411
—theater history of, noted.	213
Dodge City <i>Daily Globe</i>	106, 217
—anniversary of	213
Dodge City <i>Journal</i>	107
Dodge City <i>Times</i>	104, 207, 322, 396
Dodson, H. F.	406
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Lamed	95
Dogs, accompanying soldiers, die of heat,	358
Dominique, driver for Moffatt, in eastern Kansas in 1859	149, 156 158, 165, 167, 173
Doniphan, Col. A. W.	119, 120
—Missouri volunteers under command of,	118
—orders evacuation of Chihuahua	121
Doniphan county	144, 145
—"Doniphan Know Nothings," ex-Whigs.	24
Doran, Thos. F.	86, 94, 95
Dorn, Maj. A. J., agent for Osage Indians	321, 346
Dorn county, named for Major Dorn	346
Doty, Frank A., note on recollections of,	109
Doughty, —	389
Douglas, Milton, road commissioner	142
Douglas, Stephen A.	239
"Douglas bill"	99
Douglas county	17, 18
—early office building of	404
—first district court of, sacking of Law- rence carried out under orders of	282
Douglas County Historical Society	94
—officers of	416
—tour of historic sites sponsored by.	416
Douglas monument	297
Dowell, Frank, Wellsford	415
Downer, Elder, lived in Saline river valley	61
Downs, Camp Stanfield near	66, 67
—schools, note on history of	334
Downs <i>News</i>	334
Doy, John, and son, captured with run- away slaves	292
Doyle family, massacre of, mentioned,	168, 169
Dragoons	284
Draher, Rosa, account of wedding of,	395, 396
Drew, —	245
Drips, Maj. A., trader	8
Drought, mentioned	333
Dry creek, Sedgwick county	102
Dry Wood	7
duBois, Gen. —	295
Duby, C. H.	329
Duck creek, Wilson county	139
Ducks, wild	204, 243, 369, 371
Dug out, John O'Loughlin's trading post started in	91
Dunavant, John Curry native of	407
Dunbar, Henry, ferry privileges on Marais des Cygnes river granted to	133

	PAGE
Duncan, George, purchases toll bridge and trading post of John O'Loughlin,	90
Duncan, S. W.	324
Duncan & Scott, <i>History of Allen and Woodson Counties</i> , cited	163
Duncan's crossing, Hodgeman county	90
Dunlap, Miss Emily, became Mrs. Joseph Cracklin	124
Durfee, —	102
Dust storms	407
—1862, recalled	211
—1880	323
—1904, note on	406
—surveying party suffers from effects of,	363
—Wichita, greatest of all	329
Dutch Henry's crossing, on Pottawatomie creek, massacre at	146
Duteh ovens	91, 310
—baking cornbread in	302
Dyck, Rev. A. J., pastor Hoffnungssau Mennonite church	212
Dysenteric-diarrhoea, mild cases of among members of the Nineteenth Kansas	380

E

Eagle hall, in Greifenstein building, Wichita, housed first city library	388
Earp, Wyatt, Dodge City policeman	397
<i>Earth, The</i> , Topeka, cited	214, 216
Easton, sanguinary fight between Pro- slavery and Free-state men at.	277
<i>Economist</i> , Clay Center	328
Eddy, Dr., —, commissioner for sale of Delaware lands	230
Eddy, Norman, chosen by government to administer sale of Delaware lands	236
Edwards, Mr. —, trader among Osages	375
Edwards, John, father of Kate Edwards,	34
Edwards, John B., note on his recollec- tions of "Wild Bill" Hickok and Abilene	215
Edwards, Kate Lucy. <i>See</i> Swayze, Kate Edwards.	
Edwards, Mina, South Haven constable,	406
Edwards county	208
<i>Edwards County Leader</i> , Kinsley, quoted,	104
Ege, Col. A. G., early-day resident of Doniphan county	145
—hounds owned by	145
Elder, A. P., president of Franklin County Historical Society	111
Elder, P. P., ferry operator	136
El Dorado, banking history, note on	106
—new high school and junior college building dedicated	222
—school history of, noted	222
El Dorado-Augusta county-seat fight	407
El Dorado Junior College	224
El Dorado <i>Times</i> , cited	106, 222
Eldridge, E. S., stageline proprietor	101
Eldridge, J. M., stageline proprietor	101
Eldridge, S. W.	3
—American house, Kansas City, Mo., leased by	271
—stageline proprietor	101
Eldridge, T. B., stageline proprietor	101
Eldridge Bros., Lawrence, stageline pro- prieters	101
Eldridge Brothers' express and post coach line, advertisement of	100
Eldridge house, Lawrence, cost \$76,000.	291
—grand festival at, February 5, 1859.	292
—opening ball, December 31, 1858	291
Election, 1855	257
—Missourians in charge of	257
—polls invaded by Proslavery forces,	124
—1856, presidential	287

	PAGE		PAGE
Electric lighting, Cottonwood Falls, note on	108	Eureka <i>Herald</i>	329, 331
Electric streetcars, Topeka, mentioned ..	221	Evangelical church, Emmanuel, Abilene, golden jubilee of	212
Elgin, Chautauqua county	353	— Immanuel, near Haigler, Neb., note on history of	409
Elizabethtown, Allen county	166	— Moundridge, note on history of	409
Elizabethtown, Anderson county, location of	160	Evans, —, actor	88
Elizabethtown, Johnson county, location of	151, 152	Evans, Chester	212
Elk, found on South Fork of Solomon ..	73	<i>Evening Kansan-Republican</i> , Newton ..	219
— near Wichita	102	Ewert, Walter E.	413
Elk county, Cave Springs a boom town of	411	Ewing, G. W. and W. G., Westport merchants	4
Elk creek, Lyon county	132	Ewing, Hugh Boyle	234
Elk river	139	— elected president of L., P. & W. railroad	234
Ellenbecker, John G.	95, 109, 333	Ewing, Sen. Thomas, of Ohio	234
— <i>The Pony Express</i> , pamphlet issued by	335	Executive committee, Territory of Kansas, members of	275
Elliot, R. G., one of publishers of <i>Kansas Free State</i>	124	"Exploring the Solomon River Valley in 1869," article edited by Martha B. Caldwell	60- 76
Ellis, Charles, ferry operator	146		
Ellis, Walter P. Chrysler spent early years of life in	330	F	
Ellis county, note on history of	107	<i>F. X. Aubrey</i> , Missouri river steam-boat	242, 243, 272
Ellsworth, footnote on early pictures of ..	176	Fabrique, A. H., Wichita	387
— plains west of	383	Failyer, G. H., Riley county	414, 415
Ellsworth county	220	Failyer, Mrs. G. H., Riley county ..	414, 415
Elm creek	408	Fairwest schoolhouse, Rooks county, cyclone destroys buildings of	399
Elmore, Judge Rush	228	Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Colby	213
— dismissed by president	233	Farrelly, J. W., of Pennsylvania	288
Else, St. Elmo, Osborne, court reporter ..	409	Fast Bear, Sioux Indian	322
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka	93, 96	Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt	95
— elected treasurer Kansas State Historical Society	95	Federal Writers' project	77, 79, 106
— treasurer Historical Society	86	Feild, Drury J., note on reminiscences of ..	107
— annual report of	85, 86	Feldmuller, Anna	319
Emerson, George	89	"Ferries in Kansas," articles by Geo. A. Root	14-20, 132-146
Emigrant Aid Co. <i>See</i> New England Emigrant Aid Co.		Ferry, at Delaware crossing, Wakarusa creek	18
Emigrant aid societies, denounced by "Kansas meetings" in Missouri	24	— Touley's, on Kaw river	377
— rumors of plans of, accepted by western Missourians	22	— Wyandot, note on	219
Emigrant companies, agent of	243	Ferryboat, sunk in Turkey creek	20
Emigrants, eastern	257	Fickes, Jacob M., ferry projector	132
— from Missouri	97-100	Fieid, James, drowned in Neosho river ..	351
— suffering among	244	Financial prospects for 1858	201
<i>Emma Harmon</i> , Kansas river steamboat, 18		<i>Financier</i> , steamboat on Kansas river ..	265
Emmanuel Evangelical Church, Abilene, golden jubilee of	212	Finch, S. J.	98
Emmons, Charles, Riley county	415	Findlay, James, built bridge over Wakarusa creek	19
Emory, Fred	232	Finney, D. A., of Pennsylvania	288
Empire City	142	Finney county	109
Emporia	7, 140, 141	— note on early history of	405
— Dr. Mahlon Bailey first physician settling in	379	— Ol Brown a sheriff of	88
— ferry on Cottonwood river near old Soden mill	140	— old Garfield county now a township in	89
Emporia <i>Gazette</i>	79, 406, 413	— souvenir box from corner stone of old courthouse	88
Emporia <i>News</i> , cited	140	First National Bank, Wichita, note on history of	108
Engelsmann, Elise, Lawrence, letter of	317-319	Fish, abundance of	305
Engelsmann, Fritz	319	— caught by members of Johnston surveying expedition	353
English, T. C., ferry operator	134	— salted down	204
Englund, John, mentioned	211	Fisher, Charley, runaway slave, a state senator in Mississippi after the Civil War	292
Enns, C. M.	333	Fisher, Frank, Wichita	387
Enns, Mrs. Harry	333	Fisher creek	63, 75, 76
Eno, Mr. —, of New York ..	351, 356, 357	Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul	332
Enterprise, Swedish settlement near ..	405	Fleagle, Ralph, Colorado's deal with, note on	405
Enterprise <i>Journal</i> , Pleasant Hill notes of ..	405	Fleagle gang, note on heretofore unpublished facts concerning the	109
Erie, road to, from Fort Scott	16	Fleam, used to let blood in Barton county	402
Erway, Frank	397	Flick, Mrs. Medora, Riley county ..	414, 415
Esckridge <i>Independent</i> , cited	219		
Eudora, note on history of	218		
Eudora <i>Weekly News</i> , cited	218		
Eureka, new post-office building dedicated at	331		
— postal service, note on history of ..	331		
Eureka Christian Church, seventy-fifth anniversary celebrated	329		

	PAGE		PAGE
Fliesen, Mrs. Christine	317	Fort Scott, roads to and from	16
Fliesen, Mrs. Luise	319	Fort Scott Bridge and Ferry Co., organized in 1860	15
Flinn, Mr. —, mentioned	160, 161, 165	Fort Scott <i>Democrat</i> , quoted	15
Floods, in Smoky Hill river, 1867	176	Fort Scott-Kansas City, Mo., stageline ..	12
— on Marmaton river	15, 16	Fort Scott <i>Monitor</i>	313
Flour contractors of 1858	6	— edited by Eugene F. Ware	295
Flour mills	116	Fort Scott <i>Tribune</i>	107
— Kansas' outstanding early mills, note on	334	Fort Sibley, mentioned	70
— operated by Daniel McTaggart	139	Fort Sill	103
Floyd, John B., Secretary of War	340	Fort Smith, Ark.	296
Flying school, Girard, note regarding ..	330	— peace convention and powwow at ..	295
Ford, Mrs. Mary T., donor	81	Fort Thorn	6,
Ford, near Cross creek	204	Fort Titus, "Stubbs" took part in capture of	125
Ford county, Bat Masterson elected sheriff of	89	Fort Union, in Mora county, N. Mex.	6,
— place names of, note on origin	107		7, 11, 368
Ford's theater, Washington	34	Fort Wallace, formerly called Camp Pond creek	211
Forger's Daughter, The, a play	36	Fort Wise	11
Forrest, Lillian	214, 332	Fort Zarah, trail from Ellsworth to ..	220
Fort Aubrey, Hamilton county	367	Forts, government, mentioned	115
Fort Bliss	6	— Kansas, trade of 1860 with Kansas City, Mo.	10
Fort Cobb	382	— New Mexico, trade of 1860 with Kansas City, Mo.	10
Fort Coffey, road from, to Leavenworth, 14 ..	6	Fossil station, mentioned	212
Fort Defiance	6	Foster, —, actor	38
Fort Des Moines, Iowa	260	Foster, Cyrus, ferry incorporator	184
Fort Dodge	90, 382	Foster, Freeman R., of Spring Corners, Pa., arrival in Kansas	271, 273
— note on history of	404, 405	Foster, L. M., pioneering experiences, note on	107
Fort Dodge-Camp Supply military road, 217 ..	89	Fowler <i>News</i> , history of, note on	110
Fort Elliott, Tex.	89	Fox, Dr. J. M.	395
Fort Fillmore	6	Frankfort <i>Daily Index</i>	330
Fort Garland	11	Franklin, Douglas county, civil war threatens	281
Fort Gibson	296	— Free-state attack on	288
Fort Gibson-Fort Leavenworth military road	16	— Oregon trail went through	18
Fort Harker	103	— "Stubbs" in attack on Proslavery forces at	125
— trail from Fort Zarah to	220	Franklin county	169, 228
Fort Hays	90, 385	— Charles Robbins an early-day sheriff of	137
— Nineteenth Kansas arrives at	382	Franklin County Historical Society	414
— mustered out	379	— A. P. Elder president of	111
Fort Hays Kansas State College ..	328, 404	— organization of	111
Fort Kearney-Fort Leavenworth overland trail, note on routing of ..	327, 328, 404	Frazeur, Lewis E., donor	81
Fort Laramie, army sutlers from, purchase at Kansas City	8	Frazier, —	293
Fort Larned	11, 320, 378	Fredenhagen, V. B., superintendent Burr Oak C. C. C. camp	325
Fort Leavenworth	9, 130, 131, 228, 295, 296, 315, 317, 340, 366, 376, 379	Fredonia, mentioned	189
— entirely a military establishment	315	Free range, homesteaders menaced ..	88
— military officers stationed at, violate laws and settle on Indian lands ..	228	Free-soilers, Missouri hatred of	100
— military reservation described	315	Free-state party, adherents of, encouraged by Emigrant Aid Co.	29
— road to Fort Coffey	14	— arming of members of	30
— troops from	284	— background of	28
— U. S. dragoons from, at Topeka	285	— convention, Governor Reeder nominated as delegate to Congress by ..	267
Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road	16	— denounce all Missourians as "border ruffians"	26
Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearney trail ..	404	— hotel, built in Lawrence	30
— note on routing of	327, 328	— destroyed by Proslavery mob under Sheriff Jones	282
Fort Massachusetts	6, 7	— elaborate ball given at, mentioned, 129 ..	277, 285
Fort Montgomery, Eureka, note on ..	329	— legislature, date for convening ..	285
Fort Randall	319	— dispersed by Colonel Sumner	285
Fort Riley	7, 13, 204, 320, 394	— men kill two Proslavery men at Easton during fight	277
— cholera outbreak at	264	— origin of	29
— during the World War	407	— regiments, First volunteers, Company A	124
— military reservation	233	— settlers, arrive in Kansas territory ..	21
— troops from, on way to Lawrence ..	284	— organize to defend their rights ..	124
— U. S. dragoons and batteries of artillery at Topeka	285	— supporters of, encouraged by Amos A. Lawrence	29
Fort Saunders, attack on, mentioned ..	130	— views on voting	26
— "Stubbs" took part in capture of ..	125		
Fort Scott	295, 296, 308-310, 314, 376		
— bridge dedication at	16		
— builds bridge across Marmaton river ..	16		
— built around old fort	16		
— Indian neutral lands to the south of ..	303		
— military forces at	321		
— note on menu used at early pioneer dinner in	407		
— Proslavery men of, found Cofachique, 163			

	PAGE		PAGE
Free-stateism, at first limited to Lawrence association	26	Gault, Mrs. R. S.	111
<i>Freedom's Champion</i> , Atchison, quoted	101, 205	Gaylord, McBratney party camps near present	68
Freighters, mentioned	7	Geary, —, trader	8
Freighting, government, at Kansas City, Mo.	11	Geary, Gov. John W., Dr. John H. Gihon, private secretary of	200
— shipped to Topeka by rail	13	Geary City <i>Era</i> , quoted	200, 201
— private, at Kansas City, Mo.	11	Geer, Samuel, ferry incorporator	134
Fremont, John C.	288, 289	Geese, wild	204
Fremont club, mentioned	286	— acres of them	243
French explorers, memoirs and documents of	109	"Gem of the Prairies," Kansas City, Mo., known as	10
"Friendly Societies," secret society of Missouri	23	Genoa, Missouri river steamboat	272
Friends church, Rooks county, cyclone destroys buildings of	399	German, Addie (Mrs. Frank Andrews), note on capture of, by Indians	220
Frizell, E. E., Larned	95	German, John, note on massacre of family of, by Indians	220
Fuel, cow chips as	91	German settlers, on Solomon	204
— situation in western Kansas	209	Gerth, John, of Lane	106
Fulcomer, Mrs. W. H.	332	Gerth, Valentine, early experiences of, mentioned	106
Fulford, Jonathan	206, 207	Gettysburg, battle of	354, 358
Fuller, Mrs. A. V.	415	Geyer, Hon. Henry S.	99
Fuller, Chief Justice M. W., U. S. supreme court	297	Gibbons, Charles, chairman of Pennsylvania Republican State Committee in 1856	286
Fuller, Perry	295	Gibson, Mrs. Hortense B. C., former reference librarian, Wichita City Library	338, 380
— collector port of New Orleans	296	— "Wichita and Her Public Libraries," article by	387-393
Funk, Capt. Daniel, ferryboat operator ..	15	Gihon, Dr. John H., private secretary to Governor Geary	200
Furley, Dr. C. C., Wichita, library association attempted by	387	Giles, Fry W., of New Hampshire	251
G		— author, <i>Thirty Years in Topeka</i>	247
Gaeddert, Dietrich, Mennonite immigrant to Kansas, note on diary of	413	— one of the founders of Topeka	251
Gaines, J. E., note regarding reminiscences of	331	Gill, Thos. T.	99
Galbraith, Mrs. R. A.	412	Gillespie, Helen Adams	222
Galle, K. R.	224	Gilmore, John S., picture of, unveiled in Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame	335
Game, abundance of	366	Gilson, F. L., directs pageant at Medicine Lodge peace treaty celebration	406
Garden City, first church in, an undenominational one	92	Girard, flying school and factory, note on history of	330
— note on early ordinances of	405	Girard house, Philadelphia, Pa.	289
Garden City <i>Daily Telegram</i> , "Southwest Kansas Resource Edition"	330	Given, Grace, Riley county	414, 415
Garden City <i>Herald</i>	88	Glasco, Cloud county	63
Garden City <i>Irrigator</i>	88	Glass, collection of, at Thomas Johnson Hall, Shawnee mission	211
Garden City <i>News</i>	405	Gleed, Chas. S.	295
Garden, Mr. —, art work in Kansas done by	317	Gleed & Gleed, Topeka attorneys, E. F. Ware became member of law firm of, 295	
Gardner, Alexander, photographs of Kansas made by	175-177	Glen Elder, Limestone Creek Camp near present	74
Gardner, J. R., note recalling Fellows murder at Oakley	211	Gnew-can-steze—Long Pole, long walk of, 321	
Garfield Central Memorial University, Wichita	390	Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia	95, 140
Garfield county, now Garfield township, Finney county	89	Goering, Paul	410
Garfield Rural High School, note on history of	326	Gold, California, 1849	124
Garlic, wild	350	— Cherry creek discoveries, 1858-1861, 8, 79	
Garlinghouse, Mark	412	Golf, introduction to Wichitans, note regarding	330
Garnett, Capt. Richard B., 351, 356, 357, 362 — military history of	354	Goode, Rev. Wm. H., author, <i>Outposts of Zion</i>	252
Garnett	146	— sketch of his experience in Topeka, 1855	252
— Canton laid out as a rival of	158	Goodin, Joel K., secretary of Executive Committee of Kansas	275
— description of, in 1859	159	Goodwin, W. M. "Billie"	217
Garnett <i>Review</i>	106, 111, 146	Gore, Sir George, hunting party of, encamped near Westport, Mo.	316
Garrison, Private —, scout	66	Gove county, James Kellerman well-known cattleman of	83
Garvey, Edward C. K., first issue of <i>Kansas Freeman</i> published by ..	262, 267	<i>Gove County Advocate</i> , Quinter, cited ..	221
Gasconade river, Missouri	342	Grand Army of the Republic, Belleville, 332	
— valley of	343	— E. F. Ware one of charter members for Iowa	302
<i>Gate City</i> , Turkey creek ferry boat ..	20	— Inman	333
Gates, Paul. W.	107, 108	Grand Center Baptist Church and community, note on history of	326
— assistant professor of American history, Cornell university	226	Grand Central hotel, Salina	211
— "Fragment of Kansas Land History: The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract," article by	227-240		

	PAGE
Grand Falls, Mo., Scott's flour mill at ..	344
Grand Haven, Shawnee county	17
Grand river, Indian territory	296
Grant, Gen. U. S.	295
Grant county, 4-H clubs, erect memorial to Jed Smith	415
— note on history of	328
— Pig Pen Ranch	91
Grant county, Oklahoma	373
Grapes, wild	368
Grass, grama	363, 365, 369
— mesquite	369
Grasshoppers	333
— incrustated and preserved in salt	360
— migratory, in Republic county, note on	332
— reported knee deep in Kansas	303
— scourge of, in 1874	407
Graves, T. R.	207, 208
Graves, W. W., books published by	328
— donor	51
Gray, G. F., Tacoma, Wash.	108
Gray, John M., Kirwin	93, 96
Gray & Jones' store, Lakin	105
Great American desert	105, 383
Great Bend <i>Tribune</i>	400-403
Great Osage river, Marais des Cygnes also known as	132
Great plains region, note on history of ..	335
Great Salt Lake	315
— valley of	317
Greeley, Horace, of New York <i>Tribune</i>	103, 135
— town of Greeley named for	157
Greeley, Anderson county	157, 167
Greenleaf <i>Bugle</i>	326
Greenleaf <i>Sentinel</i>	326
Greensburg, Christian Church celebrates fiftieth anniversary	405
— Masonic lodge, history of, noted	408
— note on history of bands of	404
Greensburg <i>News</i>	408
Greensburg Street Railway Company ..	215
Greenwood, Congressman A. B.	235, 238
Greenwood creek	358
Gregg, Josiah	3
Gregory, E. E., cyclone destroys build- ings of	399
Gregory Jesse, cyclone destroys buildings of	399, 400
Gregory, R. A., cyclone destroys build- ings of	399
Gregory, W. R., cyclone destroys build- ings of	399
Gregory, Miss Winifred, <i>Union List of</i> <i>Newspapers</i> edited by	82, 336
Gresham, Hugh C., reviews Anti-Thief Association history	417
Greyhound, brings down the bacon	305
Greyhounds and stag hounds, brought to Kansas by Sir George Gore, for hunt- ing expedition	316
Griffin, Mrs. M. Y.	415
Griffin, Georgia, J. Clarke Swayze a pub- lisher in	35
Griffinstein, William, laid out town of Wichita	103
Griffith, William R., bridge and ferry incorporator	15
— first state superintendent of public in- struction	15
Grinnell <i>Record-Leader</i>	405
Gristmill, floated down river, note on ..	329
— Humboldt	164
Gristmills, established in Kansas by Emi- grant Aid Company	30
Groceries, going a hundred miles for ..	305
Gross, Miss Laura, librarian Wichita library	390, 391
Guilford <i>Citizen</i>	321

	PAGE
Gunman, Texas county, Okla., Kiowa camp near present	369
Guthrie, A., Missouri hatred for	394
Guthrie, Paul	410
Gwinner, F., Clay county, Mo.	98, 99
H	
Hackberries, cause trouble among soldiers	381
Hackberry creek, Cheyenne county, tim- ber on	209
"Hackberry Point," camp of Nineteenth Kansas known as	381
Hadley, James A.	379
Hahn, Minnie	333
Hailstones, weighing up to two and one- half pounds, fell at Topeka in 1897 ..	331
Haines, W. D.	414, 415
Hairgrove, Asa, ferry projector	132
Halderman, Maj. John A.	130, 131
228, 233, 236, 240	
Hale, Edward Everett	21
— appeal for rifles sent to	30
Hale, Mrs. Mary Huron, donor	81
Hall, —, cook for McBratney party ..	70
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth	95
— "Lincoln Collection" of, in Kansas State Historical Society	80
Halleck, Gen. W. H.	131
Hamelin, Joseph P., clerk for James Aull,	122
Hamilton county	367
Hammer, Ralph O., principal Latham school	220
Hammis, Mary	413
Hammond, Harold, publisher <i>Caldwell</i> <i>Messenger</i>	216
Hammond, Ruth E., librarian, Wichita City Library	393
Hancock, Gen. W. S.	90
Haney, E. D.	332
Hanks family, of northeast Kansas, rela- tives of Abraham Lincoln	221
Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad	10
— Kansas Pacific railroad and river boats compete with	13
Hanniwalt, —, scout	66
Harbison, Mary E., became wife of Robert McBratney	60
Hard-crossing creeks	61, 204
Harder, Mrs. Carl	415
Hardesty, Mrs. Frank A., historian, Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society	211, 415
Hardesty, Jack	407
Harding, L. D.	219
Harger, Charles M., Abilene	93, 96, 414
Hargis, Mrs. R. R.	333
Harker, Col. —, chief of Six Nations of New York	295
Harlan, O. B.	324
Harmon, Tom	409
Harness and saddle business, Independ- ence, Mo.	5
Harney, Gen. W. S.	295, 296
Harper county	356
— rural school teachers of, 1937-1938, note on	333
Harper county, Okla.	371
Harper's Ferry, Va., John Brown at ..	328
— raid on, inflamed Northern literary world	34
Harris, Geo. E., Wichita	387
Harris, Grant	217
Harris, H. L., "Bert"	416
Harris, S. F., Ottawa	111
Harris, William, log cabin of, removed to Cottonwood Falls	414
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Sam- uel A. Johnson professor at	2

	PAGE		PAGE
Harrison, —, nephew of Samuel Owens	120	Hill, Mrs. J. C.	415
Harrison, Col. John N., known as "Curly"		Hill, W. A.	328
Harrison	137	Hinshaw, E. M., Emporia, ferryboat as-	
Harrisonville, Mo.	7	sistant	140
Harsen, John P., Wichita	387	Hinshaw, John E., recollections of ferry	
Harshbarger, E. L.	224	on Cottonwood river at Emporia	140
Harts, —, Wichita city commissioner	392	Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City	95
Harvard University	392	— note on historical sketches by	106
Harvey, C., road commissioner	142	Hobson, William J., Wichita	387
Harvey, Mrs. Isabelle C., Topeka	86	Hodder, Dr. Frank Heywood, head of	
	93, 94, 96	history department, University of Kan-	
Harvey, Col. James A., forces under,		sas	227, 317
captured after Battle of Hickory Point	125	— mention of death of	78, 87, 81
— "Stubbs" join command of	125	— photograph of, presented to Historical	
Harvey, Gov. James M., ordered troops		Society	87
to protect exploring party	60	Hodder, Mrs. Frank H.	317
Harvey, Justice W. W., delivers eulogy of		— Lincoln lantern slides given Historical	
Judge W. A. Johnston	409	Society by	81
Harveyville <i>Monitor</i>	326	Hodgeman county, John O'Loughlin	
Haskell county, note on ox teams in	106	first white settler in	90
— Santa Fe ghost town of, note on	109	Hodges, Ben, desperado, a good cow-	
— study made of	82	hand	89
Haskin, S. B., Olathe	95	Hodgson, Ira, note on reminiscences of	326
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove	93, 96	Hoefler, Mrs. C. F.	353
Havensville, note on newspaper history of,	109	Hoffnungsaus Mennonite church, south-	
Havensville <i>Review</i>	109	east of Inman	212
Haviland <i>Review</i>	408	Hogin, John C., Belleville	95
Hawkins, Claude W., Chase county	94, 414	Hogs, ravenous, steal corn from mules of	
Hay, Mrs. Bert	327	Johnston surveying party	342
Hayes, Pres. R. B.	90	Holladay, Ben	233, 238
Hayes, S. M., & Co., Council Grove	7	— bid for Indian lands	232
Hays	71	Holland, —, actor	38
— date Kansas Pacific finished to	177	Holliday, Cyrus Kurtz, addresses Fremont	
Hays <i>Daily News</i>	107	club, Philadelphia	286
Hays Saturday Afternoon Club	107	— appointed temporary agent of Emi-	
Hays <i>Sentinel</i>	395, 396	grant Aid Co.	248, 249
Heath, I. D.	203	— arranges for sale of bonds	267-269
Hedge plants, once in great favor	309	— at Big Springs convention	266
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita	95	— Shawnee mission	261
Heim, L. C., first editor of <i>Inman Re-</i>		— brigadier general	279
view	333	— business agent for Topeka association	265
Helium, at Dexter, note on discovery of		— candidate for representative	257
pocket of	222	— colonel of Second regiment of Kansas	
Henderson, —, and Reed, —, Clay		troops	279
county, Missouri, liquor distillers	3	— contemplates taking charge of Topeka	
Henderson, C., runs excursion train	105	paper	267
Hennessey, Pat, note on death of	406, 407	— delegate to Topeka constitutional con-	
Henney, Fred	330, 410	vention	273, 274
Henry, Stuart, donor	81	— dislikes political difficulties	262
Henry rifle	83	— elected president of Topeka Town As-	
<i>Herald of Freedom</i> , Lawrence	125, 129	sociation	248, 249, 258
	134, 253, 258-264	— Executive Committee of Kansas, a	
— office wrecked by Proslavery mob		member of	275
under Sheriff Jones	282	— fears conflict between Free and Pro-	
— said that Free-state hotel was being		slavery men	261, 264
built as fort	30	— finds three inches of snow in Topeka	
Herington, Kansas Editorial Golf Associa-		house on return	256, 257
tion meets in	416	— first president of A. T. & S. F. rail-	
— note regarding history of	218	road	241
Herndon <i>Nonpareil</i> , cited	217	— founder of A. T. & S. F. railroad	214
Hersch, Joseph, freighter	6	— instructs Mrs. Holliday for trip to	
Hewett, O. B., Brownville, Neb.	202	Kansas	271-274, 280
Hiawatha	409	— invited to take charge of <i>Kansas Free-</i>	
Hiawatha <i>Daily World</i>	108	man of Topeka	265
Hibbs, W. J., cyclone destroys buildings		— Lawrence and Topeka investments of,	
of	399	legislator, 1859 session	290
Hicklin, O. P.	330	— letters of, written to <i>Herald of Free-</i>	
Hickman, Russell K.	230	dom	263, 264
Hickok, James B. "Wild Bill"	90, 215, 222	— written to Mrs. Holliday, 1854-	
Hickory Point, "Stubbs" marched to at-		1859, edited by Lela Barnes	241-294
tack of	125	— member of provisional government	278
Hides, purchased by New York buyer	5	— navigation of Kansas river planned	263
Highland, observes centennial of Pres-		— nominated for secretary of state	276
byterian mission at	410	— offered partnership in large mercantile	
Highland mission, help asked towards		business	265
saving	94	— pays visit to Governor Reeder	265
Highland Presbyterian Church, note on		— plans home in Topeka	246, 250
history of	410	— political aspirations of	294
Highland <i>Vidette</i>	410	— predicts Kansas will be free	268
Hildebrand, Mrs. Clara, Chase county	414	— rents Topeka house at \$75 per year	264

	PAGE
Holliday, Cyrus Kurtz, second choice for delegate to congress.....	267
—Topeka living conditions described, 256, 257	
—Topeka Town Co., a member of.....	241
—trip to lay out Topeka.....	245
—undecided whether to live in Topeka or Lawrence.....	248
—won fight for Topeka as county seat of Shawnee county.....	290
—Wyandotte land warrant sought to make city property secure.....	263
Holliday, Lillie. <i>See</i> Kellam, Lillie Holliday.	
Holliday, Mary (Mrs. C. K.), anxious to come to Kansas.....	266
—arrival in Topeka.....	290
—informed as to routes.....	270
—letters from Cyrus K. Holliday to, 241-294	
Holloway, John N., quotes speech of Stringfellow.....	25
Holton <i>Recorder</i> , cited.....	217
Homesteads, land seekers poured into Kansas in search for.....	228
Honnell, W. R.....	223
Hoogland, Edward, Tecumseh, probate judge Shawnee county.....	290
—fights for Tecumseh as county seat.....	290, 291
Hoover, Dr. Woodson D., ferry operator and pioneer practitioner of Paola....	134
Hope, Jim, mayor of Wichita.....	388
Hornor, Wm. H., bridge incorporator....	142
Horsehead creek.....	352
Horses, belonging to Nineteenth Kansas, stampede.....	380
—loose upon the prairies.....	71
—mules, oxen sold at Kansas City, Mo., 5	
—Sioux Indians stampede from other tribes.....	89
—wild.....	92, 104, 105
Horton, First Presbyterian Church, note on history of.....	223
Horton <i>Headlight</i>	214, 404
Horton Methodist Episcopal Church, fiftieth anniversary.....	214
Hotel, Topeka, 1855.....	251, 252
Hotto, —, actor.....	38
Houghton, Miss Kittie, of California....	414
Houston, D. W., ferry incorporator.....	136
Houston, J. W., massacred by Indians....	223
Houston, Sam, of Texas.....	239
Howard, Mrs. H. M.....	224
Howard congressional committee, investigates Kansas elections.....	22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30
Howard hotel, New York.....	288, 289
Howe, Edgar Watson, death of.....	409
Howell, Thomas C., assistant commissioner, General Land office.....	340
Howes, Cecil.....	108, 110, 215, 407, 412
Howitzers, mountain, accompanying Johnston's surveying party.....	347
Hoxie <i>Sentinel</i>	107
Hoy, George, cowboy, wounded in Dodge City gun battle.....	396, 397
Huddleston, A. E., Douglas county.....	416
Huffman, Anna.....	331
Huggins, William L., Emporia.....	95, 416
Hughes, James W.....	233
—bids for Indian lands.....	232
Hughes, John T.....	118
Hughes, Randolph.....	134
Hughes, W. F.....	325, 412
Hugoton Christian Church, note on twentieth birthday of.....	327
Hugoton <i>Hermes</i>	327
Hugoton Methodist Church, note on fiftieth anniversary of.....	327
Hugoton-Woodsdale county-seat war....	326

	PAGE
Hull, Mrs. A. D.....	331
Humboldt, Baron von.....	164
Humboldt.....	139, 162-164
—burned by rebel raiders.....	164
—county seat of Allen county moved to, 163	
—inhabitants deprived of milk on account of Spanish fever among native cows.....	165
—origin of name.....	164
Hungate, Judge Otis E.....	111
Huning, C., freighter.....	6
Huning, F., freighter.....	6
Hunt, Chas. L., Concordia.....	95
Hunt, western Kansas, prospectus of, 104, 105	
Hunter, Thomas, South Haven.....	405
Hunting party, under Sir George Gore, encamped near Westport, Mo., on way to the plains.....	316
Huntington, Miss Jeanette S., of Rochester, N. Y., became Mrs. E. F. Ware, 295	
Hurd, Bruce.....	110
Hutching's <i>California Magazine</i>	109
Hutchinson.....	220
—Mennonites settle in vicinity of.....	413
Hutchinson <i>Herald</i>	221
Hutchinson <i>News-Herald</i>	410, 413
Hutchinson <i>Record</i>	110
Hutchinson Senior High School.....	224
Hutchison, Justice William E., note on recollections of.....	412
Huxman, Walter A., governor of Kansas.....	223
—note on biographical sketch of.....	110
Hyatt, Thaddeus.....	129

I

Idana Presbyterian Church, fiftieth anniversary celebrated.....	328
Illinois emigrants for Kansas, disarmed on Missouri river and sent back....	286
Independence, ferry at.....	139
Independence, Mo.....	12
—early depot for Santa Fé and Indian trade.....	3, 4
—praise of country near.....	315
—saddle and harness business in.....	5
—Santa Fé trade attracted to.....	116
Independence creek, ferry on.....	144-146
—named by Lewis and Clark.....	145
Independence day, 1857, observation of, by Johnston's surveying party.....	355
Indian, agents.....	228
—attacks in Lincoln county.....	215
—corn.....	149
—encampment, Kiowa.....	369
—fandango, on banks of Missouri river, 319	
—farms, in vicinity of Baxter Springs. 347	
—goods, Westport warehouse for.....	4
—guides.....	359
—intercourse act of 1834, some provisions of.....	227, 228
—lands.....	227
—prices sold for.....	230
—missions, mentioned.....	115
—neutral lands, south of Fort Scott....	303
—peace commission, at Fort Smith, Ark., personnel of.....	295
—ponies.....	359
—"scare," 1874, note on.....	407
—1878, Osborne county, note regarding.....	327
—trade.....	3, 7
—traders.....	320
Indian creek, Johnson county.. 149, 171, 377	
"Indian Ring," so called.....	240
Indian territory.....	295
Indian Trust Bonds, abstracted.....	232
Indianola, mentioned.....	204

PAGE	PAGE
Johnson, Rev. Thomas	211
Johnson, W. A., historian, of Anderson county	158
Johnson, note on Methodist church his- tory of	108
Johnson county	19, 170
— Indian reservation in	149
— note on history of Shawnee Sunday School in	405
Johnson <i>Pioneer</i>	108
Johnston, Col. Joseph E.	346, 347
351, 356, 359, 361, 362, 370	
— camp on Spring river	347
— goes to Canadian river	372
— journal of, in library of William and Mary College in Virginia	339
— many of party of, barefoot	367, 368
— of First cavalry	341
— stabbing affray between teamsters dur- ing survey of southern boundary	364
— started reconnoiter for railroad route ..	340
— surveying party under, attacked by Kiowa Indians and one man killed ..	361
Johnston, Saunders W.	228
— dismissed by president	233
Johnston, Chief Justice William A., me- morial services for	409
Johnston, Mrs. William A., Topeka	95
Jones, Horace, Lyons	95
Jones, J. H., ferry for Trading Post sponsored by	133
Jones, J. W., Independence ferry oper- ated by	139
Jones, John S., Leavenworth	395
Jones, Paul A., author of <i>Coronado and Quivira</i>	416
Jones, Samuel J., sheriff, with Proslavery mob, sacks Lawrence	282
Jones, Mrs. Will K., Wichita	392
Jordan Electric Co., Topeka	85
Journalism, at Kansas University, note on history of	215
Judson, William R., bridge and ferry incorporator	15
— colonel of Sixth Kansas cavalry	15
Junction City	61, 64, 68, 76, 204, 317
— Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express passes through	394
— McBratney party starts from	61
Junction City & Fort Kearney railroad ..	60
Junction City, Solomon Valley and Den- ver railroad	60
Junction City <i>Union</i> , cited and quoted ..	177, 206, 329
K	
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita	93, 96
Kaiser, Rev. F. W.	409
Kalivoda, John, early settler of Republic county	332
Kanawha salt of Virginia	102
<i>Kansas</i> , Concordia	214
Kansas	112, 242-245, 249, 250, 258, 259
— aid committees spring up in northern states	32
— annexation of South Platte, Nebraska, to, considered	201-203
— arbor day, first observed	217
— authors, note on	106
— banking history, note on	221
— bill organizing territory of	97
— bogus election of March, 1855	25
— boundary, southern, along the	347
— capital located at Topeka	294
— civil strife in	275, 282
— colleges, note on histories of	408
— convention called to frame a constitu- tion	273
— cottonwood official state tree	223
Kansas, county-seat wars, note on	412
— Crawford county, Pa., emigrants to ..	243
— early-day place names, note on	109
— early settlers of, interested in land ..	26
— exact southeast corner, plan to erect monument at	340
— express to, how marked	271
— flour mills, note on	334
— Free-state de facto government, men- tioned	29
— French explorers traversed	110
— history, note on	220
— immigrants from Illinois and Ohio, dis- armed on Missouri river and sent back ..	286
— imprints, mention of	79
— in 1854	314
— Indian encounters in	110
— "Land History, a Fragment of, Dis- posal of the Christian Indian Tract," article by Paul Wallace Gates ..	227-240
— Legislature, divorces granted by, up to 1860	293
— 1855, adjourned to Shawnee mis- sion	233
— first met at Pawnee	261
— Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western railroad chartered by	234
— memorialized President to remove Reeder	261
— rejects members elected May 22, 1855	260, 261
— 1856, in session at Lawrence	289
— 1859	134, 145, 146, 290, 292, 293
— annexation of Nebraska territory south of Platte river considered ..	290
— passed law to codify territorial laws	290
— Wyandotte Constitutional Con- vention provided for	290
— 1860, special session, ferry legisla- tion before	136
— enacts bogus laws	27
— (Proslavery) Robinson institutes rev- olt against	27
— territorial, Stubbs organization ob- tained charter from	125
— literature, mention of	79
— maps, in Kansas State Historical So- ciety	80
— meadow lark official state bird	223
— medical practice in, regulations for ..	401
— "meetings," Boston, November 5, 1856 ..	289
— Missouri, denounce abolitionist emi- gration and Emigrant Aid so- cieties	24, 25
— Governor Reeder criticised	25
— held in all border counties	25
— militia of, stationed in Western Kan- sas river valleys	74
— unfit for prolonged military effort ..	71
— Missourians plan invasion of, March 4, 1856	277-279
— money scarce in 1858	201
— must be made a slave state	97
— newspapers, Missourians prevent send- ing of through mails in that state ..	283
— oil pools opened in 1936, note on	110
— oldest continuous resident of	214
— political geography of, mentioned	79
— railroad fare to	270
— regiments, First infantry	130, 379
— did guard duty along railroads in Missouri	131
— in battle at Wilson's Creek, Mo.	130
— mustered out June 17, 1864	131
— Second battery	62
— cavalry	124, 276
— Hopkins' battery	124
— Tenth infantry	379

	PAGE		PAGE
Kansas regiments, Eleventh cavalry.....	326	Kansas City, Mo., exports, 1858.....	7
— Nineteenth cavalry, desertions in..	380	— Fort Scott stage line	12
— dysentery among troops of	381	— future lay in frontier commerce	6
— encamped on Ninescah river	380	— gets army depot in 1863	12
— medical sketch of	378-386	— government and private freighting at, 11	
— mustered in	378	— known as "Gem of the Prairies"	10
— mustered out	379	— Lawrence stage line	12
— organized by Governor Crawford	379	— liquor and wagon importations	
— rations exhausted	380, 381	frowned at	8
— report of sick and wounded by months	384, 385	— Main street macadamized	10
— sick and wounded, treatment prescribed	385, 386	— merchandise business, 1858	7
— stampede of horses of	380	— of the 1850's	4
— suffering caused by intense cold and lack of provisions	378	— overland trade headquarters	3
— Twentieth infantry, Company C... ..	83	— saddle and harness business in	5
— officers of association	415	— stages run regularly out of	12
— Kansas Rifles No. 1, the "Stubbs," 124		— trade, 1857, résumé of	5
— river	17, 200, 203	1859, summary for	9
204, 233, 245, 246, 316, 377		1860	10
— diversion of Turkey creek into	19	1861, 1862	11
— Manhattan viaduct over	334	1863-1865	12
— navigable for 200 miles	315	1866	13
— navigation of, planned by C. K. Holliday	263	— train service out of	109
— steamboat <i>Financier</i> on	265	— unpaved streets nearly impassable... ..	147
— to ruin Leavenworth trade	10	— wagon importations frowned upon ...	8
— Wyandotte ferry at mouth of	219	— warehouse business, 1857	7
— road system, note on	334	— war-like demonstrations of border ruffians at	200
— secretaries to governors of, note on... ..	109	— and Westport, divide trade with Independence	4
— Sisters of Mercy in	411	Kansas City (Mo.) Gold Hunter's Express Transportation Company, organization of	9
— social history of, note on	417	Kansas City (Mo.) <i>Journal of Commerce</i> , cited and quoted	5-8, 10
— southern boundary, survey of, article on	339-377	— looked sadly at liquor and wagon importations	8
— note on history of	407	— summarizes trade of 1859	9
— southwest portion described and settled, 8		Kansas City (Mo.) <i>Journal-Post</i> , cited	4, 108, 334
— squatters, were speculators	229	Kansas City (Mo.) <i>Star</i> , cited... ..	4, 109, 213
— state executive mansion in fiftieth year	222	216, 219, 330, 332, 334, 406-408, 411, 412	
— strife and confusion in east portion of, 283		Kansas City (Mo.) <i>Times</i>	110, 140
— territorial officials violate United States laws and settle on Indian lands, 228		331, 334, 407-409, 412	
— territory, every Missouri family represented there	97	Kansas <i>Crusader of Freedom</i> , Doniphan City, quoted	201
— rival governments in	28	Kansas Day, first celebration of	214
— sympathies of immigrants to, tested	411	Kansas <i>Democrat</i> , Topeka	83
— timber in western portion	208, 209	Kansas Emergency Relief Committee, work of, with Kansas State Historical Society	78
— valuable, owned by Delawares and Shawnees	316	Kansas Editorial Golf Association, illustrated history of, published	416
— travelers from Pennsylvania require from six to nine days for journey ...	272	Kansas Executive Committee, 1856, officers of	275
— troops of, accompany McBratney on Solomon valley exploring expedition	62-75	Kansas Express Stage Company, members of	145
Second battery	62	Kansas Falls, mentioned	204
— unprecedented advertisement of	202	Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs, note on history	218
— Ward B. Burnett, surveyor general of, 164		Kansas <i>Free State</i> , Lawrence	124, 129
— western, note on early days in	328	office wrecked by Proslavery mob under Sheriff Jones	282
Kansas and Colorado Railroad	324	Kansas <i>Freeman</i> , Topeka	262, 265
Kansas Attorney General	79	— editorial work partly done by C. K. Holliday	274
Kansas Bankers' Association, note on history of	220, 221	Kansas <i>Government Journal</i> , Lawrence... ..	409
Kansas Catholic Historical Society	94	Kansas <i>Historical Collections</i> , quoted and cited	18, 130, 133, 245, 295
Kansas <i>Chief</i> , Troy	404	— indexing of	78, 79
Kansas City, Mo.	20, 152, 171	Kansas Historical Notes	111, 112
174, 250, 254, 255, 259, 265		223, 224, 335, 336, 414-417	
— "A Famous Freighter Capital," article by Walker D. Wyman	3-13	Kansas <i>Historical Quarterly</i>	255
— American house, formerly the Union hotel	271	Kansas History, Bypaths of	97-105
— business, 1854	4, 5	200-210, 315-324, 394-403	
— 1858, summary of	7	— As published in the Press	106-110
— cattle trade, 1858	7	211-222, 325-334, 404-413	
— chamber of commerce, organized	6	Kansas History Teachers' Association, annual meeting and election of officers	223, 224
— early trade summarized	13		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kansas Indians	145	Kansas State Historical Society, litho-	
— Cheyennes attack	378	graphs displayed at annual meeting of, 93	
— half breeds	253	— manuscript division	17
— lands of, illegal attempts to pur-		— — accessions for past year ... 81, 83, 84	
— chase	233	— collections in	234
— — trouble removing settlers from	228	— — McBratney's diary	61
— scalps of Cheyennes retailed at 10 cents		— — number pieces in	97
each	206	— — maps, mounted and exhibited ... 81, 93	
— village of, visited by Professor Say ..	17	— membership fee fund	85
— Wakarusa creek named by	17	— museum	83
<i>Kansas National Democrat</i> , Lecompton,		— National Youth Administration, work-	
quoted	101	ers of, indexing manuscript volumes of	
Kansas-Nebraska act	21, 227, 229	Historical Society	81
— as interpreted by Missourians ... 21, 22		— New England Emigrant Aid Company	
— spirit violated	25	papers in	21
Kansas-Nebraska mission district	252	— newspaper section	82, 83
Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame	35	— — accessions for past year	83
<i>Kansas Optimist</i> , Jamestown, cited	214	— — total	82, 84, 97
Kansas Pacific Railroad	60, 79, 107	— — collection of	336
— building at rate of two miles a day ..	177	— — federal projects make use of	82
— date arrival at Hays City	177	— nominating committee's report	86
— generous treatment of, by federal gov-		— officers elected	95
ernment	234	— — nominated	86
— Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad and		— patrons of	97
river boats compete for trade of ... 13		— picture collection catalogued	80
"Kansas Prairie, The, or, Eight Days on		— Pike Pawnee monument	84
the Plains," article by Isaac Mof-		— portraits catalogued	80
fatt	147-174	— salaries restored	78
Kansas Rifles No. 1, Lawrence military,		— secretary's report	85
officially adopt name of "Stubbs"	124	— Shawnee mission, improvements made	
Kansas Stage Company	103	by various women's patriotic societies, 84	
Kansas State Board of Agriculture	142	— sixty-first annual meeting	77- 96
— donor	81	— staff members	114
Kansas State College, Manhattan ..	224, 414	— Thomas H. Bowlius fund	86
Kansas State Historical Society ... 107, 108		— treasurer's report	85, 86
124, 223, 227, 228, 338, 379, 408, 416		— W. P. A. projects sponsored by .. 78, 79	
— accessions, total to June 30, 1936 ... 84		<i>Kansas State Journal</i> , Lawrence,	
— annual meeting, report of	77- 96	cited	16, 130, 131
— appropriations	78	Kansas State Library	81, 83
— archives division	16	Kansas State Medical Society	379
— — accessions for past year	83, 84	Kansas State Planning Board	111
— — total	81	Kansas State Teachers' College,	
— corporations volumes indexed	81	Emporia	2, 224, 408
— Bartholomew manuscript collection ..	81	Kansas State Teachers' College, Pitts-	
— broadsides in collections of	97	burg	224
— Brower archaeology collection, cleaned		<i>Kansas Teacher</i> , Topeka, cited	106
and relabeled	83	<i>Kansas Tribune</i> , Lawrence	131
— census returns, 1855, indexed	81	Kansas University, Lawrence	224
— collections of	417	— journalism history at, note on	215
— Cyrus K. Holliday delivered address		— planting lilac hedge at	404
on Fremont campaign before	286	Kansas Valley Bank, organizers of ..	234
— directors	95, 96	Kearney, Col. S. W., protection of traders	
— meetings	77-87, 95, 96	on Santa Fé trail	117, 118
— nominated and elected	93, 94	Kearny county, excursions from	105
— dodgers and hand bills in collections		Keene, Laura, theater of	34
of	97	Keeney, Hardy, ferry projector	132
— executive committee	78	Kellam, Lillie Holliday, only daughter of	
— report	86	C. K. Holliday	241, 259-261, 275
— expenditures of	78	Kellerman, Miss Bessie, Denver, Colo. ...	83
— federal projects	78, 79	Kellerman, James, Gove county cattle-	
— first capitol of Kansas	84	man	83
— Gardner photographic collection owned		Kelley, E. E., Garden City	98, 95
by	176	— president of Kansas State Historical	
— historic sites to be mapped	82	Society	77
— indexes of <i>Kansas Historical Collec-</i>		— "Some Southwest Kansas Pioneers,"	
<i>tions</i> typed	78, 79	address before Historical Society, read	
— John Booth bequest fund	86	by Chas. M. Correll	87- 93
— Jonathan Pecker bequest fund ... 85, 86		Kellogg, Dr. Vernon Lyman, Hartford,	
— library, accessions for past year ... 83, 84		Conn., scientist	406
— books on West added to	185-187	Kelly, —, claim of, in Ottawa county, 62	
— — genealogy, general and local his-		Kelly glass collection, at Thomas John-	
tory added to	187-199	son Hall, Shawnee mission	211
— — Kansas, added to	178-185	Kendall, A. R., Haviland	415
— — pamphlets and magazine volumes		Kennedy, Bruce, Mullinville	415
in	97	Kennedy, Mrs. H. L.	111
— — recent additions to, compiled by		Kennedy, Milton, captain of the "Stubbs" 131	
Helen M. McFarland, librarian, 178-199		Kennerly, Mr. — —	357, 362, 377

	PAGE
Kentucky colony, settled in Anderson county	159
Kepferle post office, Cheyenne county ..	209
Kesler, —, freighter	6
Kiekapoo Indian mission building, marker placed at	223
Kiekapoo Indians	223
Kilbuck, Joseph, chief of Christian Indians	235, 236
Kill creek, Osborne county	417
Kimberland, William	239
King, D. W., bridge incorporator	142
King, Mrs. J. W., Franklin county	414
King, Pres. Philip C., of Washburn college	78
King, Preston, of New York	238
Kingman county	143, 220
Kinney, Col. Asa, note regarding excerpts from diary of	331
Kinsley, Church of the Holy Nativity, fiftieth anniversary of	221
—note on artists of	410
Kinsley <i>Graphic</i> , cited	109, 221
Kinsley <i>Mercury</i> , cited	221
Kiowa county, newspapers of, preserved by Kiowa County Historical Society ..	216
—notes on history of	214, 408
Kiowa County Farm Bureau, note on history of	413
Kiowa County Historical Society, Kiowa county newspapers in library of	216
—officers of	415
—sponsors "Historical Week"	415
<i>Kiowa County Signal</i> , Greensburg, cited ..	214, 405, 408, 413
—fifty-first birthday	215
Kiowa creek	395
Kiowa Indians	369
—surveying party attacked by, a driver killed	361
—trade with members of Johnston's surveying party	370
Kiowa Lodge, A. F. and A. M., of Greensburg	408
Kirkwood, Rodger	330
Kirwin	103
—Camp Whitney near present	71
—McBratney party camps near present ..	69
Kiwiktaka, Pawnee chief, removes Spanish flag at Pawnee village	412
Klassen, J. H.	333
Klem, Mary J., cited	22
Kline, Mrs. Francis	328
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville	95
Knight, —, —	75, 76
Knight, John, pioneer	62
Knight, Richard, early Kansas settler ..	62
"Know Your Kansas," heading for weekly news release	106
Knox, S. R., Manhattan publisher	416
Koontz, E. F., Wichita, former editor of <i>Turon Press</i>	219
Korab, Frank, donor	81
Krehbiel, Elinor	409
Krehbiel, Margaret	409
Kroeker, P. G.	333
Ku-Klux Klan, organized after Civil War ..	299

L

Labette County State Bank, Altamont, robbery of	221
Labette creek	350, 375
LaCrosse, note on early days of	217
LaCrosse <i>Chieftain</i>	327
LaCrosse <i>Republican</i> , cited	217

	PAGE
LaCygne, Henry Dunbar granted ferry privileges on Marais des Cygnes river northwest of	133, 134
Laeder, Dr. —, settler on Deer creek, Allen county	161
Lagoon, on first prong of Verdigris	376
Lake, on branch of Little Verdigris	352
Lake Michigan, mentioned	140
Lake Sheridan, Sheridan county, note on building of	221
Lake Sibley, mentioned	70
Lakin, Kearny county, early stores in ..	105
—O'Loughlin's store in a dugout	90
Lakin <i>Eagle</i> , quoted	104, 105
Lamb, A. W.	99
Lambert, W. W.	62
Lamm, M. C., cyclone destroys buildings of	399, 400
Land, J. G., hospital steward, Nineteenth Kansas	386
Land floats, described	263
Land history, Kansas, disposal of Christian Indian tract, article on	227-240
Land office, Humboldt	164
Land Policy Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration	107
Land titles, insecurity of	214
Landon, Gov. Alfred M.	83
—Republican candidate for President ..	77
Lands, Kansas half-breed, trouble in removing settlers from	228
Landsman creek, Colorado, timber on ..	209
Lane, Gen. James H.	124
—president of Executive Committee of Kansas	275
Lane county, fiftieth anniversary of county's organization, noted	212
—newspaper history of noted	212
Lane County Fair, held in Dighton	212
Lang, H., actress	38
Langley, John, Lyon county	416
Lanier, Mrs. S. R., Haviland	415
Lap jacket, African national game	322
Laramie	8, 13
—trade from, in 1850's	7
Larned, early day history in old hotel register	325
Larned <i>Chronoscope</i>	326, 328
Las Lunas	7
Las Vegas	7, 12
Latham, note on history of	220
—school	220
Latham <i>Leader</i> , history of Latham published in	220
Law, Lieut. —, G troop, Seventh cavalry	63
Lawrence, Gen. —	102
Lawrence, Amos A.	32, 232
—works to make Kansas a free state ..	31
—writes President Pierce to set aside "bogus" election	31
Lawrence, Caleb S. Pratt, county clerk at	130
Lawrence, Schuyler, donor	81
Lawrence	7, 18, 204, 244, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 255
—Aid Company representatives leaders in	26
—Army of Defense, headquarters at ..	275
—assumes appearance of an old settled place	262
—attack on May 21, 1856, aroused Northerners	32
—besieged by 1,800-2,000 Missourians	275, 281
—defended by 1,800-2,000 armed men ..	275
—description following Quantrell raid ..	318

	PAGE		PAGE
Lawrence, enemy troops near.....	275	Leavenworth <i>Weekly Herald</i>	240
— Free-state hotel, used as barracks by		Lebanon, LeCleve county, Mo., described,	848
— Free-state militia	30	Lebanon, Oak Lodge No. 287, note on	
— hotel built in, by Emigrant Aid Com-		history of	217
— inhabitants of	253	Lebanon <i>Times</i> , cited	217
— living conditions	257	LeClair, —, driver of instrument am-	
— note on historical markers in	413	bulance in Johnston surveying party,	
— photographs of, made by Alexander		killed by Kiowas	361, 362, 370
Gardner	176	Lecompte, Judge Samuel D.	228, 237
— road to	19	— chief justice	230
— Robinson's party arrive in time to		Lecompton	204
vote	26	— Harvey's command captured by federal	
— sacking of, May 21, 1856	28, 282	troops and imprisoned at	125
— stage, mentioned	135	— John Brown and Jason Brown im-	
— train service to	109	prisoned at	283
Lawrence county, Missouri, Spring river		— prisoners released from prison at ..	129
rises in	141	Lecompton-Kansas City stage line ..	100
Lawrence <i>Daily Journal-World</i> ,		Lee, —, actor	38
cited	213, 404, 413	Lee, —, actress	38
Lawrence <i>Daily Republican</i> , cited ..	291, 292	Lee, Egbert M., bridge incorporator ..	145
Lawrence <i>Daily Tribune</i> , quoted	175	Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka	78, 93, 96
Lawrence <i>Gazette</i> , cited	124, 125, 131	Legislature. See Kansas legislature.	
Lawrence Junior High School building,		Lehman, Clayton	410
historic bell in	410	Lenhart, I. H.	266, 267, 280
Lawrence-Kansas City, Mo., stage line..	12	— business agent for C. K. Holliday,	269, 276
Lawrence <i>Republican</i> , cited and quoted..	15	Lennen, Mrs. O. W.	333
18, 34, 228		Leonardville and vicinity, note on history	
Lawrence Town Company	124	of	326
Lawrence <i>Tribune</i>	176	Leonardville <i>Monitor</i>	326
Lawrence <i>Western Home Journal</i>	253	Leoti-Coronado feud, note recalling, 217,	326
Laws, Kansas, act passed by legislature		Leoti Methodist Church, fiftieth anni-	
of 1859 to codify	290	versary observed	326
Layne, O. O., editor Garden City <i>Ir-</i>		Leoti <i>Standard</i>	326
rigator	88	Lerado, named for Laredo, Tex.	330
Lea, Luke	232	— note on history of	330
Leach, E. M., Wichita	392	Leroy	7
Lead mines, southwest Missouri	343	Lerrigo, Dr. C. H., Topeka, author of	
<i>Leader Courier</i> , Kingman, cited	143	<i>A Son of John Brown</i>	417
Leahy, David D.	109, 217	Levand, John, Wichita <i>Beacon</i> publisher,	332
Leavenworth	365, 367, 377	Levand, Louis, Wichita <i>Beacon</i> publisher,	332
— Christian Indians purchase land from		Levand, Max, Wichita <i>Beacon</i> publisher,	332
Delawares near	228	Levy, M. W., Wichita	387
— competes with Kansas City, Mo., for		Lewis, Col. Hiram Lewis, founder of	
miners' trade	9	Wichita bank	108
— early trade of, summarized	13	Lewis, Mrs. Hiram W., wife of Colonel	
— favored by New Mexican legislature		Lewis	108
as trail terminal	12	Lewis, William Alexander, president of	
— gets government and private trade in		Fort Hays Kansas State College,	
1861	11	memorial to	404
— Julius Lucht, former librarian at ..	392	Lewis, Church of the Holy Nativity, note	
— loses army depot, its effect	10	on history of	221
— most rapidly growing community in		Lewis Academy, Wichita	391
Kansas	229	Lewis and Clark expedition, mentioned..	145
— road to, from Fort Scott	16	Lexington, Mo.	7
— trade supremacy lost	12, 13	— border ruffians assembled at	200
Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express,		— losing its western trade to Independ-	
account of first trip	394, 395	ence, Mo.	116
— length of road of	395	Lexington (Mo.) Historical Society ..	116
— schedule	395	Liberal	363
— stations established at 25-mile in-		— Christian church history, noted ..	106
tervals along line of	394	— Glenn Martin spent boyhood in ..	406
— use Concord coaches	394	— note on early days in	107
Leavenworth <i>Dispatch</i> , quoted	101	Liberty, Mo.	97
Leavenworth Fire and Marine Insurance		Library of Congress	234
company, organizers of	234	— depository cards	79, 80
Leavenworth-Lawrence, stage line	100	Liebethal, account of a Russian wedding	
Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western railroad,		at	395, 396
chartered by Legislature of 1855 ..	234	Lightning creek, Cherokee	
— later known as Union Pacific and Kan-		county	303, 304, 312
sas Pacific	234	Lillard, Thomas M.	77, 78, 87, 94, 95
— promoters of	234	— came to Kansas to be a cowboy ...	93
Leavenworth <i>Press</i> , cited	125	Lilleston, W. F., Wichita	95
Leavenworth shiplasters, used in Atchi-		Limbocker, J. M.	15
son	101	Limestone creek	64
Leavenworth <i>Times</i> , cited	221	— camp of McBratney party on, near	
Leavenworth <i>Times and Conservative</i> ,		present Glen Elder	74
cited	61	Limitar, New Mexico town	7
		Lincoln, Abraham, assassination of ...	34

	PAGE
Lincoln, Abraham, called for troops in May, 1861	130
— collection, in Kansas State Historical Society	80
— contributed to Baker University funds,	408
— Hanks and Delahay families of north-east Kansas relatives of	221
— lantern slides on, given by Mrs. F. H. Hodder	81
— letter to Grace Bedell, mentioned	218
— note on lost speech of	213
Lincoln, note on naming of	216
— St. Patrick's church	216
Lincoln county, Colorado, a ghost town of,	211
— historic sites marked in	223
— note on Indian attacks in	215
<i>Lincoln County News</i> , Lincoln, cited, 212, 216	
<i>Lincoln Sentinel-Republican</i> , cited	212, 213, 220
Lindell, Leland E.	410
Lindley, James G.	99
Lindley, ghost town, Dickinson county..	104
Lindsay, Lt. Gov. W. H., note on biography of	108
Lindsborg	326
Lindsey, Ottawa county	62, 75
Lindsey creek, Ottawa county	62
Lindsey, H. K., Wichita	95
Lingenfelter, Father Angelus, of St. Benedict's College, Atchison	94
Linn, Maj. —, Cherokee trader	8
Linn county	376
— earliest ferry within county established by Martin Taylor and John Ballard ..	133
— troubles reported in	291
Lippman's mill, on Walnut river	144
Lister, R. H., Wellsville	111
Litchfield, Lewis T., Lawrence hotel keeper	253
Little, R., road commissioner	142
Little Arkansas river	380
— fine quality of soil along	102
— five hundred pounds of fish caught in, ..	103
Little Bull creek, mentioned	170
Little Osage river	14
Little Santa Fe, on Indian creek	377
Little Verdigris river	375
— prong of, mentioned	352
Lobdell, Helen A.	329
Lockhard, Mrs. H. A.	107
Loesel, Rev. B.	409
Log cabin home, Johnson county, described	150
Logan, Thomas, freighter	6
Logan, Camp Retreat near present	71
Logan county ghost towns, note on	211
London crossing, Sumner county, ferry at	143
Lone tree, an immense cottonwood near site of present Garden City	88
Long, Maj. Stephen H., expedition of ..	17
— mention of Verdigris river	138
— Yellowstone expedition of	145
Long horn cattle, bones of	208
— drifted south with blizzard	92
Long Pole, Osage Indian, long walk of..	321
Loomis, R. P., ferry operator	134
Lopez, Louis	7
Lost creek, toll bridge over	204
Lottery business, in 1855	265
Lough, J. W.	331
Louisiana, promoters of	234
Louisville	204
Love, Benjamin, Delaware Indian guide, ..	356
Lovgren, C. A., singing revivalist, from Lindsborg	326
Lovitt, Charley	328
Lovitt, J. R.	328

	PAGE
Lowe, Percival G.	264
Lowny's hotel, Pennsylvania, mentioned,	262
Lucas, J. E.	212
Lucas <i>Independent</i>	325
Lucht, Julius, Wichita librarian, 1915 to 1925	392, 393
Lum, Rev. Samuel Y., of Middleton, N. Y.	250, 261
Luray <i>Herald</i>	108
Lutheran church, Evangelical, near St. Francis, note on history of	409
— Immanuel, of Wichita, note on	110
— Moundridge, note on history of	409
— Saint John's of Salina, note on history of	211
Lykins, Dr. Johnston, founded Pottawatomie manual training school	413
Lykins county	135, 169
Lyman, E. D., mentioned	125
Lyman, H. S.	221
Lyon, Corp. —, accompanies McBratney's exploring party	63, 66
Lyon, Belle C.	325
Lyon, W. E., Martin Johnson's boyhood days recalled by	213
Lyon county	139
— ferries in	140
Lyon County Historical Society, organization of	416
Lyons, Ida, Douglas county	416
Lyons, Miami county	153
Lyons, Rice county, in 1887, note on ..	106
Lyons <i>Daily News</i> , cited	106
Lyons Publishing Co., of Lyons	416

M

McBee, John, Topeka	379
— death of	412
McBratney, Robert, biographical sketch of	60
— diary of exploring trip through Solomon valley	61-76
— deposited with Kansas State Historical Society	61
— disappointed with militia accompanying him	71
— exploring party of, equipment	64
— number in	64, 70
— president of railroad company	60
— purchased Atchison <i>Squatter Sovereign</i> , ..	60
McBride, —	104
McCall, Jacob N., bridge incorporator ..	145
McCannish	7
McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka	79, 95
McCarty, Dr. —, Dodge City physician	397
McCarty, Mrs. Colene	231
McCarty, Col. E. C., Kansas City, Mo. ..	232
McClellan army caps	302
McClellan saddle	298, 301
McClelland, John G., erected toll bridge, ..	19
McClelland, R., Secretary of the Interior	229, 231
Macclimore, Lieutenant. See McLemore.	
McComas, Mrs. —, sister of E. F. Ware	314
McCormick-Armstrong Co., of Wichita, ..	416
McCoy, Isaac, early mention of Wakarusa creek by	17
McCoy, John C., early surveyor	19
— mention of Wakarusa creek	17
McCoy, Joseph G., cited	177
— cattle yard, Abilene, note on picture of	177
McCoy, Mrs. Wayne	214
McCracken, note on early history of ..	328

	PAGE		PAGE
McCracken <i>Enterprise</i> , historical edition of	328	Manypenny, Geo. W., Indian commissioner	229, 232, 236, 238, 240, 253
Macdonald, A. B.	330	Maplehill, fiftieth anniversary of	219
McDonald, Ben, of Fort Scott	295, 296	Marais des Cygnes river	154
McDowell, Ernest, thirty pairs of ox shoes sold in 1901	91	— Bundy's ford on	135
McDuffy, Miss Julia A., became Mrs. Joseph Cracklin	124	— ferries on, discussed by George A. Root	132-137
McFarland, Helen M.	93, 96	— ferry at Morse ford	136
— librarian, K. S. H. S., "Recent Additions to the Library," compiled by	178-199	— once known as the Grand river	132
McFarland, Horace E., Junction City, 93, 96		— some history of	132
McGinn, Mrs. Clinton	107	— "Wire crossing" south of Paola	134
McGregor, D. D., preached first sermon in McPherson county	329	Margry, —, author	110
McIntosh, J. R., hired to take charge of Wichita library	388, 389	Marion county	140
McKee, —	62	— southwest Kansas territory attached to, for judicial purposes	87
McKee, Maj. David, note on biography of, by Hugh Gresham	417	Marlboro house, Boston, Mass.	289
McKee, Gen. Hugh, surveyor, mentioned	160, 164, 166	Marmaton river, bridges across	15, 16
McKenna, Father James, pastor Belleville Catholic Church	332	— course described	14
McKibben, Mr. and Mrs. James A.	390	— earliest mention of	14
McKibben, Minnie, appointed librarian Wichita library	390	— early spelling of, varies	14
Macklin, —	228	— ferries on, discussed by George A. Root	14-16
McLean, Milton R., Topeka	95	— not needed except during freshets, 14	16
McLemore, Owen Kenan, lieutenant of Sixth U. S. infantry	357	— floods in	15, 16
— with Confederate army	357	— named by French <i>voyageurs</i>	14
McLindon, Mary, Williamsburg	111	— origin of name	14
McMahan, Col. Edward, St. Louis	416	— toll bridge over	15
McNeal, Thomas A.	77, 85, 86, 94, 95	Marmaton River Navigation Co., organized 1890	15
McNeice's creek	367	Marmot villages	368
McPherson, note on history of	329	Marquette, note on history of	217
McPherson Baptist Church, note on history of	329	— townsite surveyed in 1874	217
McPherson College, fiftieth anniversary celebrated	329	Marquette <i>Monitor</i>	217
McPherson county, D. D. McGregor preached first sermon in	329	Marquette <i>Tribune</i> , fiftieth anniversary of, 217	
<i>McPherson County Advertiser</i> , McPherson	329	Marshall, Lieut. —, Co. A, with McBratney exploring party	72
McPherson <i>Daily Republican</i>	329	Marshall, Douglas county	18
McQuey, Mrs. Frank, Belvidere	415	<i>Marshall County News</i> , Marysville. . 333, 335	
McTaggart, Daniel, ferry operator	138	<i>Martha Jewett</i> , Missouri river steamboat, 272	
— first treasurer of Montgomery county, 139		Martin, Mr. —, mentioned. . 160, 161, 165	
Maggots, used to cleanse wounds	402	Martin, Dr. C. E.	390
Magnesian limestone, along Solomon river	70	Martin, George W., "The Boundary Lines of Kansas," cited	290
Mahan, Ernest	224	Martin, Glenn Luther, flew biplaned kite in Liberal in his youth	406
Mail, for Santa Fé, N. M.	148	— note on biography of	406
Mails, interrupted by snow in 1856	277	Martin, Miss Isis Blanche, librarian Wichita library	389, 390
Majors, Alexander	228, 234	Marysville, Miami county	153, 169, 170
— apologizes for bringing bullwhackers to Kansas City, Mo.	11	Mason, Mrs. Henry F.	86, 94, 95
— member of Leavenworth freighting firm	232	— chairman of nominating committee. . 93	
Majors, Russell and Waddell, freighters	6, 8, 11	Mason, Joe, Dodge City policeman	322
Malaria	167	Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society	100
— fever, prevalence of	296	— original charter	21
Malin, Dr. James C., of Lawrence .. 80, 78, 86, 87, 94-96, 224		— See New England Emigrant Aid Co. Massachusetts Historical Society	232
Malone, James, Topeka	93	Massey, A. B., ferry projector	132
Manchester, Mo., size of	341	Masterson, Bat, Dodge City policeman. . 397	
Mandri, John, "depository" for Aull & Owens, accounts of	121	— elected sheriff of Ford county	89
Manhattan	7, 76, 204	— not the killer he had the reputation of being	89
— Pillsbury viaduct, dedication of	334	Matthews, Warren	329
— settlers of, arrive in time to vote	26	<i>Maude Murphy</i> , small steamboat on Cottonwood river	140
Manhattan American Legion Post	335	May, —, freighter	6
Manhattan <i>Express</i>	317	Mayo, Katharine	124
Manhattan <i>Mercury</i>	334	Mayor, first woman to be elected in the United States	324
Manhattan <i>News</i>	334	Mead, James R., quoted	143
		Meade, Alice, Topeka	111
		Meade county, scarcity of wood in	104
		Meadow lark, state bird of Kansas	223
		Meadville, Pa.	245, 248, 255
		Meadville College, Allegheny, Pa. . 241, 245	
		Meagher, Michael, Wichita marshal	407
		Meat, fifty cents a pound	91
		Mechem, Kirke	86, 87, 94, 96, 416
		— elected secretary Kansas State Historical Society	95

	PAGE		PAGE
Mechem, Kirke, report of.....	77- 85	Military road, Fort Dodge to Camp Sup-	
Medary, Gov. Samuel	15, 133, 135	ply	217
"Medical Sketch of the Nineteenth Regi-		Militia	221
ment of Kansas Cavalry Volunteers,"		Mill, old, on Marais des Cygnes river,	
by Mahlon Bailey	378-386	Linn county	133
Medicine, in Kansas, regulations for prac-		Mill creek	203
tice of	401	— Bourbon county, toll bridge over	15
Medicine Bluff creek	382	Millard, lightning struck man near pres-	
Medicine Lodge	218, 220	ent	401, 402
— celebrates seventieth anniversary of		Miller, Maj. —, paymaster	320
signing of treaty of	408	Miller, A. Q.	332
Medicine Lodge creek, Nineteenth Kansas		Miller, Glenn, nephew of Sol. Miller ..	404
encamped on	380	Miller, John G.	99
Medicine Lodge treaty, Indian disregard		Miller, Karolina Falk	211
of	378	Miller, Martin, mayor of Fort Scott ..	16
— note on	408	Miller, Nyle H.	339
— Satank, a signer of	370	Miller, Sol., death of	404
Medicine river, Medicine Lodge treaty		— story of	319
held on	408	Miller, W. H.	3
Meline, Col. J. F., estimates trade of		Milligan, Robt., driver for McBratney	
1866	13	party	61
Menig, Father —	405	Milling industry, Inman, note on	333
Menke, Mr. —	92	Mills, Madison, of Leavenworth, 228, 236,	
Mennonite church, Christian, of Mound-		240	240
ridge, note on	409	Mills, on Neosho river, mentioned	164
— Missionary Society, Inman, mentioned,		Milner, Georgia	327
333	212	Mine creek, tributary of Osage river, in	
— southeast of Inman	212	Linn county	376
— West Zion, note on history of	410	Minneapolis	75, 76
Mennonites, immigration to Kansas, note		— flour and saw mills at	62
on	329	Minneha township, Sedgwick county, note	
— to Hutchinson vicinity	413	regarding early settlers of	330
— Menno community named for	221	Minnequa Historical Society, Pueblo,	
Menus, famous ones in early Kansas	407	Colo., history of the Great Plains	
Mercer, Joseph H., Topeka	95	region being recorded by	335
Meridian, 103, survey of	366	Minnesota Indians	319
Merrimac river, Missouri, described	341	Mirage, described	363
Merritt, Samuel M., mentioned	134	Mischer, —, Rooks county	399
Mesquite, a shrub	369	Mission, at Highland, help asked to-	
Metcalf, Gen. Wilder S., uniform of, in		wards saving	94
Historical Society	83	Missions, early Kansas, note regarding ..	331
Methodist church	252	Missouri	112, 243, 244
— Belle Plaine, note on history of	325	— army of Border Ruffians assembling at	
— Cedarvale, note on history of	219	Kansas border for invasion of terri-	
— Council Grove, note on history of	107	tory	200
— holds quarterly meeting in Wichita ..	103	— cheap land in southwestern portion ..	302
— Horton, fiftieth anniversary of	214	— cleaned out of live stock during the	
— Hugoton, note on fiftieth anniversary		Civil War	298
of	327	— emigrants from	97-100
— Johnson, note on history of	108	— families of, to be represented in Kan-	
— Leoti, fiftieth anniversary observed ..	326	sas	97
— Moundridge, note on history of	410	— farmers, western, slaveholders	21
— Oakley, chartered in 1886	211	— Kansas elections hold interest of	2
— quarterly meeting held in Lawrence ..	252	— mail service from Kansas through state	
— Randolph, note on history of	109	of, interfered with by Border Ruf-	
— Seneca, seventy-ninth anniversary cele-		fians	283
brated	327	— murders and fights in, when soldiers	
— Topeka, class meeting	266	returned from war	303
— Wellsford, fiftieth anniversary of	408	— northwestern portion described	316
Mexican, accidentally shot, during John-		— politicians of, used Atchison	24
ston surveying expedition	358, 359	— Proslavery meetings held in	28
Mexican army, American traders feared		— regiments, First infantry at Battle of	
an attack by	118	Wilson's creek	130
Mexican traders, mentioned	7	— river	3, 6, 19, 180
Mexican trains, mentioned	13	170, 228, 229, 242, 317, 354	
Mexican War	117	— crossing of	304
— effects of, on the Santa Fé trade,		— emigrants for Kansas disarmed while	
article by Lewis E. Atherton on ..	115-123	traveling on and sent back	286
— overland trade stimulated by	3	— made Kansas City, Mo.	13
Mexico, animosity against the United		— rise of ferrymen on	411
States	117	— steamboats on	115, 272, 319
Meyer, Lillian	333	— — West Wind	319
Miami county	154, 169	— secret societies of	23
— ferries in	134-136	— senatorial election affects Kansas ..	22- 28
Micia Donna, N. M.	7	— volunteers in Mexican War	118
Mid-America, Chicago, cited	110, 332	— western, boundary of	364
Middle Sappa creek	323	— — marked by blazing trees	339, 345
Military companies, Free-state, formed		— — recruited and organized young men	
at Lawrence	124	for Kansas service	25

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Missouri Democrat</i> , St. Louis, mentioned, 184		<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , Manhattan	334
<i>Missouri Historical Review</i> , cited	115	Moro, N. M.	7, 12
Missouri Historical Society, Gardner photographic collection owned by	176	Morris county, note on history of Skiddy in	412
Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad	60	Morrison, Dr. E. E., discusses pioneer medicine in Barton county	400-403
<i>Missouri Republican</i> , St. Louis, cited	5	Morrison, T. F., Chanute	94, 96, 221
	7, 9, 119	Morrow, Mrs. —	291
Missouri River and Rocky Mountain railroad, Robinson & Pomeroy interested in	234	Morse, S. L., ferry operator	136
Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad	134	Morse ford, on Marais des Cygnes river, ferry at	136
Missourians, attack on Topeka March 4, 1856, planned	277-279	Morton, A. R., ferry operator	136
— cared more for Kansas land than slavery	21	Morton county, note regarding ghost towns of	330
— crossed into Kansas to vote	24	Moseley, E. H., early trader among Osages, ferry operator and road commissioner	139
— hate A. Guthrie and other abolitionists	394	Motter, —	304
— invade Kansas for March, 1856, election	25	Mound City <i>Report</i>	228
— land hunger whetted by corn crop failure	21	Moundridge, fiftieth anniversary of incorporation of	409
— organize and denounce Emigrant Aid Society	23	— notes on history of	409, 410
— plan trip into Kansas to vote	268	Moundridge <i>Journal</i> , issues "Golden Jubilee Edition"	409
— polls taken over by	257	— note on history of	410
— reasons for entering Kansas	25	Mount Oread, University of Kansas located upon	408
— thrown into panic by rumors of Emigrant Aid Co.'s plans	21	Mount Vernon, Mo., population of	344
— trouble with	250	Mountain and New Mexico commerce in 1857	5
Mitchell, Mr. —, with surveyors on Neosho river	164	Mud creek, mentioned	204
Mitchell, Gen. Robert B.	295, 296	Mudge, Prof. B. F.	61, 63, 66, 70-74, 76
— ferry projector	132	— professor of Agricultural College	60, 61, 63
Mitchell, W. A., cited	133	Mulberry creek	63, 64
Mitchell county, exploring party through	63, 74	Mule meat, relished better than Texas cattle by soldiers under Custer	382
Mix, Charles E., commissioner, 232, 237-239		Mules, lost in Utah expedition	201
Mobley, Richard D.	61, 65, 66	Mullinville, note on history of United Brethren Church in	413
— state agent for sale of railroad lands, 60		Mullinville <i>News</i> , cited	216, 413
Moffatt, Isaac, "The Kansas Prairie, or Eight Days on the Plains" by	147-174	Mulvihill, Rev. D. B.	216
Moffitt, J. L., massacred by Indians	223	Mundell farm, Linn county	133
Moffitt, Thomas, massacred by Indians, 223		Munger, —	102, 103
Moffitt massacre, Lincoln county, site marked	223	Munsee Indians. <i>See</i> Christian Indians.	
Mohler, Jacob C., Topeka	416	Murals, in Wichita library, done by Arthur Covey	392
Money, scarce in Kansas in 1859	201	— statehouse, first in, selected by Populists	407
Monongahela house, Pittsburg, Pa.	288	— John Curry to paint	407
Monroe school, Lincoln county	212	Murchie, Guy	219
Montgomery, Paul M.	222	Murdock, Mrs. F. L., Riley county	415
Montgomery, Walter B., donor	81	Murdock, Marshall M., Wichita	387
Montgomery county, Daniel McTaggart, first county treasurer	139	Murdock, Mrs. R. P., designed interior Wichita library building	392
— ferries in	138, 139	Murdock, Thomas Benton, picture of, unveiled in Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame	335
— Osage villages in	375	Murdock, Victor	109, 110, 213
Monticello	7	215, 218, 220, 221, 329, 406, 407	
Mooney, Joseph	215	Murphy, Maude, a popular teacher in Marion schools	140
Moore, —, actor	38	— steamboat named for	140
Moore, E. B., settled in Woodson county in 1858	327	Musical organizations, note on Inman's	333
Moore, Horace L.	379	Musicians, early day, in Saline valley, recalled by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal	325
Moore, James, drowned in Wakarusa creek	18	Muskogee, Okla.	398
Moore, (Big and Little) Jim (father and son), ferry operators	140	Myers, Conrad	332
Moore, Russell, Wichita	95	Myers, Gibbs	207
Moravian mission	230		
Morehouse, Charles H.	407		
Morehouse, George P., Topeka	95		
Morgan, Mrs. Anna Brewster, note on rescue of, from Indians	412		
Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City	95		
Morgan, P. W.	3		
Mormons, from Europe, bound for Great Salt Lake	316		
— 3,000 encamped near Westport, Mo., bound for Salt Lake	315		

N

Nangle, Joseph, freighter	6
Nassau, —	298, 306
— prescriptions of	310
— surgeon of Ninth Iowa cavalry	296, 297
National Bank of America, Salina, mentioned	211
<i>National Geographic Magazine</i> , Washington, D. C., features Kansas article	334

- | | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|-------------------------|--|------------------------|
| <i>National Intelligencer</i> , Washington | 236 | New England Emigrant Aid Company, | |
| National Kansas Committee, organiza- | 32 | papers of, in Kansas State Historical | |
| tion of | 107 | Society | 21, 26 |
| National Resources Board, mentioned | 78 | —pleads for relief funds | 30, 31 |
| National Youth Administration | 216 | —proposed sending an unofficial politi- | |
| —binding done by project workers | 78 | cal agent to Kansas | 29 |
| —project of, at Historical Society | 77, 79, 81 | —saw and grist mills, established by | 30 |
| —workers of | 112, 252 | —second party of, sets out for Kansas, | 124 |
| Nebraska | | —supplies arms to Free-state men | 32 |
| —annexation of portion south of Platte | 290 | —took no open hand in early Free-state | |
| river to Kansas, contemplated | 97 | activities | 29 |
| —bill organizing territory of, passed | 201 | —Union hotel in Kansas City, purchased | |
| —Platte river a natural boundary line | 202 | by | 271 |
| between Kansas and | 316 | —“unofficially” assists in arming Free- | |
| —prominent citizens of, favor annexa- | 164 | staters | 30 |
| tion to Kansas | 111 | New Georgia, “Stubbs” in attack on Pro- | |
| —scarcity of timber in | 410 | slavery forces at | 125 |
| —Ward B. Burnett surveyor general of, | 223 | <i>New Hampshire Historical Society Papers</i> , | |
| Needham, Dana, Lane | 224 | in Kansas State Historical Society | 86 |
| Nelson, Rev. George Wilbur | | <i>New Lucy</i> , Missouri river steamboat | 272 |
| —pastor Horton Presbyterian church | 327, 328 | New Mexico | 101, 241 |
| Nelson, Marian | | —legislature favors Leavenworth as trail | |
| Nemaha county, note on routing of over- | 327 | terminal | 12 |
| land trail through | 327 | —mountain commerce in 1857 | 5 |
| —pioneers of west central, note regard- | 327 | —overland trade to | 3 |
| ing | 327 | —starting points for, in Kansas | 315 |
| —school history of, noted | 143 | —traders of, lured back to Kansas City, | 12 |
| Nen-ne-es-cah, an Osage word, meaning | 107 | <i>New Mexico Historical Review</i> , Santa Fé, | |
| of | 107 | New Santa Fé, Mo. | 7 |
| Neodesha, history of refinery at, noted | 107 | <i>News Chronicle</i> , Scott City | 213 |
| —notes on early history of | 107 | —fiftieth anniversary edition of | 331 |
| Neodesha <i>Daily Sun</i> | 346 | Newspapers, Kansas, number places in | |
| Neosho agency, Maj. A. J. Dorn agent | 379 | state, where preserved | 336 |
| at | 327 | —prevented by Missourians from go- | |
| Neosho county, first bank in | 411 | ing eastward through that state | 284 |
| Neosho Falls | 141, 171 | —rapid turnover in early days | 103, 104 |
| —note on discovery of oil in | 303, 304, 312, 349, 375 | — <i>Union List</i> of, compiled | 82 |
| Neosho river | | Newton, Private —, scout | 66 |
| —Childer's house on | 376 | Newton, first school in, taught by Mary | |
| —Cottonwood largest tributary of | 139 | A. Boyd | 219 |
| —described | 348 | —note on early gun battles | 218 |
| —note on naming of Big and Little | | —school history of, noted | 219 |
| Island in | 221 | —Senior High School | 224 |
| —saw mills on, mentioned | 164 | New York | 254 |
| —Sovereign's ferry on | 142 | —plays in production in 1860 | 34 |
| —timber on, mentioned | 163 | —purchased hides | 5 |
| Neutral lands | 307 | New York <i>Herald</i> | 35 |
| Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer col- | | New York <i>Times</i> | 21, 22, 24, 25, 283 |
| lection of manuscripts in custody of | 336 | New York <i>Tribune</i> | 35, 135, 283, 315, 351 |
| New Chicago, now Chanute | 379 | Nichols, Mr. — | 283 |
| New England hotel, Cleveland, Ohio | 242 | Nichols, Clarinda Irene Howard | 280, 281 |
| New England Emigrant Aid Company, | 130 | —exponent of women's rights | 245 |
| 228, 248, 249, 255 | | —trip to Kansas planned by | 277, 280 |
| —accused of sending military colonists to | | Nichols, Roy F. | 231 |
| Kansas | 25 | Nickerson <i>Argosy</i> | 329 |
| —blamed for Kansas troubles | 28, 29 | “Nigger Sweethearts,” a play | 36 |
| —builds hotel in Lawrence | 30 | “Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry, Medical | |
| —Charles Robinson one time agent for, | 230 | Sketch of,” article by Mahlon Bailey, | |
| —denies “hiring” Kansas settlers | 25, 26 | | 378-386 |
| —denounced by Missourians | 22, 23 | Ninnescah, an Indian word | 143 |
| —effort to purchase Kansas half-breed | | Ninnescah river, ferries on | 142, 143 |
| lands opposite Topeka on Kansas | | —length of North Fork of | 143 |
| river | 231 | —Nineteenth Kansas encamped on | 380 |
| —executive committee of, decides to | | —short description of | 142, 143 |
| raise money to buy guns | 30 | —South Fork, length of | 143 |
| —permits agents to use company time | 29 | Norman, George | 331 |
| for Free-state activities | 234 | Norris, Mrs. George F., Arkansas | |
| —funds of, invested in Quindaro | 21 | City | 94, 96 |
| —in the Kansas conflict, article by | 32, 33 | Norris, Hamer | 405 |
| Samuel A. Johnson | 21 | North Central Kansas Free Fair, Belle- | |
| —its place in Kansas conflict | 21, 24, 25 | ville, note on | 332 |
| —Missouri panicky over rumors concern- | | Northeast Kansas Historical Society, | |
| ing | 28, 29 | sponsors pageant in Highland | 410 |
| —number persons coming to Kansas in | 31, 32 | Northern Indiana and Southern Michi- | |
| 1854 and 1855 under auspices of | | gan railroad | 270 |
| —openly assists Free-state party | | North Fork of Canadian. <i>See</i> Canadian | |
| | | river, North Fork. | |
| | | North Platte river | 201 |

	PAGE		PAGE
North Topeka, note on reminiscences of, 331		Oregon trail, course of	18
Northrup, Hiram M., merchant	4	— ruts of still visible	18
Norton <i>Daily Telegram</i> , note on history		— Wakarusa crossing of	17, 18
of	215	Osage country, trade from in 1850's	7
Norway township, Republic county	325	Osage country	16, 17
Notestine, S. E.	218	Osage creek, timber on	169
Nuttall, Thomas, early mention of		Osage Falls Bridge and Ferry Co., capital	
Verdigris river by	138	stock of	132
		— projectors of	132
O		Osage Indian, Gnew-can-steze, long walk	
Oak creek	64	of	321
— fruit on	66	Osage Indians	8, 132, 143
Oakland	7	— described	355
Oakley <i>Graphic</i>	211	— deserted villages of	350, 375, 376
Oakley Methodist Church, chartered in		— dexterity with bow and arrows	355
1886	211	— E. H. Moseley early trader among ...	139
Oatville, note on history of	109	— ford on Arkansas river used by ...	354
O'Brien, W. C., saw and grist mills		— Major Dorn agent for	321
operated by	164	— Mr. Edwards a trader among	375
O'Connor, Thomas F.	110	— on buffalo hunt	374
Odd Fellows, Wichita, planned building		— Osage mission established among in	
to house library	388	1847	332
"Oddities in the History of Kansas,"		— uncivilized blanket Indians	296
furnished newspapers by Federal		— visit camp of Johnston's surveying	
Writers' project	106	party	355
Odell, Prof, George C. D., quoted ..	35, 36	Osage mission	321, 411
O'Donnell, Mrs. —	291	— early Jesuits at, note on	328
Oehler, Gottlieb, Moravian missionary to		— located near present St. Paul	332
Indians	230, 236, 239	— note on history of	332
— relates method employed by Isaacs to		Osage Mission <i>Journal</i>	321
obtain consent of Christian Indians		Osage river	134, 154, 376
to sale of their lands	235	— Marais des Cygnes known as, after	
— suggestion for disposal of lands of		crossing the Missouri-Kansas border, 132	
Christian Indians	237	Osawatomie	7, 159
Ogden, Maj. E. A.	228	— ferry at	134
Ogden, town of, mentioned	204	— Republican convention held at, May	
Ohio, emigration for Kansas disarmed on		18, 1859	293
Missouri river and sent back	286	— sacked by Border Ruffians	233
— regiments, Ninety-first volunteer		Osawatomie to Lawrence stage line	100
cavalry	91	Osawatomie Town Company	134
<i>Ohio State Journal</i> , quoted	315	Osborne, —, actress	38
Oil, discoveries at Lerado, note regard-		Osborne	103
ing	330	— Camp Marshall near present	73
— note on pools opened in Kansas in		— six years old, note on	327
1936	110	Osborne county, Indian scare, 1878, note	
— pool, Wellington field, note on	329	regarding	327
— Scott county, note regarding	331	— John Ruede's account of life in, note	
Oklahoma	112	on	416, 417
— French explorers traversed	110	— McBratney exploring party	
Olathe	7, 12, 153	through	66, 67, 72
— road from established	19	— school teachers for 1936-1937, note	
Olathe township, Johnson county	149	regarding	326
Old Bowery theater, New York.	34, 35	— Social Hill schoolhouse	211
Old settlers' anniversary meeting, Law-		<i>Osborne County Farmer</i> ,	
rence, September, 1871	131	Osborne	326, 327, 417
Olds, Ira	320	<i>Osborne Empire-Journal</i>	326
Olinger, J. H., Greensburg	415	Osbnun, Dr. A. G., early Bourbon county	
Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence	95	settler	16
Oliver, Mordecai	99	"Osbnun" bridge on Marmaton river	16
Olmitz, Barton county	402	Oskaloosa, First Presbyterian Church,	
O'Loughlin, Jennie Rose	91	note on history of	216
O'Loughlin, John, sells trading post and		Oskaloosa <i>Independent</i> , cited	216
toll bridge to George Duncan	90	<i>Ossawatimie Brown</i> , a play	34
— settled at Lakin, and opened a trad-		— copy presented to Kansas State His-	
ing post	90, 105	torical Society	36
— trading post and toll bridge over Paw-		— produced at Old Bowery theater	34
nee Fork built by	90	— title page of, reproduced	37
Olson, A. J., Greensburg	404	— writing and producing of	35
Olson, Carey	329	Otero, Antonio Manuel, Santa Fé	
One Hundred and Forty-two Mile creek, 132		trader	12
— wagons cross at, in Santa Fé trade.	12	Otero, A. J., freighter	6
O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka	94, 96	Otis, Lieut. Elmer, military history of ..	366
O'Neill, Juanita	333	Ottawa, Franklin county	111
Onion creek	350, 351, 375	— ferry near	136
Ore veins, along southern line of Kansas, 340		— road to, from Fort Scott	16
Oread Female Institute, Worcester, Mass., 125		Ottawa county	62
Oread Guards, Lawrence	125	— fight for county seat of	75
— alias "Stubbs," uniform of	129	— trade from, in 1850's	7

	PAGE
Ottawa Indians	136
Ottaway, B. M., Ottawa	111
Ottaway, Mrs. B. M., Ottawa	111
Overson, Elizabeth	216
Overbrook, note on history of	216
Overbrook <i>Citizen</i> , cited	216
Overland stage route, trail discoveries, mentioned	211
Overland trade, to New Mexico	3
Overland trail, Butterfield route, marker for, erected in Abilene	414
— Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, note on	327, 328, 404
— of 1849	109
Overland transportation, troops guarding	373
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Douglas county	416
Owen, Mrs. Lena V., Lawrence	94
Owens, Maj. Samuel, an Independence merchant	116, 117
— buried with pomp, at Chihuahua	119
— killed at Battle of Sacramento	119
— traders' battalion commanded by	118
— various accounts of death of	119
— and James Aull	123
— disastrous expedition of, to Santa Fé	115
— trading expedition sent to Mexico, 117	
Oxen	153, 174, 316
— freighting from Missouri river towns by	3
— Haskell county, note on	106
— shoes and yokes for	91
Oxford, Johnson county	7
Oxford, Sumner county	143
Oxford township, Johnson county	149
Ozark mountain, Anderson county	166
— known as Ozark ridge	160
Ozark township, Anderson county	160

P

Pacific railroad	341, 342
— Colonel Johnston instructed to make reconnaissance for	346
Paddock, Beatrice	110
Padillo, Father —, Christian martyr, 110	
Pa-ha-be creek (Bluff creek), tributary of Arkansas	355, 374
Paine, Albert Bigelow	330
"Paint Creek Bard." See Ware, Eugene F.	
Palmer, Joel, early mention of Wakarusa creek by	17
Palmer, Mary, wife of Robert McBratney, 60	
Palmer, Gen. William J., Kansas and Colorado railroad builder, note on ..	107
Panic of 1857, did little damage to Kan- sas City, Mo.	6
Panorama of Kansas, from Manhattan <i>Express</i> , 1860	317
Paola, mentioned	154
Paradise <i>Farmer</i>	331
Parida	7
Parish, S. C., ferry incorporator	134
Parker, Rev. L. A., organized Mullinville church	413
Parker, old town near Kansas-Oklahoma line	138
Parkin, Herbert, Greensburg	415
Parrish, Fred L.	224
Parrish, Paul R., donor	81
Parrott, M. J., member Executive Com- mittee of Kansas	238, 275
Parsons Junior College	224
Parsons stockyards, note on history of ..	331
Parsons <i>Sun</i>	331
Partridge, Mrs. Clyde E., Emporia	416
Patrick, —	293
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta	95

Pawnee, first territorial legislature met at, 261	
— Pennsylvania settlers in	26
— territorial capital	233
Pawnee Fork, O'Loughlin's toll bridge and trading post at	90
Pawnee Indians	89
— village of, American flag raised during Pike's visit in	412
Paxton, W. M., cited	23
Payne, Capt. David L.	406
— discovered cave near Wichita....	102, 103
Payne, Mrs. Loyal, Riley county	415
Peacock, Miss Ella N., donor	83
Pearlette <i>Call</i> , quoted	104
Pease, Dula, librarian Wichita library ..	390
Peckham building, South Haven	406
Pecos river	88
Pecos trail	88
Peffer, W. A.	77
Pelican, found on Solomon river	70
Pena Blanca, N. M.	7
Pennsylvania, went democratic in state election of 1856	287, 288
Pennsylvanians, arrive in Kansas in time to vote	26
<i>People of Kansas</i> , note on	111, 112
People's party	324
Peoria, Franklin county, ferry located near	136
Peralto, N. M.	7
Peres, Juan I., Mexican trader	7
Perkins, Frank M.	142
— letter regarding ferry matters on Spring river	141
Perry, John D., president of the Kansas Pacific railroad	176
Peters, Griffith	15
Peters, Kingman county post office, note on naming of	220
Peterson, Bert	219
Peterson, Mrs. Carl	405
Peterson, Gail French, conducts column in <i>The Kansan</i> , Concordia	214
Peterson, J. F.	220
Pewsa, or salt plain, location of	357
Phelps, John S., Springfield, Mo.	99
351, 356, 357	
Phelps, Zack, Oakley	211
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays	94, 96
Philippine insurrection	83
Phillips, —, with McBratney explor- ing party	74
Phillips, John, heroic ride, note on ..	109
Phillips county	323
— McBratney party passes through pres- ent	69, 71
Phillipsburg	103
Photographers, note on early Wichita ..	330
Physicians, early day Wichita, note on ..	218
Piatt, Mrs. R. M., Wichita	391
Picket Rock, southeast of Cherryvale ..	218
Pierce, Pres. Franklin	231, 233, 238
— asked to set aside "bogus" election ..	31
— endorsed so-called "bogus" legislature, 279	
— proclamation of, mentioned	279
— refused to confirm sale of Kansas half- breed lands	233
Pierceville, Sequoyah county	88, 90, 92, 93
— burned by Indians in 1874	89
Pig Pen Ranch, Grant county	91
Pike, Zebulon M., early mention of Verdigris river	138
— visits Pawnee village	412
Pike's Peak	101, 317
— emigration to	291, 293
— gold rush prospered Kansas City, Mo., 9	
Pillsbury, Josiah Hobart	334
Pillsbury drive, Manhattan viaduct, dedication of	334

PAGE	PAGE
Piney Fork, tributary of Gasconade river, 342	Pottawatomie creek 135, 146, 159, 167
Pioneer laws, local clubs made 308	— ferry on North Fork of 146
Pipe creek, Ottawa county 62	— forded near Stanton 157
Pittsburg, at mouth of Big Blue river .. 204	Pottawatomie Indians, George W.
Pittsburg <i>Sun</i> , F. W. Brinkerhoff, editor	Clarke, agent of 228
of 137	— manual training school of, near
Plains, article by Isaac Moffatt de-	Topeka 413
scribes 147-174	— reserve 204
— Indians, five tribes of, Medicine Lodge	Pottawatomie massacre 168, 169, 282
treaty anniversary celebrated 408	Pottawatomie township, Franklin county, 169
— hostile to building of Union Pacific	Potter, note on early history of 333
railroad 378	— platted as Bennett Springs 333
— snowstorm on 320	Potter <i>Kansas</i> 333
— southwest Kansas, altitude of 77	Potts, Capt. —, Kansas pioneer 63
— west of Ellsworth 383	— visits with McBratney 75
Plainville, early history of, recalled 412	Potts, John, mentioned 122
— pioneers' banquet given by B. & P. W.	Powers, Lucy, bid for Indian lands 232
club of 412	Prairie chickens 102, 154, 204, 299
Plainville <i>Times</i> 412	— large flocks seen in Missouri 343
Platt, Rev. L. H., ancestor of the Platt	— plentiful in Fort Scott 314
family of Kirwin 92	Prairie City 7
— first minister to settle at Garden City, 92	Prairie Dog creek 394
Platte City, Mo., note on early history	Prairie dog towns 368
of 411	Prairie dogs, seen on Solomon river 73
Platte County Self-Defensive Association,	Prairie fires, Allen county, described 163
purpose of 23	— editorial from <i>Walnut Valley Times</i> ,
Platte purchase, mentioned 21	El Dorado, on 321
Platte river, Neb. 75, 290, 395	— numerous in early days 92
— difficulty of bridging 201	Prairie flowers 154
— natural boundary line between Kansas	Prairie grass, referred to 68
and Nebraska 201	Prairie Grove School, District No. 65,
"Play Mania, The," a play 36	Nemaha county, note on history of .. 327
Pleasanton, Bank of, note on fiftieth an-	Prairies, breaking 304
iversary of 217	— excellent grazing on 172
Pleasanton <i>Observer-Enterprise</i> , cited .. 217	— life on, note regarding 220
Pliley, Capt. — 381	— southwest of Kansas City, Mo., cov-
Plum creek, Cheyenne county, timber on, 209	ered with camps and corrals 8
Plumb creek 63, 64	Prather, T. Elvis 333
Plymouth, note on school history of 413	Pratt, Caleb S., biographical sketch of .. 130
Pocket canyon, battle between Kansas	Pratt, John G., manuscripts of, in Kan-
buffalo hunters and Comanche Indians	sas State Historical Society 228, 234
in 216	Pratt, Peoples' bank, note on history of, 221
Poetry in Kansas, mentioned 79	Pratt county 142
<i>Polar Star</i> , Missouri river steamboat 272	— county-seat fight recalled 218
Pomeroy, E. W. 120, 121, 122	Pratt <i>Daily Tribune</i> , cited 221
Pomeroy, Samuel C. 30, 32, 79	— issues Pratt "Progress" edition 216
228, 230-232, 235, 238, 255	Pratt Institute, library science division.. 392
— financial agent of Emigrant Aid Com-	Prentis, Noble L., lecture of 388
pany 271	Presbyterian church, Colby, note on
— Free-state activities of, encouraged by	fiftieth anniversary 212
Webb 29	— Council Grove, note on history of .. 107
— interested in the Missouri River and	— Highland, note on history of 213
Rocky Mountain railroad 234	— mission, centennial of 410
— purchased Atchison <i>Squatter Sovereign</i> , 60	— Horton, history of, noted 223
Pond Creek station, on Butterfield route, 211	— Idana, fiftieth anniversary celebrated, 328
Ponies, Indian 359	— Oskaloosa, First, note on history of .. 216
Pony Express 109	— Viola, anniversary of founding
— marker for, placed in Troy courthouse	observed 326
square 414	— Westfall, note on history of 220
<i>Pony Express</i> , The, pamphlet issued by	— Wichita, erect church edifice in 103
John G. Ellenbecker 335	— Winfield, First, note on history of .. 213
<i>Pony Express Courier</i> , Placerville, Cal. 109	Presser, Elsie 319
222, 331, 332	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan 95, 224
Ponziiglione, Father Paul 328	Price, Capt. W. E. 99
— founded St. Francis church in	Price, Siter & Co., mentioned 123
Timbered Hills, Wilson county 325	Primitive hospitality 155, 156
— note on biography of 411	<i>Progress in Kansas</i> , Topeka, cited 214
Pooler, Mose, half-blood Cherokee 141	Progressive Republican movement, men-
Pooler's ferry, Oklahoma, about twenty	tioned 79
miles south of Baxter Springs 141	<i>Progressive-Signal Magazine</i> , Greensburg, 404
Populism 77	Prohibition 77
Populists, select first murals for Kansas	Proslavery forces, believed Aid Company
statehouse 407	was arming Free-state people 30
Porter, Kenneth W. 224	— invade polls at election of March 30,
Portland, note on history of 406	1855 124
Post office, first in Republic county 332	— meetings of, curse Aid Company 28
Postage stamps for currency 206	— members of, killed in fight at Easton, 277
Postier, Mrs. Alva 333	Prosper, Ellsworth county 220

	PAGE
Protection, note on history of	334
Protection <i>Post</i> , cited	218
Public land survey, recognizes present southern line of Kansas as boundary, 340	
Public Works Administration, in Kansas, note on activities of	215
Pumpkin creek	350, 351, 375, 376
Putnam, J. E.	211

Q

Quadrille, in early Dodge City	397
Quail	299
— plentiful in Fort Scott.	314
Quantrill, Wm. C., Lawrence raided and sacked by	317
Quantrill massacre at Lawrence, date of, 317	
Quapaw Indians, reserve of	339
— some description of	347
— surveying party encamped on	345
— tribe almost extinct	347
Quindaro, funds of New England Emi- grant Aid Co., invested in	234
Quivira, book on Coronado by Paul A. Jones	416

R

Raab, Francis O., artist	411
Rabbit drives, Kansas, mentioned	334
Rabbitear creek	368, 376
Rabbitear mountain, New Mexico	340
Railroad, along North Fork of Canadian, reconnoitering for	367
— construction, Kansas Pacific builds at rate of two miles a day	177
— crews, protection of	378
— exploration for one, to be built up Solomon	60-76
— to Pacific, early desire for	22
Railroads, compete with river boats	13
— Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western, pro- moters of	234
— Salina, Lincoln & Western Railway	212
Rainstorm, described	349
— in 1859	170, 171
Rainey, George	407
Ranahan, Thomas J., Pony Express rider, 109	
Ranchos	7
Randolph, Mr. —, Meadville, Pa.	280
Randolph, note on Methodist church his- tory of	109
Randolph <i>Enterprise</i>	109
Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence .. 78, 94, 96	
Rattlesnakes, Barton county youth bitten; arm amputated by father	402
— great numbers of, in southwestern Kansas	92
Rawlins county, mentioned	79, 323
Raymond, F. H., Douglas county	416
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis	95
<i>Real Estate Register</i> , Emporia	83
Ream, Robert L., map of Kansas by, 152, 158	
Reddington, N. C., Los Angeles, Cal.	106
Red Dog, Sioux Indian	322
Red Fork of Cimarron	360, 371
— brackish waters of	372
Reding, J. S., mill of, near Shoalsburg, Newton county, Missouri.	344
Redoubts, in Kansas, on Fort Dodge- Camp Supply military road	217
Reed, Charles H.	61
Reed, Clyde M., Parsons	95
Reed, —, and Henderson, —, Clay county, Missouri, liquor distillers.	8
Reeder, Gov. Andrew H.	228, 233
	246, 253-255, 262, 265

PAGE

Reeder, Gov. Andrew H., anti-slavery views unacceptable to administration. . .	234
— at loggerheads with Assembly	260
— called election to fill vacancies	261
— elected territorial delegate	31
— intends to locate capital at Pawnee ..	26
— Kansas half-breed lands opposite To- peka fraudulently purchased by	231
— Missouri hatred of	24, 25
— nominated delegate to Congress	267
— removal asked for, by legislature	261
— seat refused by Congress	267
— vetoes all bills	260
Reeder township, Anderson county, note on early life in	106
Rees, Amos, active in early Leavenworth, 234	
Rees, Mrs. Martha S., Emporia	140
Rees family history, note on	220
Reese, Capt. —, pioneer	63
Reeve, Alanson	203, 205
Reeve, W. M., actor	38
Reformed church, Cheney, note on organ- ization of	330
Regada	7
Reid, N. P.	110
Reimer, H. F.	333
Relihan, A. W.	223
Remittent fever	380
Rensburg, George J. . 109, 221, 222, 331-333	
Reno county	142
— note on history of	110
Republic county, first white settlers in, 332	
— reminiscences of Beaver and Norway township, recalled	325
<i>Republican Citizen</i> , Atwood . 208, 209, 323	
Republican party, convention at Osawa- tomie, May 18, 1859	293
— unites with American party at Harris- burg, Pa., in 1856	289
Republican river. . 63, 64, 70, 72, 74, 394, 395	
— North Fork, timber on	209
— South Fork, Cheyenne county	209
— state troops stationed on	74
— valley of, Indian depredations in, 75, 378	
Republicans, paint over Populist murals in Kansas statehouse	407
Resettlement Administration	107, 108
Resler, Rev. E. K.	219
Revolvers	149
— free use of, in early Dodge city, 396, 397	
Reyburn, A., bid for Indian lands	232
Rice county	106
Rich, —, and E. W. Pomeroy, of Santa Fé, N. M.	120
Richards, —, accompanies McBrat- ney's exploring party	63
Richards, W. M., Emporia	411, 412
Richardson	7
Richmond, A. B.	280
Richmond, Fred, early resident of Ottawa, 136	
Riggins, B. F., bridge and ferry incor- porator	15
Riggs, Arley	224
Riley county	326
Riley County Historical Society	94, 335
— officers of	414, 415
Rio Bravo	354
Rio Grande	340
River boats, compete with railroads ...	13
"River of Big Weeds," Wakarusa some- times known as	17
Road, building for automobiles, note on, 325	
— Humboldt to junction of Duck creek and Elk river	139
— Kansas City to Westport, condition of	148
— plats in State Historical Society.	16
— provision for, by territorial legislature, 19	

	PAGE
Road, Sovereign's ferry to Columbus.....	142
—system, Kansas, note on	334
—Water Street, Baxter Springs to Stanley's ferry on Spring river, petitioned for	141, 142
Robbers Roost creek, note on history of	328
Robbins, Charles, an early day sheriff of Franklin county	137
—ferry operator	136
—story concerning, by Col. J. N. Harrison	137
Roberts, Roy L.....	111, 112
Roberts, Wm. Y.....	287
—elected lieutenant governor under Topeka constitution	286
—spoke before Fremont Club in Philadelphia	286
Robertson, Agnes, theater of.....	34
Robidoux, Peter, pioneer citizen of Wallace county	326
Robinson, Benjamin F....	228, 232, 236, 237
—Delaware Indian agent	231, 235
Robinson, Charles	30, 124, 228
—230, 232, 234, 235, 238	
—advocates Free-state constitution ..	27
—Aid Company agent	26
—aimed to create a coherent political party	27
—asks Aid Company for rifles	27
—decides to arm followers	29, 30
—devotes Aid Company time to Free-state activities	29
—effort to purchase for Emigrant Aid Company desirable Kansas half-breed lands	231
—home burned by Proslavery mob under Sheriff Jones	282
—instigates revolution against Proslavery territorial government	27
—kept Lawrence informed on Kansas situation	31
—led Free-state movement	29
—organized four military companies ..	27
—party of, reached Lawrence before election	26
Robinson, John "Yankee," circus of, ferried across Pottawatomie creek	146
Robinson, Mrs. M. L., Princeton.....	111
Rock creek	353, 394
<i>Rocky Mountain News</i> , Denver	394, 395
Rodgers, Henry, Dodge City, negro	322
Roehr, Mrs. Fred	220
Roelfs, Henry	320
Rogler, L. E., Chase county	414
Romig, Joseph	228
Rooks county, description of cyclones in	397-400
—Fairwest schoolhouse, cyclone destroys buildings of	399
—geographical names, note on	328
—note on marriage anniversaries of prominent citizens of	327
<i>Rooks County Record</i> , Stockton ..	325, 327
Root, George A.....	377
—curator of archives, Kansas State Historical Society	2, 114
—"Ferries in Kansas," articles by ..	14-20
—132-146	
Rope walk, Liberty, Mo.....	115
Ross, Edmund G., United States senator	61, 62, 79
—accompanies McBratney exploring party	60
—leaves party	66
—puts troops with, through cavalry drill	65
Ross, Harry E.....	216, 224
Rost, Mrs. J. H.....	332

	PAGE
Rounds, Howard, Franklin county..	111, 414
Ruede, Howard	327
—note on account of life in Osborne county by	416, 417
Ruggles, H. C., Wichita	387
Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro	95
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.....	94, 96, 107
—108, 211, 212, 325, 328, 331	
Rural High School, Garfield, note on history of	326
Rush county, diphtheria in, during early days	402, 403
—World War soldiers, note on	327
Russell, E. K., assistant surgeon, Nineteenth Kansas	386
Russell, William H.....	233, 234
—bid submitted for Christian Indian lands	232
Russell, William J., Topeka	95
Russell & Majors, freighters	234
Russell, Brown, & Co., freighters	9
Russell, Majors & Waddell, Leavenworth freighters	8, 11, 232
—start ten trains	6
Russell, early white birth in	213
—note on early days of	212
Russell county, census of 1870, note on ..	108
—note on rural school teachers of ..	212
—Rev. A. H. Annis first permanent clergyman in	327
—Russian settlements noted	211
<i>Russell County News</i> , Russell	327
<i>Russell Record</i>	212, 213, 327
<i>Russell Reformer</i>	212
Russell's creek	349, 350
Russian settlements, in Russell county, note on	211
Russian wedding, at Liebenenthal, account of	395, 396
Ryan, Charles E., Lyon county	416
Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka	94, 96
Ryner, —, actor	38

S

Sabine	7
Saddle, McClellan pattern	301
Saddle and harness business in Independence and Kansas City, Mo.....	5
Safford, village of	139
Sail-driven wagon, note on	334
St. Anthony's parish, Wichita, note on history of	220
St. Benedict's College, Atchison	94
St. Francis, Evangelical Lutheran Church near, note on	409
—Immanuel Evangelical Church near, note on history of	409
St. Francis church, in Timbered Hills, Wilson county	325
St. Francis <i>Herald</i>	218, 409
St. John, Gov. John P.....	77
St. John, note on history of	214
St. John Hesperian Club	214
St. John <i>News</i> , cited	214
St. John's Lutheran Church, Salina, note on history of	211
St. John's military school, Salina, note on history of	222
St. Lawrence hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., ..	286-288
St. Louis	9
—loses trade to Kansas City	7, 8
—merchants of, supported Benton ..	22
—railroad from, pushes west	13
St. Louis <i>Evening News</i> , cited	24
St. Louis Medical College	379
St. Mary's mission, Catholic institution	204

PAGE	PAGE
St. Marysville, Miami county	153
St. Patrick's Church, Lincoln, note on history of	216
St. Patrick's parish, Atchison county, note on history of	334
St. Paul, annals of, by W. W. Graves, note on	328
St. Paul <i>Journal</i> , cited	221, 328
St. Paul's Evangelical Church, near Caldwell	222
St. Theresa, origin recalled	217
St. Vrain, Ceran, freighter and trader, 4, 6	6
Salemsborg community, note on pioneer days in	211
Salina	61
— Glenn Martin lived in	406
— Kansas Pacific railroad built to	177
— printing offices of fifty years ago re- called	211
— theaters, note on histories of	211
Salina <i>Journal</i> , note on history of	211
Saline river	61, 63, 64, 74
— settlements along laid waste by Indians	378
— state troops stationed on	74
Saline valley, early-day musicians in, note regarding	325
— Indian depredations in	75
— will support an immense population ..	205
Salt, from salt plains	357
Salt bed, ten miles southwest of Wichita	101, 102
Salt creek	204, 205
Salt Fork of Arkansas	358
— some description of	373
Salt Lake, great	373
Salt Lake City	317
— trade from, mentioned	11
Salt plain, in present Alfalfa county, Oklahoma	356, 372, 373
— near present Leafie, Okla. ..	360, 372, 381
— — Colonel Johnston makes reconnais- sance of	359
— — his description of	360
Salt springs, in present Oklahoma	360
Salter, Lewis Spencer	409
Salter, Mrs. Susanna Madora, elected mayor of Argonia	324, 409
<i>Sam Cloon</i> , Missouri river steamboat ..	272
<i>Samuel</i> , Job, Christian Indian	239
Samuels, E. M.	99
San José, N. Mex.	7
San Miguel, N. Mex.	7
Sand bug, large black	356
Sand creek, near Bennington ..	61, 62, 76
Sand hill, twelve miles southwest of Ingalls	89
Sanders, Mrs. John	415
Sandmeyer, Mrs. R. R.	415
Sandy creek, Harper county	356
Santa Fé, Haskell county ghost town, note on	109
Santa Fé, N. Mex.	6, 320
— trade to	7
Santa Fé mail	365
— transferred from Independence to Kan- sas City	12
Santa Fé railroad. <i>See</i> Atchison, To- peka & Santa Fé railroad.	
Santa Fé road. <i>See</i> Santa Fé trail.	
Santa Fé trade, discussed	2- 13
— Disorganizing Effects of Mexican War on, article by Lewis E. Atherton, 115-123	
— in 1860	10
— troubles intensified during Mexican War	115
Santa Fé traders, Westport, Mo., head- quarters for	173
— — encampment of, at	148, 149
Santa Fé trail	88, 241, 364, 366, 376
— and Missouri river, made Kansas City, Mo.	13
— Aubrey cut-off on	367
— Cimarron branch of	89
— military protection of, noted	217
— near Westport, described	148, 149
— notes on history of	125, 404
— old ruts of	90
— traffic through Council Grove	7
— wagons cross 142 Mile creek	12
Sappa creek	394
— Middle	323
Satank, Satangya, Setanki, Sitting Bear, war chief of Kiowa Indians, and one of signers of Medicine Lodge treaty ..	370
<i>Saturday Evening Courier</i> , New York ..	34
<i>Saturday Evening Post</i> , Philadelphia, 330,	406
Saunders, E. T., ferry incorporator ..	138
Saurian creek	71, 72
Saurian family	72
Saurian Point	71, 72
Savage, J., <i>Recollections of 1854</i> ..	253
Saw mills	250
— established in Kansas by Emigrant Aid Co.	30
— Garnett	159
— Humboldt	164
— Topeka	255
Say, Prof. Thomas, early mention of Wakarusa creek by	17
Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City	94, 96
Sayre, C. A., Chase county	414
Sayre, W. R., Chase county	414
Scalping knives	322
Schaefer, Johannes, account of wedding of	395, 396
Schaefer, Rev. William	411
Schafer, Dr. Joseph, superintendent of Wisconsin State Historical Society ..	317
Schattner, Fred, Wichita	387
Schell City, Mo.	14
Scheve, B. H.	217
Schmith, J. A.	15
Schmitt, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob, Brown county pioneers	410
Schoenmakers, Father John	328
Schofield, Gen. J. M., assists exploring party	60
Schools, consolidated	79
Schultis, Mrs. Fred	333
Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center	95
Schurz, Carl, quoted	402
Schuyler, Philip C., elected Secretary of State	276
— member of Executive Commission of Kansas	275
Schwab, Rev. J. G.	218
Schwein, Rex Lee	328
Schwerther, Most Reverend Bishop, Wichita	411
Scofield, J. B., ferry incorporator ..	134
Scott, Mr. —	346
Scott, Chas. F., Iola	95
Scott, H. H.	224
Scott, L. L.	238
Scott City, note on history of	331
— Old pioneer sales barn, note regarding,	331
Scott county, history of, noted	331
— — by Oliver S. Lawson	213
— marriage in, first, note regarding ..	331
— oil an industry of	331
Scott County State Park	331
Scruggs, Simon	232
Scurvy	360
Seapo, first post office in Republic county	332
Searle, A. D., suggested name of "Stubbs"	125

	PAGE
Sebastian, Sen. Wm. King	236, 239
Sebastian, defunct town	18
Secession, a blow to Kansas City, Mo., trade	11
Sedgwick county	142, 143
— in 1870, note regarding	329
— lands available for pioneer settlers, note regarding	330
— note on life in early days	334
Sedgwick County Library, sponsored by the W. C. T. U.	389
Seelye, Mrs. A. B.	224
— donor	81
Seelye, Miss Helen	414
Sellards Cleaning Co., Topeka	85
Seneca Methodist Episcopal Church, note on history of	327
Seneca <i>Times</i>	327
Senter, Annie, actress	38
Sequoyah county, now Finney	91
Sergeant, Nelson	395
Setangya or Setanki (Sitting Bear), Kiowa chief. <i>See</i> Satank.	
Settlers, resist laws of 1855 assembly ..	260
Seward county	361, 363
Sewel ford, on Marais des Cygnes	136
Sewell, Robert, "Bob Ridley" nickname of	331
— drove stage in northeast Kansas ..	332
Shaner, Dolph, Joplin, Mo.	340
Shanklund, Maj. —, leaving for the states	275
Shannon, Gov. Wilson, resignation of ..	285
— town of Shannon named for	159
Shannon, once county seat of Anderson county	159
Sharpe, W. A.	211, 329
Sharp's rifles	27, 90, 91, 203
Shaw, William G., Viola Presbyterian church organized in home of	326
Shawl, blue blanket	149
Shawnee, Johnson county	7, 203
Shawnee county	16, 17, 18
— county seat located at Topeka	290
— district court records of	412
— drought convention of 1860, note on original minutes	108
— early divorces, note on	412
Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association, donor	81
— annual meeting of	111
Shawnee creek, Cherokee county	376
— tributary of Spring river	348
Shawnee Indians, capture Marmaduke Van Swerangen	17, 18
— reservation of	255
— valuable timber owned by	316
Shawnee manual labor school, 1855 legis- lature adjourns to	261
Shawnee Methodist Church, South, road from	19
Shawnee Methodist mission	84
253, 255, 261	
Shawnee Mission Indian Historical So- ciety	84, 94, 211
— Kelly glass collection in	211
— Mrs. Frank A. Hardesty, historian ..	211
— officers of	415
Shawnee Sunday School, Johnson county, note on history of	405
Sheldon, H. E., Manhattan publisher ..	416
Sheridan, Bernard James, editor and pub- lisher of <i>Western Spirit</i>	134
Sheridan, Gen. Philip H.	90, 379
— supply camp of on Beaver creek near junction with North Fork of Cana- dian	381, 382
— U. S. troops under, inadequate to pro- tect the frontier	378

	PAGE
Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., winter cam- paign against the Indians	378
Sheridan county, Lake Sheridan in	221
— note on history of Angelus community of	405
Sherman, Gen. William T.	85
Shields, Mrs. Ella Glenn, librarian of Wichita library	388
Shinplasters, used in Atchison	101
"Ship of the Prairie," wind wagon ..	7
Shirer, H. L., Topeka	95
Shively, Henry, census records concern- ing	136
— member House of Representatives, 1860	136
Shoal creek, Missouri, potential water power of	344
Shonyo, B. C.	220
Shonyo, Mrs. Frank	219
Shonyo, M. L.	220
Showalter, Robert	409
Shultz, harness shop, Dodge City	322
Shumway, H. A.	224
Sibley, note on history of	332
Silver Lake	204
— Baptist church, note on history of ..	410
Simmons, Mrs. India H.	217
Simons, P. C.	21
Simons, R. T., founder Caldwell <i>News</i>	216, 217
Simons, W. C., Lawrence	94, 96
Simpich, Frederick, "Speaking of Kan- sas," article by, in <i>National Geo- graphic Magazine</i>	334
Simpson, —	62
Sioux Indians, Brule	75
— camp in old Garfield county	89
— mode of eating	322
— Ogallallo, located north of Platte ..	75
— pass through Topeka	321, 322
Sirocco	358
Siter, Price & Co., mentioned	123
Six Nations, of New York	295
Six shooters	91
Skiddy, Morris county, note on early history of	412
<i>Skirmisher</i> , Salina, cited	222
Slade, Mrs. Elizabeth B.	216
Slaton, Mr. —	271
"Slaughter Kid," a good cowhand	89
Slavery, feared for Kansas	316
Smith, —	62
Smith, Mrs. —	291
Smith, Mrs. Anna	410
Smith, Mrs. Carolyn, Riley county ..	415
Smith, Mrs. Doc.	410
Smith, Elijah, cyclone destroys buildings of	399
Smith, George W., member Executive Committee of Kansas	275
Smith, H. B., ferry incorporator	134
Smith, Jed, memorial erected to	415
Smith, M. L.	324
Smith, Quincy A., Wichita	387
Smith, Mrs. Ross	415
Smith, Sam	334
Smith, Sidney S., prominent in Cherokee county	303
Smith, Mrs. W. H.	327
Smith, Justice William A., former Kan- sas attorney-general	405
Smith, William E., Wamego	95
Smith & Callen, commissariat hired of ..	61
Smith automobile factory, Topeka's pio- neer motor car works	216
Smith county, McBratney party passed through present	68
Smithton lodge No. 1, A. F. and A. M., note on history of	410

PAGE	PAGE
Smoking, prevalence of, among men and women settlers 172	Southern Kansas boundary, much controversy developed over location of southeast corner 340
Smoky Hill country, cattle drifted south from, during blizzard 92	Southern Kansas stage line 103
Smoky Hill river 75	Southwest <i>Tribune</i> , Liberal ... 106, 107, 405
— flood in 176	Southwestern College, Winfield 224
— settlements along, laid waste by Indians 378	Sovereign's ferry, on Neosho river 142
— state troops stationed on 74	Spain, flag of, removed from Pawnee village 412
Smoky Hill stage route, death along... 395	Spanish-American War 83
Smoky Hill valley, Indian depredations in 75	— pictures of, in Kansas State Historical Society 80
— will support an immense population.. 205	Spanish fever, cattle dying from .. 164, 165
Smyth, L. H. 207	Sparkes, Boyden, author 330
Snakes in Cloud county 206-208	Spaulding, C. C. 4-6, 9
Snell, Jessie Kennedy 212	Spengler, Emil 15
Snow, encountered by Nineteenth Kansas 378, 380, 381	Spengler, F. L. 15
Snowstorm, on the plains 320	Speer, Mrs. Geneva Blue 329
Snyder, Capt. —, Kansas pioneer, visits with McBratney 63	Spicer, Lieut. Newell W., mentioned .. 131
Snyder, Ira, cyclone destroys buildings of 399, 400	— biographical sketch 130
"Social Bands," secret society of Missouri 23	Spotted Tail, Sioux Indian 322
Social Hill schoolhouse, Osborne county, 211	Spring creek, tributary of Arkansas river, 353
Social Science Research Council 227	Spring Hill, Johnson county 153
Socorro, N. Mex. 7	Spring river 142, 374, 375
<i>Sod and Stubble</i> , book edited by John Ise 112	— coal found along tributaries of 348
Sod house, described 245	— Colonel Johnston's camp on 347
<i>Sod-House Days</i> , new book edited by John Ise 416, 417	— ferrying on 141, 142
<i>Sod-House Frontier, The</i> , new book by Everett Dick 417	— timber on 347
Soden, Mrs. Hallie, Emporia 140	— to Arkansas river, table of distances, 376
Soden mill, Emporia, ferry operated near, 140	Springer, N. A. 324
Soil and water conservation, first camp in Kansas assigned to work of 325	Springs, in Solomon, Saline and Smoky Hill valleys 205
Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie 95	Springstead, Jerry C., Topeka 415
Soldier burials, with Johnston surveying expedition 359, 360	Squatter association, dominated public sale of Delaware Trust lands in 1856 and 1857 234
Soldier creek 204	— resolutions of 97, 98
Soller, August, Washington 94, 96	<i>Squatter Sovereign</i> , Atchison 60
Solomon City 61, 76, 104	Squatters, on Christian Indian tract, warned by Indian agents to cease intrusions 229
— exploring company assembled at 60	— Ottawa county, protect themselves against Indian attacks 76
— salt works of, described 61	— penetrated Indian reservations and settled on the choice lands 228
Solomon river 75, 76, 204	Squaw, described 153
— beaver dams frequent along 62	Squire, Lorene, of Harper, photographer 213, 214
— forks of 60, 63, 64, 74, 394	Stacey, W. A. 224, 414
— inhabitants of valley of, fear Indians, 75	Stack, Mrs. —, Emporia 140
— South Branch of 72, 73	Stafford, Frank 212
— state troops stationed on 74	Stafford county 142
— timber along 69	Stag hounds, brought west by Sir George Gore on hunting expedition 316
Solomon valleys, explored 60-76	Stage lines, Leavenworth & Pike's Peak, account of opening of 394, 395
— "finest in the state" 73	— to and from Lawrence 100
— Indian depredations in 378	— route, between Hutchinson and Medicine Lodge, note on 220
— paved with newspaper presses 103	Stages, four-horse Concord 100
— rich black soil in 68, 73	<i>Standard, The</i> , publication of Standard Life Association, Lawrence 329
— will support an immense population.. 205	Stanfield, Capt. —, commanding troops, accompanies McBratney exploring party 64-68, 72
Somers, John G., Newton 95	Stanfield, Saul, cyclone destroys buildings of 399
Sommereisen, Father, of Liebenenthal ... 395	Stanley, Gov. W. E. 222, 387
"Sons of the South," secret society of Missouri 23	Stanley, W. E. 94, 96
Sorrells, A. R. 219	Stanley's ferry, in vicinity of Baxter Springs 141, 142
South Beaver creek, timber on 209	Stansbury, Capt. Howard, expeditionary force under, camped on Independence creek 145
South Haven, note on history of 405, 406	Stanton, George 325
— rural free delivery established in 406	Stanton, Miami county, ferry at 135
South Haven Fair, note on history of... 406	— Pottawatomie creek ford near 157
South Haven <i>New Era</i> , anniversary edition of 405, 406	Stark, Andrew, ferry operator 132
South Platte, Nebraska, annexation of, to Kansas 201-203	
South Platte river 201	
"Southern Kansas Boundary Survey, The," from the journal of Hugh Campbell, astronomical computer, edited by Martha B. Caldwell .. 339-377	

	PAGE
Starkey, George, Chase county	414
Starr, J. C., pioneer publisher	331
<i>Stars and Stripes</i> , American Expeditionary force newspaper	83
State Bank of Missouri	280
— bills of, regarded as most secure in Kansas territory	269
State capitol square, 1875	206
State Historical Records Survey	77, 79
State road, from Sovereign's ferry to Columbus	142
State Teachers College, River Falls, Wis.	2
Statehouse, board of commissioners	206
— first murals in, selected by Populists and repainted by Republicans	407
— John Steuart Curry to paint murals in	407
Steamboats	270, 272
— <i>Financier</i> , on Kansas river	265
— golden age of	4
— Missouri river	115
— named	272
— on Cottonwood river	140
Steele, C. E., Pomona	415
Stetson hats	91
Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence	95
Stevenson, Dr. —, superintendent of Wichita schools	389
Stevenson, Mrs. Clay G.	107
Stewart, Dr. —	62
Stewart, Donald W., donor	81
Stockton	103, 325
Stockyards, Parsons, note on history of	331
Stone, A. J., member Emigrant Aid Company	32
Stone, Robert, Topeka	94, 96
Stone, for building purposes, seen on Solomon	73
Stone-fenced ranche, Johnson county, 171, 172	172
Storer, —, Rooks county farmer	400
Storks	243
Stormont, D. W.	379
Stotts, R. E., Garden City	89
Stout, J. E., Chase county	414
Stover, —	206
Stranger creek, Leavenworth county, covered bridges on	94
Stratton, E. W., bridge incorporator	145
Strauss, Mrs. Florence Miller	220
Strawn, Ben, former Finney county sheriff	109
Street, —, with McBratney exploring party	66
Street cars, Topeka, mentioned	221
Streeter, Floyd B., donor	81
Stringfellow, Benjamin F., incites Missourians to invade Kansas	25
— quoted	25
Stringfellow Brothers, associates of Senator Atchison	23
Stubblefield, —, mentioned	166
Stubblefield, W., & Co., store in Elizabethtown, Anderson county, started by	160
"Stubbs, The," article by Martha B. Caldwell	124-131
— by-laws of	127, 128
— captured by federal troops	125
— constitution of	126, 127
— joined James A. Harvey's command.	125
— marched to attack of Hickory Point, 125	125
— mustered into First regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry	130
— obtained charter from territorial legislature	125
— officers of	130
— responded immediately to Lincoln's call for troops	130

	PAGE
"Stubbs, The," twenty-seven out of sixty members held commissions	181
— uniform of	129
Stuck, J. Cooper, map of, cited	18
Stull, C. H., cyclone destroys buildings of	399
Stull, D. W., cyclone destroys buildings of	399
Sturgis, Maj. S. D., praise of Kansas troops	181
Sturn, George R.	220
Suberkrup, Mrs. Ida, donor	83
Suberkrup, William	83
Sublette <i>Monitor</i> , cited	106, 109
<i>Suburban News</i> , Merriam	211, 405
Sugar creek, Linn county	133
Sullivan, M. C., Kansas City, Mo.	416
Sumner, Sen. Charles	26
— assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina	286
Sumner, Col. E. V., Missouri invaders driven from Kansas by	284, 285
— stationed at Fort Leavenworth	283
Sumner county, ferry in	143
— note on towns of	328, 329
<i>Sumner County Press</i> , Wellington, quoted, 143	143
Sun-Gold section, history of, article by Eugene F. Ware	295-314
<i>Supplementary Report of the Land Planning Committee</i> , cited	107
Surveying expedition, Kansas, mentioned, 147	147
Surveyor's camp, on Neosho river, near Humboldt	164, 165
Sutherland, James	10, 11
— <i>Kansas City Directory, and Business Mirror for 1860-'61</i> , issued by	10, 11
Sutton, Fred E.	222
Swallow, —, scout	66
Swans	243
Swartz, C. W.	219
Swayze, J. Clarke, biographical sketch of	35
— printer	34
— purchased New York <i>Courier</i>	35
Swayze, Kate Edwards, author of <i>Ossawatimie Brown</i> , a play	34-59
— biographical sketch of	35
— death of	35
— manuscript plays of, given Kansas State Historical Society	36
— organizes theatrical company	35
Swayze, Oscar K., donor	81
— presents mother's plays to Kansas State Historical Society	36
— son of J. Clarke and Kate Edwards Swayze	35
<i>Swayze's Southern Railroad Guide</i> , Griffin, Ga.	35
Swedenborg, Emanuel	389
Swedish settlement, near Enterprise, note on	405
Swift, F. B., captain of the "Stubbs,"	125, 130
— wounded at battle of Wilson creek ..	130
Sylvia, mentioned	142
Syracuse <i>Journal</i> , cited	221

T

Tabor, Milton	331
Taft, Dr. Robert	408
— "Additional Notes on the Gardner Photographs of Kansas," article by	175-177
— professor of chemistry, University of Kansas	114
Taggart, L., scout	66

	PAGE		PAGE
"Tanglefoot"	151	Timmons, L. E.	220
Taos, N. M.	7	Tisdale, Henry, stageline operator	103
Tar creek, tar from, used by settlers ...	348	Titlow, A., bid for Indian lands	232
Taylor, Martin and John Ballard, earliest ferry in Linn county, established by..	133	Tocolote	7
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, orders Doniphan to join him at Saltillo	120	Toley, Tooley, Touley, Tula, Shawnee Indian, a flatboat built by.....	18
Tecumseh	7, 204	— ferry of, mentioned	377
— A. J. Isaacs an incorporator of	233	Toll bridge, erected across Marmaton river	15
— designated county seat of Shawnee county by first territorial legislature..	290	— for Independence creek	145, 146
— note on early history of	222	Tomahawk creek, Johnson county.....	149
— once promoted as territorial capital of Kansas	233	Tomahawks	322
— promoters of	234	Topeka	7, 204, 250, 254
— road to	19	— Assumption parish in, note on history, 413 — besieged by Federal forces, 1856.....	285
Tehorsen, Kiowa chief	369, 370	— bridge, rebuilt in 1859.....	291
Telegraph line, from Kansas City to Fort Scott	134	— celebrates location of county seat.....	290
"Telegraph road" from Kansas City, Mo., crossed Marais des Cygnes river in Miami county	134	— county seat of Shawnee located at....	290
Telegraph station, on Santa Fé railway at Lakin, 70 miles from Dodge City....	90	— ferryboat operated at.....	139
Telephone, first in Caldwell, note regard- ing	217	— Free-state legislature to meet March 4, 1856	278
Tennessee Bend, Butler county, note on history of	110	— Grand Duke Alexis entertained in....	407
Terry & Co., operators of stageline ...	103	— growing rapidly	262
Tescott, Ottawa county, note on history of	326	— hailstorm at, 1897.....	331
Tescott News	326	— living conditions described.....	256, 257
Texas, annexation of	117	— Missourians plan attack on March 4, 1856	278
Texas cattle, Spanish fever spread by..	165	— origin of name.....	247
— trade at Wichita	103	— population of	249, 253
Thayer, Eli	21, 27	— Pottawatomie manual training school west of	413
— appeal for rifles sent to	30	— receives government freighting by rail, 12 — sickness in	266
— reward of \$200 offered for	100	— Sioux Indians pass through.....	321, 322
Thickstun, Mr. —	280	— site described	248
Third District, 1855, population of ...	257	— Smith automobile factory, pioneer motor car works.....	216
Thirst, animals suffering from	363	— state capitol located at.....	294
Thirty-seventh degree, north latitude, searching for parallel of	344	— streetcars, mentioned.....	221
Thirty-seventh parallel	340	— third largest town in K. T.	262
— determining point, west boundary of Missouri intersected by.....	339	— title to townsite.....	263
Thoburn, Joseph B.	218	— Y. W. C. A. history, noted.....	412
Thompson, Mr. —	362	Topeka Chamber of Commerce.....	110
Thompson, A.	207	Topeka constitution	286
Thompson, Anne	221	— formation of	28
Thompson, Mrs. Charles, Chase county, 414		— officers installed under.....	28
Thompson, Jacob, U. S. Secretary of the Interior	230, 232, 235, 236, 238	Topeka constitutional convention.....	275
Thompson, Judge James T. V., Liberty, Mo.	98, 99	Topeka <i>Daily Blade</i>	321, 322
Thompson, W. F., Topeka	95	— published by J. Clarke Swayze.....	35
Thompson, Mrs. W. F., Topeka	94	Topeka <i>Daily Capital</i>	215, 219, 220
Threshermen's associations, Wichita ...	215	222, 331, 410, 412, 413	
Thrashing machine days, note on	333	Topeka Free-state conventions.....	263
"Throw Out the Life Line," automobile law, 1903	209, 210	265, 275, 285	
Thunderstorms	280, 349	Topeka <i>State Journal</i>	110, 214-217
Thurston, Orlin, saw mill erected in Humboldt by	164	221, 222, 332, 409, 412	
Tibbetts, Wesley	302, 303, 305	Topeka Town Association.....	241, 247, 281
Tiblow, in 1870, note on	325	Tornadoes	215, 361, 397-400
— now Bonner Springs	325	Towanda, tornado visitation in 1892, note on	215
Tihen, Bishop J. Henry	411	Towns, ghost, Morton county, note re- garding	330
Tiller and Toiler, Larned, cited, 218, 325, 326		Trade, at Kansas City, Mo., 1859.....	9
Timber, Allen county	162	— destination of, in 1858.....	7
— in western Kansas	208, 209	— government and private, shifts to Leavenworth in 1861.....	11
— on Osage creek	169	— Indian, mentioned	7
— on Spring river	347	— mountain, New Mexican and hinter- land	9
— scarcity of	229	— New Mexican, mountain and hinter- land	9
— in Nebraska	316	— on the plains, short article on.....	101
Timbered Hills, Wilson county, St. Fran- cisc church first religious structure in Wilson county	325	Traders, New Mexican, lured back to Kansas City, Mo.....	12
		Traders' battalion, commanded by "Maj." Samuel Owens	118
		Trading Post, ferry contemplated for..	133
		Trail, Aubrey's	367
		— cattle, to Wichita.....	103

	PAGE
Trail, Fort Harker to Fort Zarah.....	220
— Fort Hays to Fort Dodge.....	90
— Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, note on routing of.....	327, 328
— note on three across the state.....	218
— overland, Fort Kearney to Fort Leavenworth	404
Train service, between Kansas City and Lawrence, note on.....	109
Transportation, evolution of, and effect on Wichita, note regarding.....	330
— note on history of, in Topeka.....	221
Trappers, mentioned	115
— sold furs to John O'Loughlin.....	91
Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.....	94, 96
Tretbar, Dr. F. W.....	333
<i>Tri-County News</i> , Horton, cited.....	214, 223
Trinity Reformed Church, Cheney, note on organization of.....	330
Tripp, H. P.....	326, 327
Troops, use of, sought to expel intruders on Indian reservation.....	229
Trott, Charles H., gives McBratney diary to Kansas State Historical Society...	61
Trotter, Mrs. L. S., Wichita.....	392
Troy, Pony Express marker erected in...	414
Truman, Sen. Harry S., Independence, Mo.....	416
Tucker, Lt. —, Co. C, Second battery,	62
65, 66	
Tucker, C. L., cyclone destroys buildings of	399
Tulloss, W. G., Rantoul.....	111
Turkey creek, a tributary of Marmaton river	15
— bridge over	20
— diversion of into Kansas river.....	19
— early mention of.....	19, 20
— ferry on	19, 20
— floods in	19
— origin of name.....	19
— troublesome to early traveler.....	20
Turkeys, wild	102, 204, 365, 382
— along Solomon	70, 72, 74
Turnbull, Mrs. John.....	219
Turon and vicinity, note on history of...	219
Turon Press, E. F. Koontz former edi- tor of	219
Tuthill, R. J., auditor Commerce Mining & Royalty Company, Miami, Okla...	340
Twentieth Kansas Regiment Association, officers of	415
Twin Springs, Linn county.....	133
Tyler, Mr. —, mentioned.....	167
Tyler, Brockholst, postmaster at Canton, Anderson county	158
Tyler, Mrs. Brockholst, of Canton.....	158
Tyler, James, massacred by Indians....	223
Tyler, Patrick, early settler in Anderson county	159
Typhoid fever	160, 161

U

Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center.....	95
Ulivarri, Santiago, St. Miguel, N. Mex., 120	
Ulysses, memorial to Jed Smith erected south of	415
Underground railroad	99
Union church, Bancroft, note on history of	220
Union hotel, Kansas City, Mo.....	271
Union Pacific railroad.....	212
— Alexander Gardner takes photographs under auspices of.....	175-177
— Central branch of.....	60

PAGE

Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, notice regarding stock killed on track by trains	321
— first known as Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western	234
— Plains Indians hostile to building of..	378
United Brethren church.....	286
— Mullinville, note on history of.....	413
United Brethren Church in Christ, Hum- boldt	164
United States, army, chaplains of, note on	411
— depot, "District of the Border" established at Kansas City, Mo., in 1863	12
— Commissioner of Indian Affairs.....	228
— Department of Agriculture.....	81, 82
— Geological Survey	80
— government, contractors, Irwin, Jack- man & Co., and Russell, Majors, & Waddell	11
— Highway No. 54, mentioned.....	16
— No. 73 E, mentioned.....	16
— Indian policies of, criticised.....	386
— land office, Humboldt.....	164
— land policies of.....	107, 108
— mail, for Santa Fé.....	148
— Mexican animosity against.....	117
— Post Office Department, finance office, 206	
— regiments, First cavalry.....	341, 352
359, 365, 366	
— Second cavalry, Company K.....	358
— Sixth infantry	339, 354, 357
— Seventh cavalry	382
— G troop	63
— Thirty-fifth division, annual reunion of	416
— Secretary of War, instructs Col. J. E. Johnston to make reconnaissance for a Pacific railroad.....	346
<i>United States Daily</i> , Washington, D. C., 83	
University club, Chicago.....	392
<i>University Daily Kansan</i> , Lawrence, an- niversary edition of.....	215
University of Illinois.....	393
University of Kansas, Lawrence....	77, 87
317, 335, 406, 408	
— Robert Taft, professor of chemistry at	114
University of Missouri, Columbia, Lewis E. Atherton instructor in history at..	114
Unruh, O. D.....	413
Utah expedition, 1858.....	201
Utica, note on fiftieth birthday celebra- tion	333
Utica <i>Star-Courier</i>	333

V

Valverde, Mex.	7
— ruins of	118
Vandegrift, Mrs. —	333
Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia....	95
Vandenberg, H. J., contractor for Wichita Library building	392
Van Epps, J. S.....	141
— road commissioner	142
Van Swerangen, Marmaduke, captured by the Shawnees.....	17, 18
Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth..	95
Vanwinkle, Goodwin, bridge incorporator..	142
Varnum, Walter, Douglas county.....	416
Vaughn, Bonnie Deane.....	331
Vermillion river	204
Venice, Sedgwick county.....	142
Verdigris City, ferry at.....	138
Verdigris river	171, 349-351, 375

	PAGE
Verdigris river, ferries on	137-139
— lagoon on prong of	376
— Osage name for	138
— some early history of	137, 138
Ves, —, bus driver, duels with Wichita marshal	407
Victoria, Sister M.	411
<i>Vidette</i> , origin and meaning of	101
Vigilance committee, operates with squat- ter association	98
Viola Presbyterian Church, founding an- niversary observed	326
Volkland, Paul	220

W

Wabauunsee	7
Wabauunsee county	16, 17
— note on early history of	327
Waconda spring, described, 64, 65, 67, 68, 109 visited by McBratney party	74
Waddell, —	62
Waddell, Wm. B., member Leavenworth freighting firm	232
Waddell, Russell & Majors, freighters, 6, 8, 11	6, 8, 11
Wagon Bed Springs, Grant county, memo- rial to Jed Smith erected near	415
Wagon train, bleached remains of	89
Wagoner, Fred, road commissioner	142
Wagons, covered	168
— steam, mentioned	7
— wind, mentioned	7
Wakarusa creek, bridges over	19
— course of	16, 17
— Delaware crossing of	18
— early history of	16, 17
— ferry on, article by George A. Root	16-19
— Grinter's crossing of	18
— mentioned by the McCoy's	17
— name applied by Kansas Indians	17
— several spellings of	17
Wakarusa War, mentioned	28, 30, 129
— precipitated by arrest and rescue of Jacob Branson	124
Waldo <i>Advocate</i>	326, 333
Waldo High School, note on history of	333
Waldron, Harper county	356
Waldsmith mill, Independence	139
Walker, Bert P., Topeka	94, 96
Walker, Henry J., Wichita	387
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton	95
Walker, Robert J., governor of Kansas territory, 1857, and later financial agent to Europe	109
— post office named for	157
Walker, Gov. William, cited	20
Walker, Anderson county	157
Wallace, Clarkson M., erected toll bridge, 19	19
Wallace, William	106
Wallace county, Peter Robidoux a pio- neer citizen of	326
— some early residents of, named by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal	328
Walnut creek	352
Walnut river, capsizing of ferryboat on	144
— description of	143, 144
— ferrying on	143, 144
Walnut Valley Bank, El Dorado, organ- ized in 1871	106
<i>Walnut Valley Times</i> , El Dorado	321
Walton, Capt. —, Missouri volunteers under command of	118
Wamego, Ames house first real hotel in	216
— Walter P. Chrysler, chairman of Chrysler motor-car corporation, born in	330

Wamego <i>Reporter</i> , cited	216
Wano, note on early history of	397
Ward, —, trader	8
Ward, Mrs. Fenn, Highland	94
Ward, Geo. W.	232
Ward, J. M., actor	38
Ward, May Williams	410
Warden, Della	224
Ware, Charlie	310, 312, 313
Ware, Eugene Fitch, account of his com- ing to Kansas	300
— admitted to the bar	314
— appointed pension commissioner	295
— biographical sketch of	295
— builds house of black walnut	307
— editor Fort Scott <i>Monitor</i>	295
— employed on Burlington <i>Hawk</i> <i>Eye</i>	296, 297
— farming adventures successful	309
— gave fame to Yellow Paint creek	15
— gets rid of claim jumper	310-312
— "History of Sun-Gold Section," article by	295-314
— inhospitably received in Missouri	302
— Kansas author and lawyer	226
— locates claim	304, 307
— makes horseback trip to Iowa	306
— marriage of	314
— military service of	295
— one of charter members of G. A. R. in Iowa	302
— studies and practices law	313
— wrote poetry under name of "Iron- quill"	295
Ware, Robert	312, 313
— claim of	310
Warehouse, articles handled by, in 1858, 7	7
Warfield, —, Creek trader	8
Wark, Geo. H., Caney	95
— quoted regarding Independence ferry	139
Warnock, —, buffalo hunter of Dick- inson county	104
Warren, Capt. —	302-306, 312
Warwick, —, actor	38
Washburn, Frank, Topeka	111
Washburn college	78
Washington, George, Delaware Indian guide	356
Washington township, Anderson county	159
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.	339
Washita river	382
Was-su-ja, Osage name for Verdigris river	138
Water, conservation of	325
— scarcity of, during survey of southern boundary of Kansas	363, 364
Waterman, —	252
Waters, Joseph G., lecture of, before Wichita Library Association	388
— paid admission to hear own lecture	388
Watson, John, ferry projector	132
Wayman, Harry A., Lyon county	416
Weather, Kansas, 249-251, 254, 256, 276, 277 — peculiarities of	280
— "Northerners" mentioned	382
Weaver, Mrs. Benj. O., Mullinville	415
Webb, James J.	116, 119
Webb, Thomas H., Boston	31, 32, 231
— denies having information concerning Kansas election dates	26
— encouraged Free-state movement	29
— made efforts to find out date of Kan- sas election	26
— scrapbooks of, cited	23, 25, 30
— owned by Kansas State Historical Society	22
— secretary of Emigrant Aid Company	26
Wedding, Russian, in Liebenenthal, account of	395, 396

	PAGE		PAGE
Wedel, Rev. P. P.....	409	White Cloud, note on founding of.....	334
Weed, Capt. Mahlon, Kansas City.....	416	White Cloud <i>Kansas Chief</i>	319, 395
<i>Weekly Highlander</i> , Highland, quoted.....	201-203	White Mound valley, Garfield county...	89
<i>Weekly Kansas Herald</i> , Leavenworth, cited.....	6, 228	White Rock.....	72
Weinschenk, A. M.....	220	"White Wolf or the Sons of Brittany, The," a play.....	36
Wellington, celebrating anniversary of founding of.....	335	Whitfield, Gen. John W., commanding Proslavery forces at sacking of Law- rence.....	284
— cyclone at, note regarding.....	329	— Kansas delegate to Congress.....	236
— note on industrial history of.....	329	— leader Proslavery forces in Kansas....	283
— oil pool, note regarding.....	329	— seat refused by Congress.....	267
Wellington chapter, D. A. R., historical collection of.....	335	Whitham, E. C.....	331
Wellington City Library, D. A. R., col- lection displayed in.....	335	Whitney, Lieut. C. B., Co. A, accompan- ies McBratney exploring party, 64, 72, 74	
Wellington <i>Daily News</i>	328	Whitney, Mrs. Dwight W., minutes of drought convention of 1860 at To- peka, found by.....	108
Wellman, Paul I.....	216, 219, 411, 412	Whittemore, Margaret.....	331
Wells, T. R., Chase county.....	414	Wichita.....	378
Wellsford Methodist Church, fiftieth an- niversary of.....	408	— attempt to establish a mercantile li- brary association in.....	387
Wellsville <i>Globe</i> , cited.....	214	— Beacon building, library housed in... 388	
Welton, Hiram.....	111	— Catholic church established in.....	220
West, Harry.....	220	— institutions of, histories, noted.....	411
West, Judge Judson S.....	295	— cave found east of, in 1870.....	102
West Point, in Bates county, Missouri, 7,	377	— city hall, building of.....	389
<i>West Wind</i> , Missouri steamboat.....	319	— Coleman Lamp and Stove Company... 214	
<i>Western Home Journal</i> , Lawrence, quoted, 139		— duel fought in.....	407
Western Pennsylvania Kansas Co., an emigrant company.....	243, 244	— early library of, turned over to city... 391	
<i>Western Spirit</i> , Paola, mentioned.....	134	— evolution of transportation in.....	330
<i>Western Times</i> , Sharon Springs... 326, 328		— first library of, housed in Greiffenstein building.....	388
Westfall, Presbyterian church, note on history of.....	220	— First National Bank history, men- tioned.....	108
Weston, Edward P., noted pedestrian... 321		— guns used cautiously in early.....	407
Weston, Mo., described.....	316	— high school of, in 1880's, note on.....	110
— "Platte County Self-Defensive As- sociation" organized at.....	23	— history of a lot in, noted.....	109
— newspapers of, offer reward for Eli Thayer.....	100	— Immanuel Lutheran church history noted.....	110
Westport, Mo.....	7, 12, 148, 171, 255	— in 1870, article on.....	101-103
— and Kansas City, Mo., divide trade with Independence, Mo.....	4	— in the 1890's, note about.....	325
— California trade and outfit business made it important point.....	315	— laid out by Munger and Wm. Grif- fenstein.....	103
— distance from Kansas City.....	200, 315	— nine-hole golf course first laid out in, 330	
— first commission house in.....	4	— notes on early days of.....	213, 411
— in 1859, described.....	173	— old "bed bug" school at.....	388
— "Kansas meeting" held in.....	99	— photographers of, early, noted.....	330
— landing at.....	4	— physicians of, in early days, noted... 218	
— noted for "truck and dicker" trade... 3		— Presbyterian church erected in.....	103
— Oregon trail terminal.....	17, 18	— public school library of, open to gen- eral public.....	389
— 3,000 Mormons encamped between Kansas City and.....	315	— threshermen's associations.....	215
Westralia, ferry location.....	138	— wettest spring in, note regarding... 329	
Westralia Bridge and Ferry Company, incorporators of.....	138	"Wichita and Her Public Libraries," article by Hortense B. C. Gibson, 387-393	
Wetmore <i>Spectator</i> , cited.....	220, 328, 404	Wichita <i>Beacon</i>	108, 388, 389, 411
Wewoka, promoters of.....	234	— anniversary edition.....	332
Weyss, John E., surveyor.....	341, 346, 347	Wichita Board of Education, libraries ac- cepted by.....	389
351, 357, 358, 361, 362, 364, 370		<i>Wichita City Directory and Immigrant's Guide</i> , cited.....	388
Wheat, hard, development of.....	329	Wichita City Library.....	81, 110, 338
— spring, eaten up by jackrabbits.....	91	— becomes free.....	390
Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.....	95	— book circulation exceeds million volumes annually.....	393
Wheeler, H. V., Wichita.....	392	— Carnegie gives money for.....	392
Whigs and Democrats, combine to defeat Benton.....	22	— formal dedication of present building, 392	
White, Mrs. Blaine.....	107	— history of, article by Mrs. Hortense B. C. Gibson.....	387-393
White, F., freighter.....	6	— largest public library in Kansas, in content and use.....	393
White, Henry, ferry operator.....	134	— quartered in city building.....	391
White, Sarah, note on rescue of, from Indians.....	412	<i>Wichita Daily Journal</i>	324
White, William Allen.....	79, 81	<i>Wichita Eagle</i>	108-110
86, 95, 112, 406		213, 215, 220-222, 323, 329, 330, 332	
— elected first vice-president Kansas State Historical Society.....	95	334, 387-392, 406, 407, 411	
White City <i>Register</i>	412		
White Cloud, Iowa Indian chief.....	409		

	PAGE		PAGE
Wichita Library Association.....	393	Wisconsin State Historical Society..	227, 317
— ceased to exist in 1885, when all books		Withers, G. W.....	98, 99
— were turned over to city.....	388	Wolcott, Harry H.....	326
— chartered in 1873.....	387	Wolves, along Solomon river.....	71, 73
— women form auxiliary association to		Woman, first to be elected mayor in the	
help raise funds.....	388	United States.....	324
Wichita mountains.....	383	Woman suffrage, Kansas, note on history	
Wichita Municipal University.....	391	of.....	215
— Kansas History Teachers' Association		Woman's Kansas Day Club.....	81
meeting held at.....	223, 224	— Anderson county, to mark historic	
Wichita <i>Vidette</i>	101-103	sites.....	106
— first number of.....	101	Women's Christian Temperance Union,	
Wiedeman, Joe, cattle driver over		Argonia, nominations for city officers	
Chisholm trail.....	211	on Equal Suffrage ticket.....	324
Wiegand, Mr. and Mrs. A.....	391	Women's Clubs, Kansas Federation of,	
Wiegand, Anna Eugene, librarian Wichita		note on history of.....	218
library.....	391	Wood, A. P., with Atchison posse, at-	
Wieland, Fred.....	215	tempts capture of John Brown with	
Wight, Pearl E.....	325	runaway slaves.....	292
Wilcox, Molly Warren, contributor to		Wood, Dr. J. N. O. P., Leecompton..	26, 292
Wichita <i>Democrat</i>	325	Wood, Gen. Leonard, memorial dedicated	
Wild flowers.....	350	to.....	335
Wild fowl, on Kansas prairies, a girl's		Wood, Samuel N.....	395
hobby is photographing.....	213, 214	— ferry on Cottonwood at Cottonwood	
Wild grapes.....	368	Falls.....	140, 141
Wild horses.....	92	Wood, Capt. Thomas J., accompanies	
Wild roses.....	349	Johnston surveying party.....	340
Wild turkeys.....	204, 382	360, 372, 373, 376	
— running down and catching.....	365	— biographical mention of.....	352
Wilhelm, George W., donor.....	81	Wood, scarce in Meade county.....	104
Wilkins, Mrs. A. B., Medicine Lodge.....	218	Woods, Harry.....	217
Wilkins, Walter.....	224	Woodsdale-Hugoton county-seat war,	
Wilkinson, E. S.....	98	mentioned.....	326
Willard, A., ferry operator at Baxter		Woodson county, life in early days, note	
Springs.....	141	on.....	327
William and Mary College, Virginia....	339	<i>Woodson County Post</i> , Neosho Falls....	327
Williams, B. D.....	394	Woodward, Chester, Topeka..	78, 86, 94, 96
Williams, C. E., Alton, describes Rooks		Woodward, W. A., Haviland.....	415
county cyclones.....	397-400	Woodward county, Oklahoma.....	372
— family of, in cyclone.....	397-400	Wool, imported to Kansas City, Mo....	5
Williams, H. H., ferry incorporator.....	134	Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.....	95
Williams, Luther.....	397, 398	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.....	95
Williams, N. H., ferry privileges on		<i>Workingman's Journal</i> , Columbus.....	142
Marais des Cygnes river, Linn county,		Works Progress Administration.....	78, 79
granted to, by legislature.....	133	— <i>American Guide</i> , project of.....	106
Williams, S. A., bridge and ferry incor-		— workers of.....	77, 81
porator.....	15	World War.....	220, 335, 416
Williams, S. E., cyclone destroys build-		— maggots sometimes cleansed wounds of	
ings of.....	399	soldiers in.....	402
Williams, Wirt A.....	109	— pictures of, in Kansas State Historical	
Willson, Thomas.....	251	Society.....	80
Wilson-Erickson, Inc., N. Y. City.....	112	— soldiers of, Rush county, note regard-	
Wilson, Mrs. H. H.....	333	ing.....	327
Wilson, Hiero T., Fort Scott postmaster,		Wright, —, of Junction City.....	62
— bridge and ferry incorporator.....	15	Wright, R. M., contracts to supply	
Wilson, John H., Salina.....	95	wood to frontier forts.....	90
Wilson, Mollie, Wellington.....	110	Wright, Thomas, ferry operator.....	144
Wilson, S. P.....	324	Wright, W. W., general superintendent	
Wilson, Thomas P., Pueblo, Colo.....	335	Union Pacific Railway, E. D.....	321
Wilson county, first religious structure in,		Wrigley, Benjamin, bridge incorporator..	145
<i>Wilson County Citizen</i> , Fredonia... 325, 335		Wyandot Indians, attend treaty meeting	
Wilson Creek, Mo., First Kansas infantry		at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, 1842.....	263
in battle at.....	130	— ferry at mouth of Kaw, note on.....	219
Wiltz, Capt. S., ferryboat operator.....	20	Wyandotte.....	7, 203, 293, 294, 317
Winants, —, seeking office of probate		— photographs of, made by Alexander	
judge of Shawnee county.....	293	Gardner.....	176
Wind wagon, mentioned.....	7, 334	— stage passengers breakfast at.....	100
Winfield.....	143	Wyandotte constitutional conven-	
— First Presbyterian Church, note on		tion.....	290, 293, 294
history of.....	213	Wyandotte county.....	19
— poll book sheets of first city election..	213	Wyandotte <i>Gazette</i>	136, 203-206
— Wright's ferry at.....	144	Wyer, James I., donor.....	81
Winfield <i>Daily Courier</i> , cited.....	213	Wyman, Walker D., associate professor,	
Winsell, Capt. W. A.....	63, 64	State Teachers College, River Falls,	
— "Winter Garden," theater in New York, 34		Wis.....	2
Wire crossing, of Marais des Cygnes, six		— author of "Kansas City, Mo., a	
miles south of Paola, why named....	124	Famous Freighter Capital".....	3- 13

Y		Z	
	PAGE		PAGE
Yankee freighters, mentioned.....	7	Zeckendorf, — —, freighter.....	6
Yates Center <i>News</i> , note on history of..	218	Zevely, A. N., third assistant postmaster general	206
Yellow Paint creek, tributary of Mar- maton river	15	Zimmerman, Mrs. Mark E., Doniphan county	94
Yellowstone expedition, under command of Maj. S. H. Long.....	145	Zion Evangelical Church, near St. Francis, golden anniversary of founding.....	218
Yelton, John, mail contractor, mentioned,	134	Zoar Academy and Bible School, Inman, note on	333
Yockey creek, Ottawa county.....	62		
Young, Brigham	317		
Young Women's Christian Association, Topeka, note on history of.....	412		
Youngblood, Charles, hunter.....	104, 105		
— sketch of	105		

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