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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Volume VIII

Number 1

February, 1939

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Contributors

For brief biographical sketches of members of the Everett family see opposite page.

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Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864¹

Miami County Pioneers

I. INTRODUCTION

JOHN Roberts Everett² and his wife, Sarah Maria Colegrove Everett,³ with their two small sons,⁴ migrated to Kansas territory from Steuben township, Oneida county, New York, in the spring of 1855 and settled in the vicinity of Osawatomie, present Miami county. The letters here reproduced were written during the period 1855-1864, with the exception of two written by John Everett in October, 1854, while on a preliminary visit to the territory to select a location. They offer an unusual picture of a pioneer family struggling against the hazards of the frontier, the vagaries of nature, and political turmoil.

John Everett's interest in reform followed closely that of his father, Robert Everett, a Welsh Congregational minister and leader among his people in this country.⁵ The latter had revised and published in 1854 a Welsh translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and John Everett traveled among the Welsh settlements in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania selling this and other books before his removal to Kansas. Sarah Everett was likewise interested in the Antislavery cause, and she and her husband abandoned a plan to migrate to Minnesota in order to lend their aid in making Kansas a free state. Their sincerity of purpose is manifest in their letters.

The letters are addressed mainly to Robert Everett, Sr., and his wife. A few are addressed to Robert, their son, and their daughters, Mary, Cynthia, Anna, Jane (Jennie) and Sarah. There is also an occasional letter from members of the family in New York to John and Sarah Everett in Kansas. No changes have been made beyond the deletion of certain personal passages.

1. The Kansas State Historical Society is indebted to the Rev. J. E. Everett, of Brewster, N. Y., a son of John and Sarah Everett, for permission to publish these letters.

2. John R. Everett was born in North Wales, February 24, 1820, and came to this country with his parents in the spring of 1823. He was graduated in 1840 from Oneida Institute, of Whitesboro, N. Y., where he learned the printing trade. He followed this trade in his father's printing establishment until a short time before removing to Kansas.

3. Sarah M. C. Everett, was born January 23, 1830, in Edmeston, N. Y. She attended Mount Holyoke seminary for a time and taught school. She and John Everett were married July 19, 1852. Her death occurred at Corry, Pa., August 21, 1864.

4. Frank, aged twenty months; Henry, six months.

5. Robert Everett's ministerial work in America was in both English and Welsh churches. In 1840 he established a Welsh magazine of religion and reform, *Y Cenhadur Americanaidd* (*The American Messenger*), which was pledged to abolition and prohibition. He edited and published this paper, with the assistance of members of his family, until his death in 1875. His other literary work included the compilation of a Welsh hymn book. See *Dictionary of American Biography* (Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1931), v. VI, pp. 226-227.

II. THE LETTERS

Kansas,⁶ Mouth of Kansas river,

Missouri, Oct. 21, 1854.

Dear Bro. Robert,

I have got thus far on my way. I started from Scott Thursday week. Arrived in Chicago Saturday. . . . Started from Chicago Monday morning, and from St. Louis Tuesday afternoon. We were 4 days making the trip from there here in the fastest boat on the River. Distance 450 miles. The River is very low now. It is a broad shallow stream. The water is always very muddy. It was the most unpleasant 4 days I ever journeyed. I do not remember hearing a man speak on the boat whose conversation I watched at all who did not swear. The cabin presented a continual scene of card playing from beginning to end. The fare from St. Louis here is \$12.00. I am stopping now in the hotel of the Mass. Emigrant Aid Society.⁷ The charge here is \$1.25 a day. I was fortunate enough to meet Mr. [Orville C.] Brown here. He has been out looking up a location for the company he is with. They have found and fixed upon a location at the junction of the Osage and Potawatomie Rivers, about 60 miles south of here. He describes it as the finest land in the territory. We are going to start out there early Monday morning. If I am not suited there I shall look farther. From what I hear I judge that a good deal of the choice land has been covered with claims. There are about 57 in the company Mr. Brown is with. I do not know that I shall have time to write again before I start Monday. Please let our folks know you have heard from me. I am as well in health as is common with me.

Your aff. bro.

John

P. S. I do not know as I shall be here long enough to get a letter from you. If you do write my P. O. address will be Kansas, Mo. The county find on the map.

6. The original plat of present Kansas City, Mo., filed in 1839, designated the settlement Town of Kansas. This was generally shortened to Kansas. The name was later changed to City of Kansas and finally to Kansas City.

7. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated in April, 1854, but organization was never completed. Operations were carried on during 1854 under the management of a board of trustees using the title Emigrant Aid Company and a new charter was secured in February, 1855, under the title New England Emigrant Aid Company. The hotel here referred to was the American House, owned by the latter company. It was a stopping place for settlers on their way to Kansas and headquarters for Free-State people.

[John R. Everett to his wife, Scott, Cortland county, N. Y.]
Kansas Territory, Oct. 28, 1854.

My Darling

I do not know *where* to date my letter to you. I am about 40 miles South of Westport at the house of an Indian called Baptist Peoria.⁸ *Baptist* they call him. *Peoria* is the name of his tribe. I suppose you would like me to give you my impression of the territory. From here to Westport is a most beautiful rolling prairie. The face of the country is emphatically beautiful. Hardly a level spot but all the way fine sweeps of hill and dale. No high or sharp hills but the landscape is all made up of smooth waving lines. There are here and there patches of wood and scattering trees. It looks like a country that had been finely cultivated, and suddenly every habitation and man swept from it. The prairie grass was dead. When green it would add very much to the scenery. But there are very serious drawbacks to the country. Water is very scarce. There is not a tenth, perhaps not a fiftieth enough wood on it. We went 20 miles without being able to get drink. There are very few springs. Nearly all the water courses now are perfectly dry. It looks like a country of floods and drouths. The streams that I have seen that do not get dry are wooded for from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile on each bank. This is the case with the Osage and Pottowottamie, at the junction of which I told you our party were going. That party exploded. They did not seem to like the location. Only three or four are left together. I think there is some prospect of a place growing up there. I do not know how much. Mr. Brown is very sanguine that it will be a great place. I confess I am not suited with the farming land around it in every respect. I am very much in doubt how you would like to live there. The wood there is very good for this country, and will be plenty for the first settlers. A gentleman who represents a party from Rochester, who are coming out in the spring intends to establish himself there and build a steam saw mill. There is limestone there, clay for brick, timber for the mill, running water for cattle. Coal is only 25 or 30 miles distant. And we are there contiguous to some Indian lands, most beautiful and fertile, that are soon to come into market. One on the grounds will be much better able to take advantage of choice spots, than a stranger. The climate, as far as I have seen and heard, is much more uniform than with us. We have had most beautiful weather these last few days,—like

8. For a brief sketch of Baptiste Peoria, see *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XII, p. 339, footnote.

our finest September weather. I am strongly inclined to risk it and take a place there. It *may* grow up to be as beautiful a village as there is in the West. The men who are left are sterling, enterprising, far-seeing men. Mr. [John] Serpel, (whom I mentioned above in connection with the steam saw mill) is a man of large means, I understand. He will carry through what he undertakes. He has men in the territory, of different occupations, whom he expects to bring on immediately. His mind was drawn to Kansas by the Anti-slavery feeling, as mine was. He is a Quaker. Mr. [William] Chestnut, our other man is a genial, warm-hearted, sanguine Scotchman; left an orphan very young. So far he has depended on himself, and has always been successful. We shall like him first rate, if we come out here. Mr. Brown is enterprising, tenacious of his purposes, a man to push forward what he undertakes. I forgot to tell you that our river water is excellent for drinking. Do you think I am acting wisely in securing a place here? Perhaps. If you do not want to come it shall all be thrown to the winds. You know I am not apt to be over sanguine, and perhaps every thing will turn out *better* than my anticipations. I am quite sure if we have a saw mill, grist mill, lime kiln, perhaps a plaster mill &c. &c., it will help wonderfully to fill up the country around, and to make *Osawottamie*⁹ (!) a central place.

. . . I have not of course heard a word from you, but shall expect to when the gentleman returns, who takes this to the mail. Till then I shall hope that you are well and happy. I hope to make my business so that I can leave here in two or three weeks.— I have been very much surprised at seeing so few Indians. I have seen very few indeed. Only one in four days, except this family under whose roof I am. This is a very nice family here. Baptist is very intelligent. He is one quarter French. He speaks 5 Indian languages, besides English and French. He is the interpreter between the Indians and the government. Every statement he makes is implicitly relied on, on both sides. They get up meals here nicer and better than at any hotel I ever stopped at. At least you think so after being in the woods three or four days.— I am perfectly satisfied after seeing the Eden-like and wide lands that these *few* Indians roamed over, that no injustice has been done *them* in the treaties by which they give it up. Each man, woman and child of the Shawnees, for instance, gets 200 acres of land of their own selection, besides

9. The name Osawatomie was formed by combining portions of the names Osage and Pottawatomie.

\$100,000 a year for the tribe for 8 years; the tribe numbering about 800 to 1000.¹⁰ And other tribes in pretty much the same proportion.

[Cynthia Everett to Mary Everett, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.]

Remsen, Nov. 17, 1854.

Friday evening.

Dear Mary, . . . Last night just as we were going to bed John and Sarah Maria and their two dear little ones came. They are well, and John has brought as a Kansas mark *mustaches*. I think they are quite becoming. He left directions and money to have a log house built against Spring. He intends staying in Utica this winter, and setting on the Hymn-book. I have not had any time yet to ask him any questions about his journey and so cannot tell you—

Yours &c.

Cynthia—

Columbus [Pa.] March 9, 1855

Dear Father & Mother

We arrived here about 10 o'clock Saturday night. We had no trouble on the Railroad with the children.* Did not stop in Fredonia. We came right through to Westfield without any stop of over ten minutes. From Westfield to Columbus (30 miles) in a stage. The baby was very worrisome, but we managed to get through with him. He has fretted a great deal after his grandmother. He is getting reconciled now. He has coughed a good deal, and in fact we have all got colds. Baby I think is getting better. We found our friends here all well.

Frank has enjoyed his journey very much. I am feeling a good deal better than when we started. Sarah does not seem to be quite as well. She has had it quite hard with the baby.

I do not think we shall stay here over a week longer. I feel anxious to get to the end of our journey, to get a settled and steady place for the children as soon as possible.

With much love to all at home

Your affectionate son and daughter

John and Sarah

10. By the terms of the treaty of May 10, 1854, the Shawnees surrendered to the United States their reserve of 1,600,000 acres and received back 200,000 acres for distribution among members of the tribe. The diminished reserve was almost entirely within Johnson county. Each Shawnee was allowed 200 acres, or land was given to groups in undivided quantity. By the terms of article 3 of the treaty, the United States agreed to pay to the tribe in consideration of the cession and sale of lands, the sum of \$829,000, of which \$40,000 was to be invested by the government for educational purposes, \$700,000 paid in seven equal annual installments and the residue of \$89,000 to be paid after the last installment.

Osawottamie, April 28, 1855.

Dear Brother Robert

I should have written to you before now, and intended to have done so. But I have not seen much but trouble and discomfort since I started from home. The children were both sick on the journey, and both had to be held or carried, nearly the whole time when they were not asleep. You have doubtless heard how our little one gradually grew worse, and finally dropt away. It was a sad beginning to our Kansas life. Frank's health has been improving since we landed. He is now quite rugged and healthy. Sarah has been very healthy since we have been here. I have not felt strength to work much since we have been here. I do not think I have done more in a week that a good farmer would do in a day. I am getting better now, and feel more like working. The climate has been very different from my experiences of April weather. I have not had my coat on, for warmth, this fortnight. We have long continued and hard, almost violent South winds. We have not had rain enough to cause the eaves to drip this four weeks we have been here. There has been *no* dew. Still vegetation has started, the grass is green, and the trees and shrubs are beginning to leave out. Old settlers in Missouri say this is the driest and most backward spring they ever knew.

I was very much disappointed about my claim when we got here. As we had no intimation in Kansas City that every thing was not right, and as we were particularly anxious to get through with the children, we came right on here with all our baggage, to find that our claim had been taken by another, and we were houseless. We met Mr. Serpell (who was to have built our house) and Mr. Brown, and both assured us that our claim could not have been kept; that Mr. Serpell would have been in danger of his life if he had tried to build it, &c. Our surprise was very great to find on enquiry among the neighbors, that Mr. Serpell himself had actually built the house for this other man, and that there had been no trouble about the house on that claim. There had been trouble about the house on the next claim. One set of logs had been burnt by a man who tried to hold half a square mile of land; but that quarrel was over, and there was no difficulty about the house on my claim. I found moreover that these men, Mr. Serpell and Mr. Brown, were trying to hold on to 4 or 5 claims each. This was plainly illegal, wrong, and not to be tolerated. I looked around for a place as well as I was able with

my poor health, but could find none that suited. We then determined that we would take one of those illegally held for speculation. Mr. Brown had told us we might go into one of his houses. If he had done his duty as he promised we would have had a house of our own. There is no doubt our claim was taken from us by Mr. Brown's advice. (We have no direct proof, but every thing looks like it.) Mr. B. had no shadow of legal authority to hold the claim we were on. We concluded we would stay on it. This of course does not suit Mr. B. very well, but I think he will learn that the preemption law is so carefully guarded, for the interests of the actual settlers, as to leave no room for speculators. I do not think it my duty to turn out of my path for those who are illegally speculating in the public lands. This claim was not the one he intended for his family, but one intended for speculative purposes. Our neighbors, generally, particularly the more intelligent and manly, say that we are right, and should stick to it.

Mr. Knox takes this East. . . . Mr. Knox does not find things here up to his anticipations, and returns. Disappointed faces are rather common among emigrants. Kansas is a good country, but too much praised. It has its disadvantages. (Sarah yet insists that it is paradise here, and would like to see some of the disadvantages.) It is surprising how large a proportion of our emigrants are city men and mechanics. A regular bred farmer is a rarity. This is a great country for cities. Every neighborhood finds some ambitious man who must straightway build a *city*, with broad streets, and wide avenues, parks and public squares. The few neighbors straightway grow complacent at the idea of their being in the neighborhood of a city, perhaps get city lots promised them gratis, and fall to dreaming of the rise in city property, which at some future time will make them wealthy.— I did not get the long letter you wrote me nor the coat you sent to Westfield. We lost a bandbox with a good many things around it in a bag. Perhaps it has been sent you by express. I so directed if they found it. . . . Write me all the news, how you are getting along, all about home &c. Your brother

John.

My direction is Osawatomie, Kansas P. O. There is a weekly stage to Kansas but no P. O. here. Jane's letter was the first we had heard from home in five weeks.

Home, June 1, 1855.

Friday eve.

My dear Sisters;

We have just received a letter from John & Sarah with a lock of Frank's hair for his part of the letter. They write very cheerfully, are feeling *much* better than when they wrote before. Their letter was dated May 21. John says they are having a little trouble about their claim, but does not seem to feel discouraged about it, he says if they do lose it, "the world is wide, and they can choose elsewhere." They had had some rain and consequently the prospect for vegetation was brightening. Sarah writes that we "need not worry or feel anxious because their house happens to be light enough without windows, for they are quite comfortable." Their bedstead is made of round poles *with the bark on*. (Answers instead of carved work, Sarah says.) Franky sleeps in Robert's large trunk filled with bed clothes, and this with the cover on and a cradle quilt spread over makes a *fine Ottoman*, so in Sarah's opinion they have not only what is necessary to comfort, but also some *luxuries*.

Sarah's clock adorns one side of the room, my picture another, and shelves for books, made of split oak shingles on pegs driven in to the logs, a third. The floor is also mostly covered with a carpet. They have a cow, which gives all the milk they want to use. John's health is much better than when they left home. Sarah's also, and Franky grows healthier and more rugged every day. *He eats about as much as his father*. There with a bundle of love, you have a pretty good synopsis of the two letters.

.
Love

Mary

Osawatomie, June 25, '55.

Dear Father

We received your and Mary's letter last Thursday evening. We received a letter from the girls at Saratoga the same evening. We are always very glad to hear from home. We have had a good deal of trouble since we have been in the Territory. We have lost our second claim. I do not feel like going into particulars. Suffice it to say we were the victims of gross falsehood, misrepresentation and fraud. We have just got another claim. This we had to pay \$62.50 for. It has a log cabin on it not quite finished. We are going to move to it to day. I was out at Lawrence week before last. Stayed

with Edward Jones over Sunday. His brother-in-law, Robert Hughes, takes the *Cenhadwr*.¹¹ Had not had the May number. This was the first one that had missed. We got the May *Cen.* on the 11th and the June No. on the 14th. The mail here is weekly.

We have had fine rains here lately. I hear that crops are looking finely in Missouri. Here everything had to be planted late because the prairie could not be plowed till the grass had got a good start.—The violent demonstrations of Missourians you read of have not disturbed us much here. The Missourians around here are nearly all free state I believe, at least strongly opposed to people coming here from the State to vote.

Our health is quite good. I have felt very little comfort yet in the Territory. Hope our good days are yet to come. We are intending to put in a couple of acres of corn yet, and perhaps a few other seeds.

We must have written two or three letters you have not got. . . . Those papers that Lewis mailed for me I hope to get in the next mail. Newspapers are very acceptable here, I assure you. I do not get any paper. Letters continue to come in, now mostly overland, from Indiana, Illinois &c. As far as my information goes, the slave state *settlers* are very few. Must close with love to all at home. Perhaps I shall feel sometime like writing a long letter.

Your affectionate son

John.

Osawatomie, July 20, 1855

Dear Sister Mary

It is now about four weeks since we heard from home. I am afraid that my remissness in writing is one reason of our not hearing for so long from you. I think you can not have gotten all our letters. We have had a good deal of trouble since we have been here. We are now settled in a very pretty spot about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Pottawatomie Creek, South; about 21 miles from the Missouri frontier. I think I mentioned in my last that I paid \$62.50 for the claim I am now on. Our cabin is a poor one, but I have seen some worse, and we can improve it I hope. We have nearly 2 acres planted in corn, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of beans. A few tomatoes, peas, 3 kinds of squash, & 3 kinds of pumpkins completes the list of our growing crops. We have one cow and a calf. Our pasture is a very large one. Our meadow is equally large. It is very unlikely that I

11. See Footnote No. 5.

shall mow it all this season. In fact I have never seen the fences that bound it. I think the Pacific Ocean laves its Western limit. But enough of our pasture and meadow. This would be a great country for some of our Steuben dairymen to make cheese in. I have been told that 20 to 25 cts per pound was not an uncommon price for cheese. The number of cows a man could keep here would only be limited by the number he could pay for and take care of.

You probably have seen reports in the newspapers of the violence of the Missourians in some parts of the Territory. I am happy to say that they do not disturb us much here. There is no slave state party here. And I think through the Territory, the majority for freedom is strong and decided if we are allowed to do our own voting. Fort Leavenworth (around which most of the violence has been perpetrated) is 80 miles from here.

Franky is learning to talk slowly. His mother says he knows the whole language by heart, but that is a *slight* exaggeration. He is growing more rugged all the time. My health is improving a little. Sarah is in usual health.

Tell Lewis I thank him very much for the newspapers he sent me. I do not take any paper, and have only had two papers besides those and the Cenhadwr since I have been in Kansas. I believe you used to get 2 copies of the Phrenological and Water Cure Journals.¹² I wish some of you would remail one copy of each to me. I miss the Tribune here especially. If you see Robert tell him to mail me an occasional [Utica] Herald after he has read it. I have not seen one since I have been in Kansas. We have a Postoffice established at Osawatomie now, so letters and papers may be directed now, "Osawatomie, Kansas Territory," and need not go to Kansas City. We live about 2½ miles from the P. O. about half the distance through the prairie grass without a path. The mail is weekly. So we write this to take down when we go to see if anything has come for us. Sarah goes with this, Frank is asleep and I go to the woods to get [MS. illegible] berries, and come back & forth to watch Franky.

John.

P. S. Write often. Send me an occasional St. Louis Ch[ristian] Advocate. I want to see the St Louis prices &c. &c.

12. The so-called science of phrenology, which claimed a relationship between the faculties of the mind and the regions of the brain, flourished on this continent during the middle of the nineteenth century. The *American Phrenological Journal* was published by Fowles & Wells of New York. The *Water-Cure Journal* and *Herald of Reforms* was another publication of this house. Water-cure, or hydropathy, was a method of treating disease by the copious use of water, both internally and externally. It was closely allied to other reform movements of the period.

Osawatomic, July 27, 1855.

Dear Bro Robert

I write this to request a favor of you, and therefore I commence with the request. It is that you would send one dollar to the N. Y. Tribune, for their Semiweekly paper for $\frac{1}{3}$ of a year. I do not feel quite safe in sending money in a letter, as I have reason to think that some of my letters have been lost. Besides I feel for various reasons rather poor at present. I think I can pay you some time. I would also like it first rate if you would send me an occasional Herald after you have gleaned its contents. I do not take any paper, so any thing from the East will be acceptable. And if you ever have a number of Harper's that *you* do not care any thing about, I should like very much to see it. A paper that we used to see reminds us here on the frontiers that we still live in the world.

I have not much time to write you any news. I have been very busy with my little strength getting out fencing for my corn patch. We have been on the claim we are now on about one month. Have got 3 acres plowed; over $\frac{2}{3}$ of it planted in corn, beans, &c.; but it is yet in the open prairie. I have borrowed a yoke of cattle and am today getting out my rails. My corn has been out of the ground about 3 weeks, and the longest leaves are already over three feet long. We have had very fine growing weather since the middle of May. Before that time the heavens seemed brass, no dew, no rain. Hence the stories of those who went back with unfavorable reports of the country. Things looked very discouraging in April. It was an *extraordinary* dry time. There had been no rain of consequence for ten months. But everybody here now is satisfied with the country as far as I hear opinions given.

Of political news your information about us I presume is as correct as mine, particularly if you read the N. Y. Tribune (judging from the few numbers of that paper I have seen.) We in this section are quietly attending each one to his own business here, without more trouble, on the whole, than might be expected. We personally have had a good deal more than our *average* share of that trouble, but that is over now, and the next time it will be probably some one else's turn. We feel now tolerably *comfortable* (I more than Sarah) and happy (both I think) although we are $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from a neighbor and live in a cabin with a carpet for a door, mowed grass for floor, a leaky roof, and no windows at all. But then there are plenty of cracks where the light comes in. The thermometer while I write stands at 96 in the shade; 90° is quite a common temperature at

midday; sometimes it goes up to 98°; and about 72 to 80 at sunrise. But there is a breeze continually blowing, generally from the south, which very sensibly modifies the apparent temperature.— When this goes down to the mail, we send for our mail, (the mail came in last night). . . . If I have time, I will write more, if not, good bye. . . . John.

That stereoscope I have heard from Mr. Coolledge went to Fari-bault, Minnesota: he wrote me from there, and I have enclosed 16 postage stamps so that he may forward it. You must know that I shall be very glad to see it.— Have you got that bundle back you sent to Westport? I wish I had brought that Universal Atlas with me. I have thought some of sending for a small box of things from Utica, as goods are so high here. If you see any chance to send with anybody as freight I should like to have that Atlas sent.

Monday Morning Aug. 20, '55.

Dear Father

It is now three weeks Saturday since we got your and Sissy's letter. I have been intending all along to write you a long letter but have not found opportunity and inclination concurring. I will write a few lines this morning, rather than let another week pass by without a word. Sarah has been sick just three weeks now with the intermittent fever and ague.¹³ She has been confined to her bed all the time. The chill and fever only come on every other day, but they leave her very weak, so that she feels no strength intervening days. We think she is now on the gain. She has taken no medicine. We doctor entirely with water. I think the fever might be *broken* in less time with quinine and other medicines, but we are not willing to use them, as I think the disease can be *cured* much more effectually with water. There has been a great deal of this sickness around here for the last month. Previous to that time it was quite healthy. I do not hear how it is in other parts of the territory. This is a very distressing disease. There have been some deaths. One our next neighbor, Angus Rose, who had become dear to us by mutual interchanges of kindness, died after a short illness. He did our ploughing for us, and had been our friend in all our troubles with Brown. He came to Kansas two days after he was married—to find his grave.— My health is quite good. Franky is hearty as ever. Last week, and the week before, we had a great deal of rain. Now the

13. Ague, the commonest form of malarial fever, was the enemy of early travelers and settlers in the territory. Journals and letters of the period contain frequent references to the disease which was marked by paroxysms of chills and fever occurring at intervals.

weather is quite cool. We got the Cenhadwr for August and the Independent for Aug. 2 Saturday. I hope for a letter from home in the next mail. A new neighbor, three quarters of a mile from here, goes to Kansas City this morning and I will send this with him, otherwise I could not send for another week, for it is too far to take this through the wet grass to the Postoffice. I hope my sisters will not be tired of writing their brother because their letters are not answered, for it does me a great deal of good to get their letters. Write all of you as often as you can. Your affectionate son

John.

Will write you again by next mail, particularly if we are worse.

Sat. Sep. 1, 1855

Dear Sister Cynthia

Our corn is much higher than we can reach—it is earing out, our pumpkins and squashes are for the most part fruiting well and we have one large patch of beans that promise well. Our tomatoes are getting on as fast as they can but will not be ripe under a fortnight. Those with a few hills of potatoes comprise all our crop this year. Our cabin is still in a dilapidated condition—our sickness preventing us from fixing it up. The rain and sunshine of heaven can both alike visit us, but we murmur not at either—why should we murmur at anything that comes from Heaven. The worms are working in the logs at the side & over head so that we have a continual dust dropping in every part of the cabin. Sometimes it gets an inch thick on things that are not moved for two or 3 days, &c. Write to us soon and often

As ever your Sister

Sarah

Sep 15, 1855

Dear Cynthia

This is the 5th weekly dispatch from Osawatomie to Remsen—Dont you think Ague & Fever a good thing to quicken up remiss letter writers?

John is most as well now as I am, but to get so I had to meet him half way. *He* has *ague* and fever one day, I *chill* fever the next!

Very accommodating sort of people you see— Our neighbor comes once a week now instead of once a day— He took the cow home with him so I have a nice little *airing* once a day walking up to his house ($\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile) to get the milk— this you know must be *peculiarly agreeable* to me as one day I'm obliged to be confined

to my *bed* nearly the whole of the rest of the day and the next day confined to the *house* to look after John during *his* confined stage. He is evidently gaining some now.

I suppose that too much exercise with too little treatment has brought the fever in a mild form on to me again. But courage now, our Quaker neighbors moved in last night, a part of them. One of the men called on us to day—the most thoroughly intelligent, sensible man we've conversed with in the Territory. His Sister-in-law a widow woman who is with him has, he told me, six daughters and some of them would call *soon* to help us— Heaven preserve the Quakers, and send a small colony to every ague and fever district.

Tomorrow would have been our poor little baby's birthday— How thankful I've been during this long season of sickness that he was where he could know no such thing as neglect and suffering— Frank is large enough to be turned off all day when we can't take care of him, but poor little Henry must have suffered had not our ever kind and all-wise Father consigned him to Angel guardianship.

It is late bed time and I must retire. I have had a chill and fever today John I suppose will shake tomorrow— His sick spells grow lighter now each day— We expected a letter from you to day. The one written Aug 10 is the last we have received. We have not got any Cen. for Sep. yet or Water cure journal. Tribune and Independent come regularly.

Our love to all. . . .

Your shaking Sister

Sarah

Sunday near noon

John has had his ague and fever and feels better than he has after any sick spell before. He had a shorter and easier time also than on any previous day. I think he'll get along in a short time— I feel better today than common too

Sarah

Osawatomie Sep 29, 1855

Dear Brother Robert—

I am sick & have to employ an amanuensis. This is my fifth week of ague & fever. I must write short as Sarah has got to take this to the mail to-day. We received that beautiful Daguerreotype of Father and Mother for which I thank you very much indeed. We have had the Tribune ever since Aug. 21—

To come to the substance of this epistle, this is another begging letter of a more serious nature than the last.— There is no grist mill in the place— We will have we hope plenty of corn but no way

of getting it ground— I have seen an advertisement of a patent grinder in Fowlers journal the cost of the size I want of which will be six dollars— I am very anxious to get it, as I might grind graham flour and perhaps corn for good profit, beside the advantage it would be to ourselves. I want it sent by express or by some very quick conveyance. If you can put in a few other articles with it without greatly increasing the expense I would like to have you. I will enumerate—my coats—Universal Atlas a few roots from home which I will put on a separate piece of paper for Lewis to put up—a plush cap for me worth \$2.00—two or three gooseberry roots from Uncle Henry, the top can be mostly cut off to save room, four common sized tin pans and two two qt. basins if they can be put in without increasing the bulk too much, two peach trees of Cunningham one serrate early York—one George the Fourth, one year from the bud, get these if he will sell them for about half price of salable trees, if they are small enough to be packt. You can judge when he takes them up whether they can be packed— I am not very anxious about these as I am doubtful about their living.

I do not know what your means are and whether I am not asking too great a favor. I am exceedingly anxious to get the grinding machine— Any of the other things you can leave out if not convenient for you to get them to send.

Knox told us he could get trees sent to St Louis by express for three dollars a hundred weight.

Direct to care of Walker & Chick, Kansas—if they want a house to direct to in St Louis say Smythe and Gore— If you can do this or any part of it you will oblige your affectionate brother

John

P. S. Do send me 1 or 2 Faber's No 3 lead pencils

We are going to move to the village to a snug house. We have a fair prospect of getting some boarders. I feel this fever will leave me better. They are going to build a Steam Saw Mill & some kind of Gristmill so if I can work I can get work. I hope I can pay you by Spring if you need. I know your affection prompts you to incommode yourself for me. Please send a bill of what you get. We need a Thermometer. Ours is damaged and we can get none here. I think you better direct care S. & G. St. L., care W. & C. Kansas, Mo., J. R. E. Osawatomie (in full as above), as I do not know of an Ex. Off. in Kansas. The wind blows cold today. 43° is the lowest the thermometer has gone. We shall need quite as warm

ordinary clothing here as in Utica this winter I am convinced. . . . Please send 6 yds canton flannel (unbleached will do.) Do write us & Jenny too. You do not know how much we long for letters I want to hear all about both of you. Send me a Herald—no matter if weeks old. Have seen no Utica paper since I saw you.

With much love to you and Jenny

John

Osawatomie, Oct 6, 1855

Dear Bro. Robert

I take my pen to write you a *few* lines, for this Ague and Fever makes one feel very weak, particularly when one has had it steady for 6 weeks. I expect I am about over it now, but do not expect to gain strength till it has left me entirely. I hope to enjoy better health after this turn of sickness. . . . I wrote you one week ago to get me some things. If you have not sent the box off, I should like to make some additions.

A handful of Uncle's very early peas, if he can spare them.

½ dozen wooden combs.

1 long horn comb.

1 fine comb.

1 skein blue mixed stocking yarn.

Ball of shoe thread, (a little shoemaker's wax, & a few bristles if convenient).

Scraps of leather, calf & morocco for mending Sarah's shoes.

(There is no shoemaker in the place.)

4 awls, crooked and straight.

2 cheap tin candlesticks. (We got some at O'Neils for 6 cents apiece.)

1 or 2 hoes without handles, if you can get them. They ask here 75c. for such hoes as they sell in Utica for 37½.

A one-bladed jack knife worth about [MS. illegible].

If you can you may get a yard of cotton plush, with trimming for a vest. I got some last fall at a clothing store and tailor's shop about half way down Genesee St.— A cheap sodering iron and a little sodder.

We had a hard frost last night, the first of the season. The thermometer fell to 22°.— The steamboats stop running up the Missouri river the last of November. You can use your own judgment in leaving out any thing I have sent for. I am intent on getting the Hand Mill, if it is any thing such as I think it. I would not miss having it in St. Louis in time to come up this fall.

Write me a sketch of your trip to the White Mts. and to New-hampton. The next pleasure journey you take come out and see me. Won't Jenny write us? I have just been reading and crying over the letter we got from her last spring. She must remember the troubles that have been treading on our heels all summer and weighing down our hearts and spirits, and accept that as an excuse for our not answering her.

With the warmest love for yourself and Jenny

Your brother John.

P. S. Pray that our sickness may be blessed to us spiritually.

[John R. Everett to Sarah A. Everett, Remsen, N. Y.]

Oct 21, 55.

Dearest Friends

I intended to write a few words in answer to each of your affectionate & sympathising letters. Anna dear, we have moved to the village in a *much* more comfortable house than our miserable cabin. We moved last Friday. We feel very feeble indeed after moving, as we were obliged to overdo. Franky is better than when we wrote last. I not so well I think on account of moving. Sarah is very feeble indeed. She has had no chills for 2 days but she cannot sit up at all and is failing in strength. Sarah wants the ingredients or receipt for Peruvian bark. I wish the solid articles were light enough to send in a letter, for I think they have poor drugs here. . . . Sarah gave wrong directions as to starting letters Tuesday. It is very extraordinary for letters to come so quick. The time you used to start them is better. Have you heard any thing about an "Improved Hand Mill" which I asked Robert to send for for me about three weeks ago. I am very anxious indeed to hear from it and get. I mention it because it may keep us from starving this winter. Corn is 50c, and meal \$1.35. If Robert did not get my letter, please write to him to send immediately \$6.00 to Fowlers and Wells and have it sent by express, care Smyth and Gore, St Louis, care Walker and Chick, Kansas, John R Everett Osawatomie. . . . I cannot write any more. Love, love, love to all. . . .

John

P. S. That flour has come from St Louis—most beautiful flour. Costs on the whole just what we would have to pay here. Thanks again to my brothers.

John

Osawatomie Oct 27 1855

Dear Cynthia

We received your *laughing* letter of Oct 10, day before yesterday & it set us to laughing too. Now we *did* get a letter last week but none the week before, and we haven't got two any week since. The week we did not get one we did not answer it of course. How could we? You have asked a great many questions in your former letters some of which I will answer. The Quakers did not do as much for us as we anticipated, the girls were not naturally strong and then most all the family took the "chill fever" after they came in. So they had to take care of themselves. There was but one man and he had so much to do he could not do much for us still we could have a horse there whenever we wanted and the women came in and helped me three or four times. Their names I have not learned except the two married ladies and oldest daughter. The mother's names are both Sarah and the daughter's name Elizabeth. They are real Hoosiers. Sarah the widow expected to make a heap of butter to sell from her two cows this winter but her best cow is *caving* around so about her calf that gave out in moving and was left behind, that she's afraid she'll all dry up, and she has heaps of trouble about her now. Richard the Quaker¹⁴ is about like John—perhaps a little more of a talker—just about such a reader—watches the mails with about as much anxiety &c. You wanted to know what kind of a stove and kettles we have—just one of the cutest one's you ever saw—stove shaped like yours No. 3 with furniture almost as large as yours—

To day is the first day in thirteen weeks that we have been free from the Chill and Intermittent Fever— Last week & week before last we all three had it every day. I got so run down that although I have not had a chill since a week ago yesterday I have not been able to do any thing or sit up much of the time till to day.

John has not had any in two days—but he is very feeble. Frank missed his this morning— It is utterly impossible for you to understand anything about what we have suffered here— Sometimes both sick together unable to wait on each other or little Frank. In a house that the meanest hovel you know would be preferable to. It's of no use to try to tell you anything about it, you dont want to know

14. Richard Mendenhall came to Kansas territory from Indiana in 1846 to act as teacher for the Society of Friends at their mission in Johnson county for the Shawnee Indians. Sarah A. Nixon had come to the mission at the same time as matron. She and Richard Mendenhall were married in 1849 and returned to Indiana the following year. They came again to the mission in 1854, remaining about a year. In the fall of 1855 they removed to a claim about two and one half miles southwest of Osawatomie.

either. We had got so completely worn out, last Sat., that if I had written instead of John I should have told you we were dying. I verily thought that life with me had about drawn to a close. I was so weak, so worn and exhausted that I could not see how I could ever build up again—& there were John and Frank looking like two shadows standing between this world and the next— We were all three of us fearfully sick and nobody to take care of us. We had been so days together before but never had the dark river sounded so near as now. I could feel its icy breezes stealing over my brow and hear its ripples as it passed me by—

But I am again gaining strength— John and Franky look a little better—and the dark river with its damp icy breath and dread mysterious sounds seems farther in the distance.

We moved a week ago yesterday. John had to overdo about it and *that* I think is the reason he is so feeble. One day he had to ride two miles & a half in a chill and the day we moved he had to work right along through his chill. He has had some very sick spells since then but we hope his chills are over with now.

The man we hired the house of who is going to board with us when we are able to take him has fixed wood for us since we moved and done our milking or I don't know what would have become of us. It is bed time and I am very tired so I will bid you good night

Your sister Sarah

Please send me half an ounce of mace in a letter envelope made tight

Sarah

Don't forget the Water Cure & Phren. Journals if you still get two. The Cen. for 2 mo. is still back

Do send me a Utica Herald, I want to see one, if its 3 months old

Osawatomie Nov. 12, 1855

Dear Father

I can only write a few lines this morning. My health is still miserable. I feel very little better than when I had chills every day. Sarah is better than when we wrote last. She had three chills last week, but they left her better and stronger than before. I had a chill yesterday and the day before; I hope they will operate the same on me. Franky is a little better. He has no chills now. He has cut three eye teeth and his gum is swollen for another. I suppose you have learnt that we have moved into town. The house in which we live is far more comfortable than our poor cabin. But it is not finished inside, for lack of lumber. Our

frame houses here are very different from your comfortable, plastered tenements. There has been no sand found here nearer than twenty or thirty miles. They ceil up their houses & frame buildings with split oak shingles, three feet long. They clapboard with the same. We soon found after coming here that our small cook stove would not begin to keep us warm in cold or windy weather. We have some quite cold weather. The winds, especially the North wind, are more piercing than with you. So we were obliged to send for a stove that would heat. We sent to St. Louis about 3 weeks ago for a box stove, worth \$9, and necessary pipe to Mr. Thos. Davies. I know this will meet with your approval, although I could not consult you about it. I cannot write much more at present. Our prospects, now, are sufficiently discouraging. I have hardly been able to work an hour at productive labor since I have been in Kansas. But we hope for better times. Please send word to Mary that I got her letter dated Oct. 25. She must excuse me for not answering her two letters before this. But I felt so miserable the last week I did not feel I could write.

Uncle and Cousin Henry have been very kind indeed in giving us the mill. It warms our hearts to them. I must close

Your affectionate son John

P. S. I thank you very much for your last kind letter particularly the religious advice in it. I hope I shall profit by it. . . .

We have not had the Cen. since August. Is there a hole in Uncle Sam's bag. Do you still get 2 Water Cure and Phren. Journals?

Osawatomie Nov. 26, 1855

Dear Jennie—

Your letters were both duly received, but we have felt it a sort of duty to write home every week, and we have been too miserable to do much more than that—

I don't know whether we *are in reality* gaining much or not. Sometimes we feel well and strong and think within ourselves that the plague is stayed when suddenly the chills begin to run over us and in a few hours we find ourselves prostrated again. Sickness—sometimes light—sometimes severe, has hovered around us now four months—sometimes all three of us and again only one at a time have lain powerless within her grasp.

During this long tedious period our system of economy has been unable to prevent our means from melting away.— We raised no crop of any account except for fodder— We are neither of us able

yet to do a good days work, and liable if we attempt to be put clear back again. We have only two boarders as yet which of course do not pay all the expenses of the family, and we have got to buy provisions till we can raise, another year. We have also got to have some kind of a shelter to abide under when we again return to our claim— Yet in this state of health and with these demands upon us—we have no more than five dollars on which to rely—!

I have no particular news to write to you except that Brown *our* persecutor and the moral pest of this community has had his connection with the town suddenly broken off by the agent of the "Emigrant Aid Society," whose agent Brown was.¹⁵ He had become such a nuisance that Pomeroy (the agent) could not endure him any longer. He has borrowed money now and gone to New York or starts for there tomorrow morning to try to "raise the wind somehow" as one of our old and tried neighbors (Mr. Chestnut) expressed it to us this morning. His family are still here. Not a person who knows him speaks well of him, himself and family are all thoroughly detested— I must close, write soon

Sarah

Osawatomie Jan 25 1856

Dear Cynthia—

We have received weekly dispatches from some of our home friends, so far during this month. New Year's day we got five letters to compensate us for going without a long time.

There were no regular mails during the month of Dec. which accounts for your not having heard from us in so long a time. I think too that one of our letters must have been lost, or delayed an unconscionable length of time, for we sent a letter from this place the 18th of Dec. which was written a week before, stating that we had received "the box" all right, and that the delay had been occasioned by the carelessness of the commission merchant in Kansas City— We received this week the note sent to the P. M. (Mr. Samuel Geer, should you have further occasion for corresponding with that gentleman) and were very sorry you had felt so much anxiety about us. We should have written if we could have got the letters to Kansas City short of taking them there ourselves on foot. I think you would hardly have wished us to do that, certainly not until we had

15. Orville C. Brown's connection with Osawatomie actually persisted for several years. Brown, with William Ward of New York and Samuel Pomeroy, the latter acting for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was one of the original proprietors of Osawatomie. For a brief statement of the difficulties marking the early history of the town, see Russell Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, p. 258.

"got shet of the ager"— Well just at this present moment in which I am writing we *are* "shet" of it, but have no security that we shall stay so till the close of the week.

John suffers considerable with cold spells, the effect of the ague, though his health is gradually improving he thinks— If we could only have warm weather once more 'twould help us all, but our house is so cold, and the cold weather seems to hang on just for spite. I believe we have not had but one comfortable day since the Sat. before Christmas Christmas week was intensely cold, we could not keep warm with both stoves, and what was worse John was hardly fit to be out at all, and I could not do anything. Wednesday morning the thermometer stood at *28 deg. below zero*. Some families had to abandon their houses & go to their neighbors who were fortunate in having warmer ones—altogether it was one of the most "trying" times that I have suffered since we came into the Territory— A lady who called here yesterday told me that two of her daughters during that week froze their feet so that they are now unable to walk a step, and said there were large running sores two thirds the size of the palm of her hand on them now. Two more women told John that they froze their feet sitting right by the stove.— Such are some of the hardships which Kansas settlers endure— For myself I only had a chill every day. I have not had any chills now for two whole days and I feel and act very much like a little girl with some new plaything. I am much better than when John last wrote, but hardly expect to stay so long— I will leave a little room for John— He is quite busy to day or I should not have written at all. . . . *No more at present*

[Sarah M. C. Everett]

P.S. Frank called his mother an "old scamp," this morning— A remarkable specimen of precociousness! He is not always so saucy as that—John

Friday morning Jan 25.

Dear Father,—

I have very little to add to what Sarah has written to Cynthia. We wrote you last week acknowledging the receipt of the \$23.75 draft, and the week before we mailed a letter acknowledging \$20 from Robert, and \$3. & \$1. from home. We feel very grateful for this help, although I fear the times are hard with you, with the diminished Cenhadwr list. The mails will be regular now, and I hope our communications more regular. Yesterday I was up to my claim to get some corn fodder. To day I am going to look for a cow

that has wandered. We have not seen her for 7 weeks. We heard yesterday where she was. At this house we have no barn, no fences, no yard. Our two cows and two calves all went away when we stopped milking. We have got back one cow, and heard from the other, and heard where at least one of the calves was within the last fortnight. We hope to be better prepared next winter if our health and lives are spared, and we remain in the territory. In the summer, it is customary here to let the cows run on the prairie, and let the calves take half the milk, then the cows will come up to the calves. Most winters cattle will live here after a poor fashion without fodder.— “The oldest inhabitants” here, intelligent Indians, do not remember any thing like the severity of this winter. One of our Quaker neighbors, who has been in the Ter. 5 yrs. (in the Friends Mission, I believe) never knew the thermometer more than -8° below zero, but the sun frequently has risen upon us at -8° & -10° & -12° . Yesterday was a moderate, pleasant day, south wind. To day the wind howls at us menacingly from the Northeast. How has the winter been with you? You have got the railroad to Remsen now. . . .

I suppose you have read in the Tribune about the troubles which the “border ruffians” have been causing in Lawrence, Leavenworth, Kickapoo &c. We read them with the same *spectator* interest that you do. We do not feel their burden. We are very quiet here. We hope soon literally to be sitting under our own vines (Isabellas & Catawbas) with no Missourians to molest or make us afraid. In one respect the Missouri invasion was not without benefit. They have learnt that the Eastern Emigrants are no cowardly beggars (as represented to them) but provident, industrious men, ready (if dire necessity compel them) to stand up and defend their rights. The community here are very nearly united on the free-state question. But the majority would dislike and resent being called abolitionists. . . . Our community here are mostly Western people, some from Slave States. There is a prevailing sentiment against admitting negroes into the territory at all, slave or free. The Western people are far the most numerous in the territory. The country is so different from our Eastern country and the character of Eastern emigration is such (a majority as far as I have seen village mechanics with ideas enthusiastically excited) that I think one-half at least of Eastern people return. Those who stay love the country as they get used to it. The Western people find much such a country as they left behind them, and settle right down, build their cabins,

fence and break up their fields and drop their corn, before you hardly know they are here. They have a strong instinct against slavery, do not want it about them, but lack the strong moral sense of its injustice which we feel.

We are anxious to stay here another season if we can. We do not like to turn back. The country in the main is very pleasant to us. We sigh for our home friends, and we miss your tumbling brooks, cool wells, frequent streams. Those used to the ague tell us we probably shall not be troubled with it longer than till Spring. Can a country without swamps be subject to ague, after acclimation? If we can enter our claim and preempt it, I think it will be worth enough to pay us for coming here and I guess more.

Your son, John.

Osawatomie, Feb. 1, 1856.

Dear Father,

No mail has arrived without bringing us some welcome news from home till this week. Perhaps we will get two next week. I just take my pen and paper to let you know how we are, and not to write a letter. Sarah has had no chill since we wrote last. She is gaining strength a little. Franky is quite well. He is very busy when he feels at all well. He is writing a letter now on a chair, beside me, as he sees his father writing, but I think the specimen of his chirography which we sent last week will suffice for a time at least. My health continues about the same. I fear I cannot do a great deal till the weather moderates. Yesterday was a very pleasant, mild day. At the warmest, mercury at 34°. Last Monday morning, mercury at 17° *below* zero. Today the wind blows cold from the North. Many cattle have died this cold weather. They do not make calculations here for such cold weather. The "skyey influences" I have noticed here are quite different from those I used to observe at home. I have seen what are called "sundogs" thrice, and once I noticed the same phenomenon about the moon—three moons—one faint one on each side of their central prototype, with rainbow-hued shafts above and below them. I noticed the other evening a column of light just after sunset, extending from the place of sunsetting the apparent width of the sun, half way up the sky. It resembled the tail of a comet except in its uniform width. But it was ten times brighter than any comet's tail I have seen. I have seen no auroras here.

You see I have nothing to write. You get the general news of

the territory as soon, perhaps sooner, through the Tribune, than we get them. Were Missouri a free State, with the railroad facilities of Illinois (and why should she have fewer?) you would be nearer the news centres of Kansas at 1500 miles distance than we at 50. How does it sound to hear the steam horse snort and whistle in Remsen? It would be quite an additional inducement to go home to think of riding in the cars clear to *Remsen*.

If any of you has a receipt to make ink, send it to me, and if the more rare materials, such as *nutgalls*, do not weigh over $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 oz. send them too.

Sarah sends love particularly to father and mother, and to all the rest. I join. Do not be discouraged in writing to us.

John

P. S. I do not remember that I have thanked you for the stamps. They were very welcome indeed. We were out, and could not then buy any here then.

If you have more than one key to Uncle Tom, we would be very glad if you could send us one. We could do good with it by lending it. They need light here on that subject.

John.

Mar. 28, 56.

Dear Father,

Sissy's of March 4 received this week. We are very busy this week, making our cabin habitable, with new roof, a floor, windows, a door, &c. Have no time to write. Must be off early in the morning, with the carpenter, in a wagon I have borrowed, after the blind mare, and come home late evenings. I am in usual health. Sarah has had one chill since I wrote last week. Sarah joins me in love to all at home.

In haste John.

.

Osawatomie Apr. 11, 1856

Dear Father

We received your letter containing the draft for \$40.19 this week, for which we are very thankful. We are moving to day. Our house we have made pretty comfortable. But it has cost about \$40, besides my own labor for nearly 3 weeks. I owe about \$30 of this. We borrowed a one-horse harness and wagon to go up and back every day. My blind mare is quite servicable. She will trot along on a smooth road as well as if she had eyes. I have been getting up a club for the Tribune—20 copies on the \$20 plan. I do not like to

trust the money through the border ruffian mails East of us. A letter to the Tribune might be considered subject to detention and examination. Besides I will *have* to be dependent on you for some more money if possible. Will you send \$20 to Greeley & McElrath for 20 Weekly Tribunes to be directed to B. Woodbury, Osawatomie, Kansas Ter.? If I can I will try to save out that amount till I hear from you, so that if it will be too great an inconvenience for you to spare it I will send it.

I shall not buy a wagon till I see if I can pay for it. The most encouraging thing I have to write is that my health is better than it has been in the territory or for long before I came here, excepting a severe cold I have just now. Sarah's health continues poor, but better than it has been. I am concerned to hear that Robert's health does not improve faster. I wish I were there, so I might be with him now. But I must close with love to all at home. How is your Cenhadwr list this year? The weather is quite mild here now. If we had your frequent showers grass would be abundant. As it is, there is enough for cattle to live on it. Send me a currant slip or two in a newspaper.

John

[John R. Everett to His Sister, Cynthia]

Osawatomie Apr 17, 1856.

Dear Sissie

We received yours of March 27 this week. Also the four pretty little envelopes in it. Those envelopes are almost too tasty for pioneers. We have felt quite satisfied lately, if we could have an old envelope to turn and enclose a letter.¹⁶ We are now in our own cabin. We find it very comfortable for summer. I shall have to fix it as I have time to make it warm for winter. We have a neat clapboarded door, a puncheon floor, smoother than common for such floors, a pair of stairs where they generally have a ladder, a window below, and a half window above. Our house is 13½ ft. by 15½ ft. inside.

The weather has got quite mild. The trees are beginning to leave out. We would call it very dry, if we were in New York but the soil here seems used to dry weather, and remarkably retentive of moisture. We have plenty of spring water now on our claim on every side of us.

We all call ourselves well now. Sarah's health has improved

16. Many of the envelopes in which these letters were mailed from Kansas had first enclosed letters from members of the family to John and Sarah Everett, and were ingeniously made to serve a second time by turning.

wonderfully for a few days. I hope we are free from the ague now. There is less complaining of it now than at any time since last August. Franky likes his new home. "This is a pleasant house," he says. . . .

I wrote father last week, acknowledging his letter from Utica, with the draft of \$40.19. Send me a few currant slips in newspapers. Cut off just last years growth. Shorten them from the end so as to get them in a paper. Also a Fastolf raspberry root, if you can. I believe Lewis or Eddy or Tommy could find a division of a pie plant root not weighing over two to four ounces. You could send that in a letter, perhaps with a little moss around it. A pint of apple seed came to this office in a letter last mail.

I send a little prairie flower. . . .

Longwood Place¹⁷ Apr. 28, 1856.

My Dear Sister Sarah

The *duties* of the *farm* prevented our writing any letters to anyone last week, but I hope our folks, as they know we are in the country and consequently inconvenient to the P. O., will feel no alarm in not hearing from us till the arrival of this.

I am sure they need not scold us for that little neglect as in other respects we have been most dutiful children, complying with their often repeated desire that we would get well, which I especially have done, as has also John to the best of his ability— He however deemed it advisable to shake once more, which he did yesterday in his usual straight-forward manner. He had probably taken some cold as we had just had a cold rain that he had been out in a little— I am as well as I need ever expect to be— We are both, Little Franky also, very fleshy and should we continue to enlarge our fleshly boundaries in the same ratio as we are now doing, you will need if it is many years before we visit you, to order new and enlarged chairs and bed-stead for our accommodation, But this is not what I commenced my letter to tell you about— I want to know in the first place before I commit myself, how many flowers have you gathered this spring? how many kinds have you seen?

If the Quakeress Sarah Ann, wife of Richard, had not called in this afternoon I would have culled a dozen or more choice prairie flowers for you a boquet and put them in this letter, perhaps you'll get them in another one of these days. Let me name some of the flowers I have [seen] within a few days, first the little spring beauties

17. John and Sarah Everett gave this name to their Kansas farm home.

such as have always greeted me in early spring in every land that has sheltered me; next, wild sweet Williams. Those two are old familiar friends. Then the violets. Three kinds I have already seen—also four kinds of grass flowers, one a beautiful little yellow star-like thing, the others different varieties of white flower grass. There is Lambtongue resembling the eastern *Adder* tongue, the flowers white instead of yellow like the addertongue. Indian paint is a name given to a little plant with deep yellow flowers, the juice of the root paints a bright red and is used by the Indians to paint their faces. There is another plant in blossom here which the Indians designate Spring because the juice of its pod furnishes them drink sometimes when traveling where water can not be obtained. We have plenty of Wild Cherry blossoms quite near our house, and a little flower peculiarly beautiful, the blossom of wild or sheep sorrel. Did you ever see it in Steuben? I never noticed it till I saw it on the prairies in Kansas although the leaves are perfectly familiar. The flower is a fine purplish pink and altogether quite enchanting. That I believe numbers all that I have seen, though I noticed today a cluster of buds on an Indigo plant that grows by the path leading down to our spring, were nearly bursting into bloom— I think we shall be able to count them among our April flowers yet— What think you of our flowery home? Come out here and I will show you our building spot and if you dont almost swoon with the overpowering beauty of the surrounding scenery—dont visit Niagara on your way back. You couldnt appreciate its sublimity— I must close for John has come in for his supper—and tis after seven so I presume his appetite will not relish a long delay

Yours mid flowers and sunshine

Sarah M. C. E.

Osawatomie Monday evening.

[April 28, 1856]

Dear Father

The rainy season has nearly come. This, with our distance now from the mail may make the intervals longer between the mails. Rain affects the streams here more than with you. We had an all-day rain last week, following a rain two days before, and the creek, that runs through our wood, that we generally step across, and that was sometimes dry last summer, was a rod wide. I was just starting to the village, but that stopped me effectually. If I had crossed that, I could not have crossed the Pottawatomie, for the

flood carried away a fallen tree, our foot-bridge across that stream. I do not think I shall now try to buy a wagon this summer our house has cost so much; perhaps not a harness without I can see it perfectly clear for me to do so. Sarah is going to try to make a saddle. I feel very anxious about Robert.

Your affectionate son John.

P. S. I wrote two weeks ago, requesting you to send twenty dollars for twenty copies of the weekly Tribune to this place. I retained the money, hoping you could advance it for me. I feel mortified every time I think of it to have been obliged to do so. We could neither of us do any work of account for seven months, and a part of the time could not do the necessary work of the house. But we hope brighter days are before us. We expected some chills this spring, but so far have been better than we expected— John

Osawatomie may now boast of a printing press. It was in Kansas a week ago, and probably is now in town.¹⁸

Osawatomie, June [MS. illegible] 1856.¹⁹

Dear Father

We were disappointed in not getting our usual letter from home this week. Hope you are all well, and that our dear brother Robert is no worse. We have nothing disastrous to record of ourselves. We are in the enjoyment of our usual health. The border ruffians have been in our immediate neighborhood, but we did not know of it till two days afterward. A week to day the two companies of soldiers encamped here left for Lawrence.²⁰ In the afternoon of that day the border ruffians to the number of 150 came into the village of Osawatomie. They immediately commenced pillaging, stealing horses, &c. They went to the principal boarding house, where there were a great many emigrants stopping, who had not yet made homes of their own. They broke open all the trunks, took all the money they could find and all the firearms they could find in the house. They went to all the private houses, and took all their arms. They took all the horses they could find around, about 14 in all. Mrs. Mendenhall, a widow and a Quaker, had two horses at the blacksmith's shop that afternoon, but he could not shoe them, and she left about fifteen or twenty minutes before the thieves

18. A small outfit for publishing a paper was brought to Osawatomie in the spring of 1856 by Oscar V. Dayton and Alexander Gardner. During the border troubles, the materials were hidden to save them from demolition.

19. Contents of the letter indicate that it was written on June 14.

20. Maj. John Sedgwick, with a company of dragoons, had just left for Fort Leavenworth.

came in, and so saved her horses. This was a total surprise to the people here, but I was not at all surprised when I heard of it. The soldiers came without our request and went away just in the only time they were at all wanted. They seem to be only efficient when on the side of the Missourians. That is of a piece with the whole machinery of justice. Free state men here are treated just as negroes are at the South. They are a class devoted to oppression and persecution, and when protection is needed that protection is at a point where it is *not* wanted. This same band of marauders were at Prairie City (called also Palmyra or Hickory Point) the day before. There was a camp of free state men there too, determined to drive them back. At that crisis Col. Sumner appears. He commands both parties to disband.²¹ The free state party obeys. The other party promise to obey, and go off in the direction of Westport in Missouri. But as soon as Col. Sumner is well gone, they commenced stealing horses, and turned their course here. There is another company of cavalry here now. Their Captain is said to be a free State man, but I do not suppose that makes any difference; he obeys orders.

Hope you will not feel alarmed about us. It seems to me if the North at all realized our situation, they would with one voice administer a rebuke to the present infamous administration, who for a short lease on the spoils of office, deliver us over as victims to the marauding Missourians, that would be felt and heeded. Look at it. Our prominent men are captured and imprisoned or driven out of the state, some murdered, others imprisoned without even knowing the crime charged against them, and the worst enemies of the actual settlers are furnished by Gov. Shannon with U. S. arms and munitions of war. Such are the actual facts.

We try to "possess our souls in patience," and hope for the best. With love to all. John.

Please send the enclosed \$2 to the Tribune for additions to B. Woodbury's list at Osawatimie. I sent \$4 about 2 weeks ago to you for the same. If not received I suppose it will be their loss as I enclosed it before the P. M.

21. Governor Shannon had issued a proclamation on June 4 commanding persons belonging to military companies unauthorized by law to disperse. Sumner was here enforcing the order.

Remsen, June 11, 1856.

My dear Son

Yours and Sarah's and *Franky's* letter dated May 31st was received last evening—very welcome indeed— Since the occurrence on Pottawattomie Creek which we had seen in the papers we were very much alarmed for your safety—and we are still so, as I saw last evening that about 100 armed men were preparing to come over from Westport to "Scour Southern Kansas of all Abolitionists &c", which must include your little spot— I fear you will not be safe— And I do not think Sarah would be safe, as she hints, to remain alone to take care of the place! Oh no, if you have to flee, you had better all come. But I hope this storm may yet in some way be averted. Take your neighbors the Quakers' position of non-resistance—calmness—and kindness to your bitterest foes,—and in the Lord's hands you will be safe.—

Your father

Robert Everett.

Osawatomie, June 27, 1856.

Dear Father

As there is room on this sheet I use it to write a few lines. We are in the enjoyment of our usual health, and nothing evil has befallen us since we last wrote for which we should be thankful. The soldiers are still here. Our printing office was not destroyed as reported I see in the Eastern papers. It was buried in the ground and they could not find it.²² Neither were there any houses burned as reported. When Lawrence was sacked, we heard the same account as you first got, but the subsequent accounts came correctly. So with our place. A great many rumors fly, about the same occurrence. And when they come to be printed they seem like accounts of different events. Thus all the accounts you read of disturbances on the Pottawattomie and Osawatomie have their origin in the killing of the five pro-slavery men about 8 miles from Osawatomie,²³ and the raid upon Osawatomie. That is as far as our immediate neighborhood is concerned. We hear by every one that comes in from a little distance of outrages, robberies and murders. A few days ago Mr. [William] Gay the Shawnee Indian agent was shot a little way

22. See Footnote No. 18.

23. James P. Doyle and his two sons, William Sherman and Allen Wilkinson, were murdered on the night of May 24 by a Free-State party led by John Brown.

from Westport by some of Buford's South Carolinians.²⁴ But it is only where the odds are overwhelming and by private assassination that the slavery men get the advantage. In every open contest so far the free state party have been successful. I believe our friends have not the least idea of abandoning the contest. We feel that we are right in principle, we have a great majority of actual residents, and the heart of the North is with us. I was very sorry to see that Fillmore had lent his name to the use of the houseburners, thieves and murderers here.²⁵ I thought even he had too much sense and humanity left for that. I pray God he may not have many followers. If Northern men could see things as they are here, the Republican candidate would receive 99 out of every 100 votes I verily believe. I fear we shall see more troublous times yet, unless something effectual is done for us at the East. Why does not the House of Representatives initiate something bold, decided and effectual and make their weight felt as it should be.— Remember when you read of our place in the papers that we are $21\frac{1}{2}$ *South* of Osawatomie. The centre of disturbances is *North*, and that way the invaders come. They might burn the town to the ground, and we not know it till next day, unless we saw the smoke over the woods that line the Pottawatomie.

It is a very great pleasure to hear from home so regularly. Hope that ours reach you safe. We have not missed a week in writing for a long time. Must close now with love to all from John.

24. A company of armed Southerners under Maj. Jefferson Buford, of Eufaula, Ala., arrived in the territory in the spring of 1856. They participated in the sack of Lawrence, and before their gradual departure engaged in various lawless activities.

25. Millard Fillmore was nominated for President on the ticket of the American or "Know-Nothing" party in 1856. The party platform included upholding of the fugitive slave law.

(To be continued in May Quarterly)

Cowboy Ballads

MYRA E. HULL

ALL the cowboy songs in this collection are genuine; that is, they have actually been sung by ranchers and cowboys on the range, along the trail, in the night herder's lone vigils on the prairie, or in the cowboy's moments of relaxation around the campfire and in the dance hall in the open cow town at the end of the trail.

None of the songs here recorded have been borrowed from other collections. Some of them I heard as a child, as they were sung by my cowboy brothers, by hired hands, or by the cattlemen who frequently stayed the night at our homestead in Butler county, twenty miles from Jesse Chisholm's trading post, on the old Chisholm trail; others were set down for me as remembered by old time cowboys of the 1870's, such as N. P. Power; several of the most picturesque ones were contributed by my nephew, Dr. Hull Alden Cook, as they are still sung on the ranches of Colorado, Arizona, and Wyoming.

I have been inspired by such ballad collectors as N. Howard Thorp, Dr. Louise Pound, Miss Margaret Larkin, and John and Alan Lomax, as well as the numerous contributors to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. But all these collections have been used only for purposes of comparison and comment. In every instance, I have observed the tradition of folk-ballad collectors in recording songs exactly as they were sung, being careful not to yield to the temptation to improve upon the text or to synthesize the variants in order to produce an attractive composite song.

Cowboy songs are ballads; that is, they are stories in song. Furthermore, many of them are folk ballads, in a very real, if not in a technical sense. One of the tests of the Old World folk ballad was its anonymity, which was acquired through centuries of oral transmission until its origin was lost in antiquity. Cowboy songs are comparatively young, so that one might expect the authors to be known. Some few of them are, but many of the origins have been obscured by word-of-mouth transmission, as they were for the most part not written down but were disseminated by the singing cowboys as they went up the trail or from one ranch to another.

Moreover, although the themes of most of the cowboy songs were indigenous, the cowboy had the habit of borrowing a song or a poem, adapting it to the occasion, and with joyous abandon, adding to it endlessly. The most popular of these songs have countless variants,

many of unconscionable length. Much of this re-creation has communal aspects, as the examples will illustrate later.

In composing his song the cowboy might purloin only a line, as in the "Come, all ye" pattern of the "Texas Ranger"; sometimes a stanza would be lifted bodily; and in at least one instance, "The Dying Cowboy," a whole song has been parodied.

Some of the tunes are likewise borrowed and may be traced to German folk songs, Irish airs, English and Scotch ballads, popular American songs, or even hymn tunes. Of most of the apparently original tunes as well as the words, it is next to impossible to discover the composer.

Whatever their origin, the cowboy has by his singing and his recreations made them his own, and has unconsciously established a norm with more or less clearly defined characteristics. The cowboy vernacular, the marked accent and verve of the rhythm, the peculiar moods and themes, tend to give the ballads a certain distinctive flavor by which the collector learns to test their genuineness. And when all allowances have been made for borrowings, there remains a mass of material that impresses one with its freshness, its invigorating atmosphere, its dramatic quality, and its power to revive a real world in which the cowboy was the dominant figure.

The importance of the cowboy in the development of the West has not been fully appreciated. He appears in the movie and in the radio broadcast as a picturesque figure, dashing over the plains in pursuit of wild and romantic adventures: a more or less isolated phenomenon, dissociated from the serious business of history making and state building. As a matter of fact, the cowboy was the central figure not of light comedy and romance but of an enterprise so vast as to assume epic proportions.

According to Joseph Nimmo, a government statistician, between five and six million Texas cattle were driven northward during the twenty years following the Civil War.¹ In one single year 260,000 cattle crossed the Red river, going "up the trail." That meant an army of 2,600 cowboys, to say nothing of the number required to care for the vast herds on the various ranches.

Not only was the cattle industry a great enterprise in itself, but it had very important by-products as well, in the making of trails and in establishing along these roads cow towns that became permanent cities.

1. Streeter, Floyd Benjamin, *Prairie Trails & Cow Towns* (Boston, Chapman and Grimes, 1936), p. 65.

The most important of these trails, the Chisholm trail, began as a traders' trail, established by Jesse Chisholm,² in 1865, in order that the Indians of the Southwest might have access to the supplies of his store, which was in the vicinity of present Wichita. From this trading post the "Traders' trail" ran southward deep into present Oklahoma, crossing the Kansas line near Caldwell. Two years later the Texas drovers were traveling this trail, on their way to Abilene, to which the Kansas Pacific railroad was completed in 1867.³

Eventually, the whole cattle trail from the Red River station northward through the Indian territory and the Kansas towns of Caldwell, Wichita, and Newton to Abilene, a distance of over 600 miles, was known as the Chisholm trail. As railroads and settlers carried the frontier westward, other towns, such as Ellsworth and Dodge City, received Texas cattle.⁴

The most original cowboy songs were those about "the long drive up the trail," and the most famous of these ballads is "The Old Chisholm Trail." Miss Margaret Larkin rightly calls this the cowboy's classic: "Its simple beating tune, . . . its extemporaneous yelps, whoops, and yips; its occasional departures from singing into shouting, are as exciting as the clatter of horses' hooves on the hard prairie."⁵

N. Howard Thorp, whose version is the earliest I have found in print, says: "The origin of this song is unknown. There are several thousand verses. . . . Every puncher knows a few more. . . ."⁶

The song is sung from Mexico to the Canadian line; and if one had all the versions reduced to a composite whole, it would furnish most of the colorful episodes of the cowboy's strenuous life.⁷

The stampede, the most dreaded event in the cattle drive, is recorded in almost all the versions:

I popped my foot in the stirrup and gave a little yell,
The tail cattle broke and the leader went to hell. (Thorp)
Oh, the wind commenced to blow and the rain began to fall,
And it looked, by grab, that we was gonna to lose 'em all. (Hull)

2. Taylor, T. U., *The Chisholm Trail and Other Routes* (Naylor Company, San Antonio, Tex., 1936). Chapter III has an excellent sketch of the life of Jesse Chisholm.

3. Russell, John, "The Chisholm Trail," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, pp. 6-8; Ridings, Sam P., *The Chisholm Trail* (Co-Operative Publishing Co., Guthrie, 1936), p. 29.

4. Dick, Everett, "The Long Drive," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 68.

5. Larkin, Margaret, *Singing Cowboy* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), p. 1. Miss Larkin's beautiful book is the envy of all ballad collectors. I remember Miss Larkin and her guitar when she was a student in the University of Kansas.—M. E. H.

6. Thorp, N. Howard, *Songs of the Cowboys* (New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1908 and 1921), p. 109.

7. Numerous other versions: Lomax, John A., *Cowboy Songs* (New York, Macmillan, 1925), pp. 58-63; Lomax, John A. and Lomax, Alan, *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (New York, Macmillan, 1934), pp. 376-379; Henry, Stuart, *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1930), pp. 73-75, 25 stanzas; Pound, Louise, *American Ballads and Songs* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 167.

The song pictures also the long, hard drive, through storm and flood, the monotonous fare of bacon and beans, and the unsatisfactory pay-off, with hints of wild carousals in the saloons of the cow towns.

Tune "A," given below, was contributed by my brother, O. J. Hull, now of Ontario, Cal. I do not know when he first heard it, but probably comparatively early, for he lived near the old Chisholm trail as early as 1873, when the treks of the longhorns from Texas to Caldwell and Wichita over Chisholm's traders' trail were only well begun. The tune of the stanzas is similar to Margaret Larkin's second version, but the refrain is entirely different from hers. The words of Version "A" are so nearly like those of Version "B" that I have recorded them only once.

Version "B" was contributed by Dr. Hull Alden Cook, now of Sidney, Neb., as he heard it in Colorado. He also sings the more common tune of the first version, to the accompaniment of his guitar.

THE OLD CHISHOLM TRAIL

"A"

Oh, come a - long, boys, and list - ten to my tale. I'll
 tell you all my trou - bles on the old Chis - holm trail.
 Com - a ti yi you - py, you - py ya, you - py ya. Com - a
 ti yi you - py, you - py ya.

"B"

Minor tune
 Chorus:

Oh come along, boys, and listen to my tale,
I'll tell you all my troubles on the ol' Chis'm trail.

Chorus:

Come a-ti yi youpy youpy ya youpy yay,
Come a-ti yi youpy youpy yay.

On a ten-dollar horse and a forty-dollar saddle,
I was ridin', and a-punchin' Texas cattle.

We left ol' Texas October twenty-third,
Drivin' up trail with a 2 U Herd.

I'm up in the mornin' afore daylight,
An' afore I sleep the moon shines bright.

It's bacon and beans most every day,
I'd as soon be eatin' prairie hay.

Old Ben Bolt was a blamed good boss,
But he'd go to see the girls on a sore-backed hoss.

Old Ben Bolt was a mighty good man,
And you'd know there was whisky wherever he'd land.

I woke up one mornin' on the Chisholm trail,
With a rope in my hand and a cow by the tail.

Last night on guard, an' the leader broke the ranks,
I hit my horse down the shoulders an' spurred him in the flanks.

Oh it's cloudy in the west, and a-lookin' like rain,
And my damned ol' slicker's in the wagon again.

Oh the wind commenced to blow and the rain began to fall,
An' it looked by grab that we was gonna lose 'em all.

I jumped in the saddle an' I grabbed a-holt the horn,
The best damned cowpuncher ever was born.

I was on my best horse, and a-goin' on the run,
The quickest-shootin' cowboy that ever pulled a gun.

No chaps, no slicker, and it's pourin' down rain,
An' I swear, by God, I'll never nightherd again.

I herded and I hollered, and I done pretty well,
Till the boss said, "Boys, just let 'em go to Hell."

I'm goin' to the ranch to draw my money,
Goin' into town to see my Honey.

I went to the boss to draw my roll,
He figgered me out nine dollars in the hole.

So I'll sell my outfit as fast as I can,
And I won't punch cows for no damn man.

So I sold old Baldy and I hung up my saddle,
And I bid farewell to the longhorn cattle.

"Whoopee Ti-Yi-O," one of the most picturesque songs of the trail, traces the drive of the cattle from Texas to their "new home"—in Wyoming. "Early in springtime," in fact as early as March, the ranchers of northern Texas began to round up the cattle that had been running on the range. Those not already branded were marked.⁸ Then the horse-herd, the "cavvyard," was brought in by the horse wrangler. It consisted of a "string" of six to ten horses for each cowboy. A cattle king with 15,000 cattle to drive north would divide them into herds of 2,500 each, with about twenty-five cowboys in attendance, so that 150 horses might be in each "cavvy."⁹

When they were at last ready to "throw the dogies out on the long trail," the order of march was usually as follows: The two leading cowboys, one on each side, rode at the head, "pointing the herd." At regular intervals other cowpunchers rode along the flanks, and still others brought up the rear. Usually the chuckwagon followed the herd, and next came the "cavvy." A herd of two thousand cattle would string out for a mile or two, and might be on the road from Texas to northern Idaho from March to August.

Cattle were driven north to the railway markets, or to feed on the lush grass of the high plains, or to furnish "beef for Uncle Sam's Injuns" on the reservations of the Northwest.

"Whoopee Ti-Yi-O" is one of the most interesting of the cowboy songs in its picturesque cowboy vernacular and in the weirdness of its tune.

The tune of my version is similar to Owen Wister's,¹⁰ as recorded by Lomax, except that mine is further complicated by an additional refrain, which makes another peculiar turn in the melody.

As to the age of the song, Miss Larkin thinks it dates from somewhere in the 1860's.¹¹ But so far as I have been able to learn, neither the exact date nor the author is known. N. Howard Thorp says that he heard it sung by Jim Falls, in Tombstone, Ariz.¹² Wister's date, 1893, seems to be the earliest thus far noted.

The version here recorded, as set down by Dr. Hull Alden Cook, is still sung on the ranges of Colorado and Wyoming.

8. The idea of "bobbing off their tails" was evidently a humorous invention of the cowboy to gull the tenderfoot.

9. Dick, Everett, *loc. cit.*, pp. 55-62.

10. Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 389. Lomax quotes Owen Wister: "It took me about half an hour to make sure of the capricious melody." He learned the song from a boy in McCulloch county, Texas, in 1893. Mr. Wister's tune is Lomax's second example, pp. 386, 387.

11. Larkin, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

12. Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

WHOOPEE TI-YI-O, GIT ALONG LITTLE DOGIES

As I was a walk-in' one morn-ing for pleas-ure, I saw a cow-punch-er a
rid-in' a-long. His hat was throwed back and his spurs was a jing-lin; And
as he a -pproached he was sing-in' this song. Whoo - pee! Ti- yi- o, Git a -
long lit-tle dog-ies; It's your mis- for- tune, And none of my own, Whoo-
pee! Ti-yi-o, Git a - long lit-tle dog-ies, For you know that Wy-om-ing will
be your new home. Whoo - pee! Ti- yi- o, Git a - long lit- tle dog- ies, It's
your mis - for - tune and none of my own. Whoo - pee! Ti - yi - o, Git a -
long lit-tle dog-ies, For you know that Wy- om- ing will be your new home.

WHOOPEE TI-YI-O

As I was a-walkin' one morning for pleasure,
I saw a cow-puncher a-ridin' along.
His hat was throwed back and his spurs was a-jinglin',
And as he approached he was singin' this song.

Chorus (to be sung after each stanza):

Whoopee! Ti-yi-o, git along little dogies;
It's your misfortune, and none of my own,
Whoopee! Ti-yi-o, git along little dogies,
For you know that Wyoming will be your new home.
(Repeat.)

Oh, early in the springtime we round up the dogies,
Mark 'em and brand 'em and bob off their tails.
Then round up the horses, and load the chuckwagon,
And then throw the dogies out on the long trail.

Oh, some boys goes up the trail for pleasure,
But that's where they gets it most awfully wrong.
For you have no idea the trouble they give us,
While we go a-driving them all along.

Oh, your mothers was raised away down in Texas,
Where the jimson weed and the sandburs grow.
Now we'll fill you up on prickly pear and cholla,
Till you're ready for the trail to Idaho.

Oh, you will be soup for Uncle Sam's Injuns,
It's "Beef—heap beef" I hear them cry.
Git along, git along, git along little dogies,
You'll be beef steers bye and bye.

Oh, I ain't got no father; I ain't got no mother,
My friends, they all left me when first I did roam.
I ain't got no sister; I ain't got no brother,
I'm a poor lonesome cowboy an' a long ways from home.¹³

"The Texas Ranger," another ballad of the trail, is of the familiar "Come, all ye" pattern. It introduces an incident that is a reminder of the fact that the cowboys were useful to the on-coming settlers in repelling Indian attacks and in pushing the frontier westward.

The words of this song are recorded by Louise Pound, Mellinger Henry, John A. Lomax, and others, but the tunes seem to be rare.¹⁴

Of the version here recorded, both words and music were contributed by N. P. Power, Lawrence, February 18, 1938. He set the song down from memory as he heard it in 1876, while a cowboy on the John Hitson cattle ranch, eighteen miles north of Deer Trail, Colo.¹⁵ Mr. Power says that he has never seen the song in print and has no knowledge of the author. His version is much the earliest that I have found.

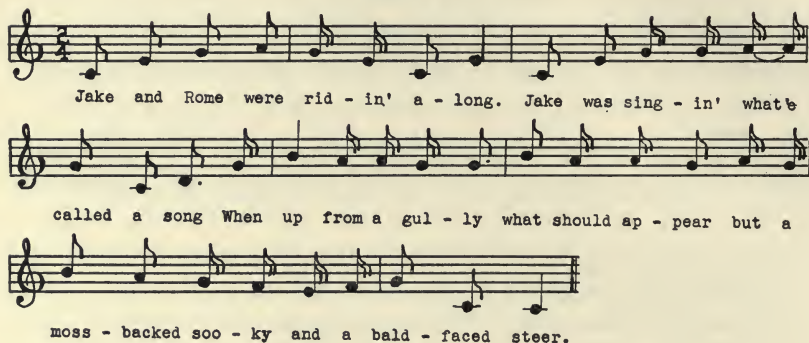
13. The last stanza is given by Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 418, as a part of "Poor Lonesome Cowboy."

14. Lomax, John, *Cowboy Songs*, pp. 44-46, no tune; Pound, Louise, *op. cit.*, p. 163, no tune; Henry, Mellinger E., "More Songs From the Southern Highlands," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* (hereafter cited *JAFL*), v. XLIV, pp. 85-87, "Come, all you Tennesseemen," 13 stanzas, no tune.

15. This John Hitson is doubtless the one mentioned by T. U. Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 70) who drove cattle in 1868. Mr. Power thinks that the song here recorded was sung by Frank H. Long, whose father owned a ranch in Texas.

The words and music of "Jake and Rome" were sent to me by Dr. Hull Alden Cook, with this note of explanation: "This is the song as I obtained it from a Navajo girl at Kayenta, Ariz. Her adopted name is Betty Wetherill, and she has been adopted into John Wetherill's family. She and her sister sang this to me one night in June, 1935, at the Wetherill ranch home, in the heart of the desert."

JAKE AND ROME



Jake and Rome were ridin' along,
Jake was singin' what he called a song,
When up from a gully what should appear
But a mossbacked sooky and a bald-faced steer.

Jake started after with his hat pulled down,
He built himself a blocker that would snare a town,
But the steer he headed for the setting sun,
And believe me, neighbor, he could hump and run.

Rome followed up his partner's deal—
Two old waddies that could head and heel—
Both of them a-workin' for the Chicken Coop
With a red hot iron and a hungry loop.

The sun was shinin' in old Jake's eyes,
And he wasn't ready for no great surprise,
When the steer gave a wiggle like his dress was tight,
And he busted through a juniper, and dropped from sight.

Old Jake's pony done a figure 8,
Jake done his addin' just a mite too late.
He left the saddle a-seein' red,
And he landed in the gravel of a river bed.

Now Rome's horse was a good horse, too,
But he couldn't figure out just where Jake flew;
So he humped and he started for the cavvyard,
And he left Rome sittin' where the ground was hard.
Jake sat a-holdin' up his swelled up thumb,
Says he, "I reckon we was goin' some!"
When Rome he bellered, "Get away from here,
Or you're goin' to get tangled with that bald-faced steer!"
Rome clumb a-straddle of a juniper tree,
"There's no more room up here," says he.
So Jake he figures for himself to save
By backin' in the opening of a cutback cave.
The steer he charged with his head 'way down,
A-rollin' his eyes and a-pawin' the ground—
Hookin' and a-sniffin' and a-turnin' about,
Every time he quit old Jake come out!
Rome said, "You old fool, back out of sight,
You act like you're hankerin' to make him fight!"
When Jake he answered sort of fierce and queer:
"Back, hell, nothin'; there's a bear in here!"

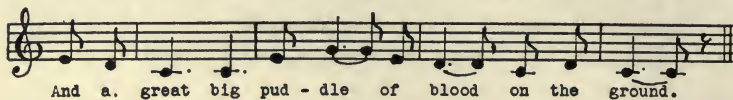
A favorite theme of cowboy songs is the death of the cowboy on "the lone prairie." It is not strange that the thought of such a tragic end was uppermost in his mind, for life on the trail was hazardous. On this point Everett Dick says that a horse's stepping into a prairie dog or badger hole might throw its rider under an on-rushing herd, where he would be trampled to death. "In trying to turn a herd, it was not uncommon for a cowboy to ride off a cliff or into a gully, where his comrades found his mangled form the next day. Along the trail another mound was made, which bore mute witness to the fact that a cowboy died doing his duty."¹⁶

The fragment, "Blood on the Saddle," treats of such an episode; and though the song is sung in a humorous fashion, its connotation was anything but funny to cowboys. I know nothing of the origin of the song, but I am inclined to agree with Dr. R. W. Gordon, formerly of the American Folk-Lore archives of the Library of Congress, that it does not quite ring true as a genuine cowboy song.

My niece, Dr. Winifred Hull Salinger, New Haven, Conn., sang this song for me in 1930, as Austin Phelps had heard it in Arizona.

16. Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

BLOOD ON THE SADDLE



There's b-lood on the saddle,
 There's b-lood all around.
 And a great big puddle
 Of blood on the ground.
 Oh, pity the cowboy,
 So bloody and red.
 His pony fell on him,
 And mashed in his head.

"The Dying Cowboy," or "The Lone Prairie," has for its theme the cowboy's lonely grave on the prairie. N. Howard Thorp says that he first heard this song from Kearn Carico, Norfolk, Neb., in 1886. The authorship, he says, has been accredited to H. Clemons, Deadwood, Dak.¹⁷ However, as I have mentioned before, the words are obviously a parody, stanza for stanza, of "The Ocean Burial," a song, according to Phillips Barry, familiar to folk-singers of the Eastern states nearly a hundred years ago.¹⁸ Alvin B. Cook, of

17. Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

18. Barry, Phillips, "Some Aspects of Folk-Song," *JAFL*, v. XXV, pp. 278-280. Barry gives the complete text of "The Ocean Burial," six eight-line stanzas, each parodied almost line for line in "The Dying Cowboy." One stanza of each will indicate how close is the parody. "The Ocean Burial" is usually accredited to Capt. W. H. Saunders.

"THE OCEAN BURIAL"

"Oh, bury me not in the deep, deep sea!"
 These words came faint and mournfully
 From the pallid lips of a youth who lay
 On his cabin couch, where day by day,
 He had wasted and pined, until o'er his brow,
 The death sweats had slowly passed, and now,
 The scenes of his fondly loved home was nigh,
 And they gathered around him to see him die."

"THE DYING COWBOY"

"Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie";
 Those words came slow and mournfully
 From the pallid lips of a youth that lay
 On his dying couch at the close of day.
 He had wasted and pined till o'er his brow
 Death's shadows fast were drawing now;
 He had thought of home and the loved ones nigh,
 As the cowboys gathered to see him die."

—Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Dodge City, remembers hearing his mother sing "The Burial at Sea," the same song, in western Kansas some forty years ago.

Of the many tunes of "The Dying Cowboy," my version "A" is the most common. It is similar to the Lomax and the Larkin tune. Version "A" was sung by Dr. Leroy W. Cook, Boulder, Colo., as he heard it in western Kansas forty years ago.

Version "B" was sung by Joe M. Hull, now of Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, as he heard it in southern Kansas, probably in the early 1890's. I have never seen this tune in print.

The complete song as recorded by Thorp and others is six or eight stanzas long.

THE DYING COWBOY

"A"

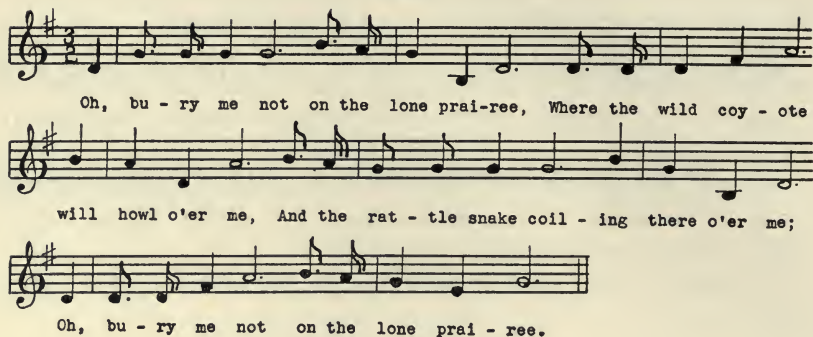
Oh, bu - ry me not on the lone prai-ree, Where the wild coy - ote

will howl o'er me, And the rat - tle snake coil - ing there o'er me;

Oh, bu - ry me not on the lone prai - ree.

Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie,
 Where the wild coyote will howl o'er me,
 And the rattlesnake coiling there o'er me.
 Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie.
 "Oh, bury me not," and his voice failed there;
 But they listened not to his dying prayer;
 In a narrow grave just six by three
 They laid him there on the lone prairie.
 Where the dewdrops fall and the butterfly rest,
 The wild rose bloom on the prairie's crest;
 Where the coyotes howl and the wind blows free,
 They buried him there on the lone prairie.

"B"



Another prime favorite with the cowboy was "The Cowboy's Lament." N. Howard Thorp says that he heard a version of this song in 1886. The authorship, he adds, is accredited to Troy Hale, Battle Creek, Neb.¹⁹ But here again there is obviously a borrowing at least of the refrain,

Beat the drum slowly and play the fife lowly,
And play the dead march as they carry me on.

This, Phillips Barry points out, bears a striking resemblance to a passage in the Irish song, "The Unfortunate Rake" (Ireland, 1790).²⁰

But whatever its origin, the cowboy by his re-creations has made it his own. There are innumerable versions.²¹ Of these, Thorp's is the earliest. Lomax has a much longer variant.

The opening line of Dr. Pound's version is unique:

As I walked through Tom Sherman's bar-room.

One of the commonest beginning lines is Thorp's—

As I walked out in the streets of Laredo.

Miss Larkin's first lines are unusual:

My home's in Montana,
I wear a bandana.

Interesting, too, is Miss Larkin's concluding stanza:

And take me to Boot Hill
And cover me with roses,
I'm just a young cowboy
And I know I done wrong.

19. Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

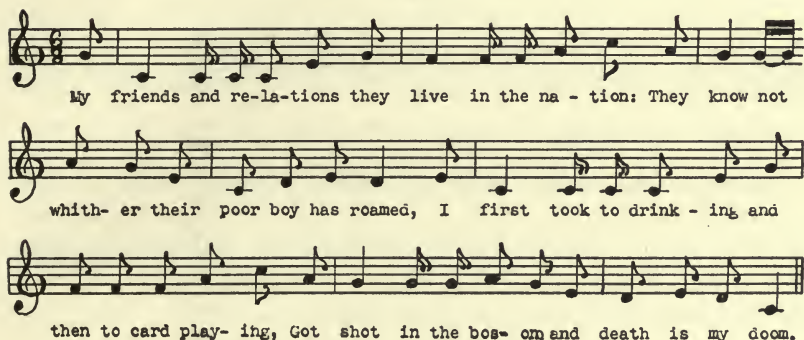
20. Barry, *loc. cit.*, p. 276. Barry says that "The Cowboy's Lament" is a remarkable example of communal re-creation.

21. Also compare Belden, H. M., "Balladry in America," *JAFL*, v. XXV, p. 16; Larkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15; Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76, no tune; Pound, *op. cit.*, p. 170, "The Dying Cowboy," but the same as "The Cowboy's Lament" of Thorp, with the refrain, "Beat the Drum Slowly."

Version "A," contributed by Freda Butterfield, was sung by her father, Oscar G. Butterfield, as he learned it in western Kansas in the late 1880's. Miss Butterfield is in doubt about some of the lines, particularly of the first stanzas.

THE COWBOY'S LAMENT

"A"



My friends and re-la-tions they live in the na - tion: They know not
 whith- er their poor boy has roamed, I first took to drink - ing and
 then to card play- ing, Got shot in the bos- om and death is my doom.

Come sit beside me and hear my sad story

Tell one and the other before they go further
 To stop their wild roaming before it's too late.

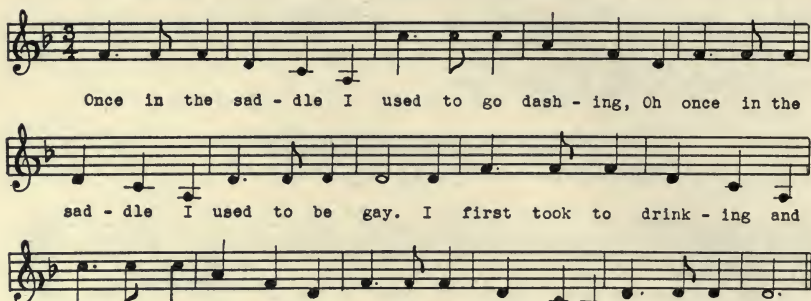
My friends and relations they live in the Nation;
 They know not whither their poor boy has roamed;
 I first took to drinking and then to card-playing,
 Got shot in the bosom and death is my doom.

So write me a letter to my gray-haired mother,
 And write me a letter to sister so dear,
 Then there is another who's dearer than my mother
 Who'd weep if she knew I was dying out here.

Then beat the drums slowly and play the fife lowly
 And play the dead march as you carry me along;
 Take me to the graveyard and lay the sod o'er me,
 For I'm a poor cowboy, and I know I've done wrong.

Version "B," as sung by Joe M. Hull (about 1890), has a tune which I have not seen in print nor heard elsewhere.

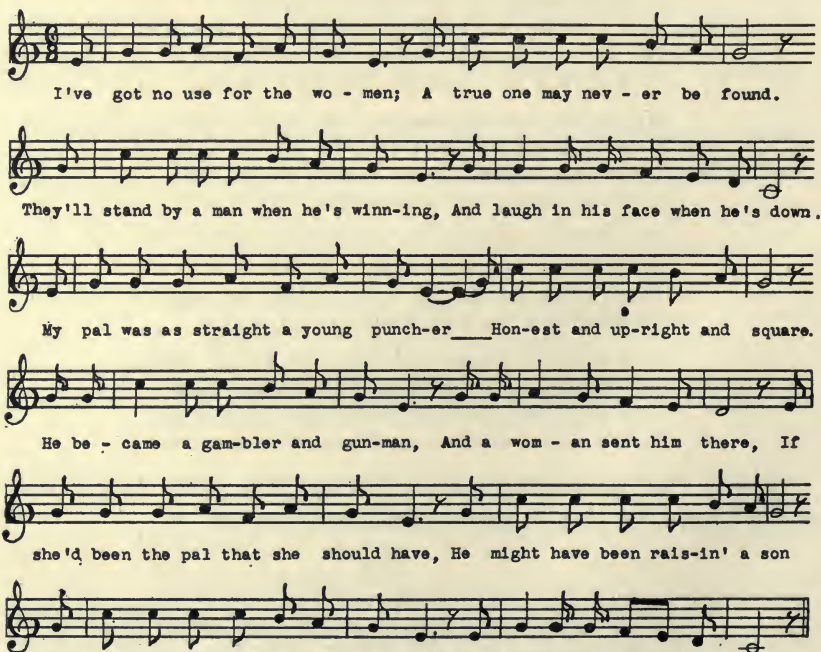
"B"



Once in the sad - dle I used to go dash - ing, Oh once in the
sad - dle I used to be gay. I first took to drink - ing and
then to card - play-ing, Got shot in the breast; I am dy - ing to - day.

Sometimes the cowboy songs are cynical in mood. Such a one is "I've Got No Use for the Women," as sung by Freda Butterfield, Iola.²² I know nothing as to the origin of this "gambler and gunman" song. Such terms as "mesquite," "chaparral," and "vaquero" indicate that it hails from the Southwest.

I'VE GOT NO USE FOR THE WOMEN



I've got no use for the wo - men; A true one may nev - er be found.
They'll stand by a man when he's winn-ing, And laugh in his face when he's down.
My pal was as straight a young punch-er Hon-est and up-right and square.
He be - came a gam-bler and gun-man, And a wom - an sent him there, If
she'd been the pal that she should have, He might have been rais-in' a son
In - stead of out there on the prai-ries To fall by the ran - ger's gun.

22. If any of my readers knows what the origin is of this song or of "Jake and Rome" and "Blood on the Saddle," I should be grateful for the information.—M. E. H.

I've got no use for the women;
 A true one may never be found;
 They'll stand by a man when he's winning,
 And laugh in his face when he's down.
 My pal was a straight young puncher,
 Honest and upright and square;
 He became a gambler and gunman,
 And a woman sent him there.
 If she'd been the pal that she should have,
 He might have been raisin' a son
 Instead of out there on the prairies
 To fall by the ranger's gun.

.

When a vaquero insulted her picture
 He filled him full of lead.

All the night long they trailed him
 O'er mesquite and gay chaparral;
 And I couldn't help think of that woman
 As I saw him pitch and fall.
 He raised his head on his elbow,
 The blood from his wounds flowed red;
 He looked around at his comrades,
 Whispered to them and said:

Oh, bury me out on the prairie
 Where the coyotes may howl o'er my grave.
 Bury me out on the prairie,
 Some of my bones to save.
 Wrap me up in my blanket;
 Bury me deep in the ground,
 Then cover me over with boulders
 Of granite huge and round.

So we buried him out on the prairie,
 Where the coyotes still howl o'er his grave;
 And his soul is now a-resting
 From the unkind touch she gave;
 And many another young puncher
 As he rides by that pile of stones,
 Recalls some similar woman,
 And envies his mould'ring bones.

Cowboys in their hours of leisure and relaxation in the winter evenings on the ranch or in the saloons and dance halls, swapped

songs that they had brought with them from the East and South or picked up here and there from some settler or chance acquaintance.²³

23. (a) Sometimes the texts were borrowed from a poem in a Western newspaper. Such seems to have been the origin of "Home on the Range," according to John R. Cook in *The Border and the Buffalo* (Crane and Company, Topeka, 1907), pp. 292, 293. According to Floyd Streeter (*op. cit.*, p. 218): "A recent lawsuit over the authorship of this song has brought to light the information that Dr. Brewster Higley, who homesteaded on Beaver creek in Smith county, Kansas, in the early 1870's, wrote a poem entitled 'A Western Home,' in 1873, which was printed in the *Smith County Pioneer* the same year. It is claimed that this was the original version of the song [Home on the Range]."

(b) I have obtained from George A. Root of the Kansas State Historical Society a copy of a poem which is either a parody on or a forerunner of "Starving to Death on a Government Claim" (Pound, *op. cit.*, p. 178).

Of this production Mr. Root says: "This was sent in as a contribution to the *North Topeka Mail*, about the year 1889, but was never used. My father, the late Frank A. Root, together with my brother and me, was engaged in the publication of the *Mail*. The poem struck me as full of humor and homely philosophy, and I rescued it and stowed it away, intending to print it if I could find any excuse for doing so." (The *Mail* rarely published verse of any sort.)

This curiosity is here printed for the first time and in exactly the form that it was submitted, almost fifty years ago:

"GOVERNMENT CLAMES"

"frank baker is my name	the dishes are scaterd
and a bachler I am	all over the bed
ime keeping old bach	thay are covered with sorgum
just like a man	and government bread
youl find me out west	still I have a good time
in the county of ford	and live at my ease
a starving to death	a whitling sap sorgum
on a government clame	potatoes and greas
hurah for ford county	how happy I feel
tis the land of the free	when I crol into bed
the home of the bed bug	when the rattlesnakes rattle
grasshopper and flee	a tune at my head
ile sing loud its prases	and the gay little bed bug
and tell of its fame	so cheerful and bright
while starving to death	thay keep me a lafing
on my government clame	to thirds of the night
my clothes they are ragged	and the gay little flee
my language is ruf	with sharp tax in his toes
my bread is case hardened	play rattle logketchem
both solid and tuf	all over my nose
the do it is scaterd	hurah for ford county
all over the room	hurah for the west
the floor it gets scared	where the farmers and lofers
at the site of a broom	are ever at rest
then come to ford county	fore there is nothing to do
there is a home for you all	but s[w]eetly remain
where wind never ceases	and starve like a man
and the rain never falls	on a government clame
where the sun never sinks	how happy I feel
but always remains	on my government clame
till it cooks you all up	ive nothing to loze
on your government clames	and nothing [to] gain
my house it is built	ive nothing to eat
of the natheril soil	ive nothing to ware
the walls are erected	and nothing from nothing
according to hoil	is honest and fair
the roof has no pitch	O its here i am
tis level and plain	and here I will stay
I always get wet	my money all gone
when it hapens to rain	and I cant get away

Such a song is "Springfield Mountain," one of the very few American ballads based on an actual incident. Its history is discussed in exhaustive articles by W. W. Newell and by Phillips Barry,²⁴ according to whom the original ballad was a serious one, recounting the tragic death of "Lieutenant Merrick's only son." (The name varies, as Curtis, Carter, etc.) But the song has become debased by oral transmission and re-creation until it is a ludicrous comedy.

The song here set down by Dr. Hull A. Cook as it is still sung in Colorado, has a tune different from any that I have seen in print.

SPRINGFIELD MOUNTAIN

On Spring-field moun - tain there did dwell A come - ly youth, I
knew him well Ti - roo - ri, roo - ri, roo - ri - ray; Ti -
roo - ri, roo - ri, roo - ri ra - a - ay. On roo - ri - ray.

On Springfield mountain there did dwell
A comely youth, I knew him we-e-ell.
Ti-roo-ri roo-ri, roo-ri-ray;
Ti-roo-ri roo-ri roo-ri ra-a-ay.

On Monday morning, he did go
Out in the meadow for to mo-o-ow.

(Refrain.)

there is nothing that makes
a man more hard and profane
than a starving to death
on a government clame
hurah for ford county
whare blizerds arize
where the wind is never clenched
and the fall never dies
then come join its cores
and tell of its fame
you poor hungry men
that stuc on a clame
good by you clame holders
I wish you all well

just stic to your clames
and ride them to bad [hell]
but as for myself
ile no longer remain
and starve like a man
on a goverment clame
farewell to ford co
fairwell to the west
ile travel bac east
to the girl I love best
ile stop in mosoura
and get me a wife
and live on corn dodger
the rest of my life"

24. Newell, William W., "Early American Ballads," *JAF*, v. XIII, p. 107 *et seq.*; Barry, Phillips, *JAF*, v. XVIII, pp. 295-302.

As he was mowing, he did feel
 A pizen sarpint bite his he-e-el.
(Refrain.)

Oh Molly, Molly, come and see
 A pizen sarpint bited me-e-e.
(Refrain.)

Then Molly knelt on her knee
 And sucked the pizen out of he-e-e.
(Refrain.)

But Molly had a rotten tooth
 And so the pizen killed them bo-o-oth.
(Refrain.)

(The song is sung without a break between the refrain and the following stanza.)

Another native ballad that has shown remarkable vitality and longevity is "Young Charlotte." Phillips Barry, who says that he himself knows thirty versions of this song, accredits its authorship to William Carter, "the Bensontown Homer." From Vermont, the author seems to have carried his song to Ohio and Illinois and perhaps even to Utah with the Mormons. This early trek across the continent may account for the song's wide dissemination. After almost a hundred years of "communal re-creation," Mr. Barry believes, the song "has earned the right" to be enrolled "in the number of the nobility" among ballads.²⁵

The song is a "nice long one," and would last out the cowboy's evening, the Barry and the Pound versions each having twenty-six stanzas. Although the words vary slightly in the different versions, the theme is always the same.

Young Charlotte lived on a mountain side,
 In a wild and lonely spot,
 There was no house for ten miles around,
 Except her father's cot.

Young Charlotte was fair, but too proud. On a bitterly cold night, she went with Charlie, her lover, to a dance a long distance from her home. Her mother urged her to wrap up in a blanket for fear she would "take her death of cold" during the long sleigh ride to the dance.

"Oh, no, Oh, no," young Charlotte cried,
 And she laughed like a gypsy queen;
 "To ride in blankets muffled up
 I never will be seen."

25. Barry, Phillips, "William Carter, the Bensontown Homer," *JAFL*, v. XXV, pp. 156-168.

As the ride progressed, Charlotte complained that she "grew exceeding cold"; but later she murmured faintly, "I'm growing warmer now." As they drove up to the dance hall door, Charlie discovered that his "charming bride" was a "frozen corpse."

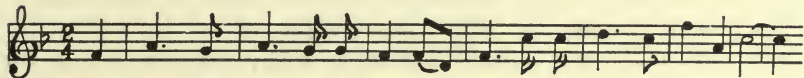
Her parents mourned for their daughter dear,
And Charles wept o'er the gloom,
Till at last young Charles too died of grief,
And they both lie in one tomb.

The song ends with a moral:

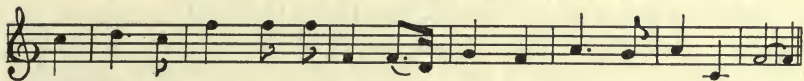
Young ladies, think of this fair girl
And always dress aright,
And never venture thinly clad
On such a wintry night.²⁶

The tune, which I heard Zeke Paris sing more than forty years ago, is the same one that my mother used in the well-known Civil War song, "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh."²⁷

YOUNG CHARLOTTE



Young Char-lotte lived on a moun-tain side, in a wild and lone-ly spot.



There was no house for ten miles a - round ex - cept her fa- ther's cot.

Cowboy life was enlivened by racy snatches, such as this one from "The Son of a Gamboleer":

—I drink my whisky clear,
I'm a roving rake of poverty,
The son of a gamboleer.

26. Pound, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Zeke Paris' last stanzas may have been slightly different from Doctor Pound's.

27. Henry, Mellinger E., "Still More Ballads and Folk-Songs From the Southern Highlands," *JAF*, v. XLV, p. 163, gives two stanzas of "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh" similar to the ones of my mother's version quoted here:

"On Shiloh's dark and bloody ground
The dead and wounded lay;
Among them was the drummer boy,
Who beat the drum that day.

"A wounded soldier held him up,
His drum was by his side;
He clasped his hands and raised his eyes,
And prayed before he died."

(Eliza Sinclair Hull)

Mr. Henry does not furnish the tune. Of course, the words of "Young Charlotte" are older than those that relate an incident of the Civil War; but where the tune originally came from is not known.

I recall from hired hands' repertoires such choice bits as—

She turned up the box and she poured out the pepper,
Whack-fal-de-al-de-ay, whack-fal-de-al-de-ay,
There's whisky in the jar!

and

All I've got is an old iron pot,
And a fryin' pan to wash the baby in.

In such a category belongs Lomax's "Cowboys' Gettin'-Up Hol-ler,"²⁸ my version of which runs,

Wake, Snake, day's a-breakin'!
Peas in the pot, and the hoe-cake's a-bakin'!

This is one of the countless choruses of "Old Dan Tucker," perhaps the most nearly ubiquitous of all American fiddle tunes. Other dance tunes popular with the cowboy were "Money Musk," "Fisher's Hornpipe," "Devil's Dream," "Arkansaw Traveller," "Rosin the Bow," "Irish Washerwoman," and "Turkey in the Straw" (sung by my mother as "Old Zip Coon"). If the fiddler were absent, the caller at the dance would improvise words to many of these tunes. "The Girl I Left Behind Me," that favorite of the Civil War, of ancient lineage, went through almost as many transformations as "Mademoiselle from Armentières."

In gentler mood, the cowboy of the 1870's indulged in some of the popular sentimental songs, such as "Lorena," "Sweet Evelina," "Bonnie Eloise," "Annie Lisle," "Lillie Dale," and "Sweet Eulalie." In such a mood, no doubt, the "notorious woman outlaw" of the Indian territory, Belle Starr, struck off "My Love Is a Rider."²⁹

The words of this song, recorded by Margaret Larkin, are strongly reminiscent of the following song, which my mother, Mrs. Eliza Sinclair Hull, brought West with her from Ohio, in 1866.

28. Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

29. Larkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47. "My Lover's a Rider" appeared in William B. Bradbury's *New York Glee and Chorus Book*, 1855. Since this was one of the most popular singing school books during the 1860's, it might well have been seen by Belle Starr, or the resemblance between the two songs may be accidental. The author's name is not given, but it was translated by C. M. Cady. (The original language is not mentioned, but the song has all the earmarks of the "tra-la-la" Swiss songs of which William Bradbury was so fond.)

MY LOVER'S A RIDER

My lov - er's a ri - der, a ri - der so fine; The steed is his
 sov - 'reign; the ri - der is mine. La__ la__ la__ la__ la__ la__
 la__ la__ la__ la__ La la la la la la la la la__ la__ la__ la__

My lover's a rider, a rider so fine;
 The steed is his sov'reign; the rider is mine.
 La-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la,
 La-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la.

Blue eyes and brown hair, and right noble in mien;
 Oh, charming and fair is my lover, I ween.

My heart is a castle well-bolted and grim;
 My love is the pass-key; it opens to him.

My lover's away; he is over the sea;
 I need not be told he is thinking of me.

If you have a lover so noble and true;
 I'll finish my song and then listen to you.

Not uncommon among the songs of the cowboy (sung, sometimes, I fear, when he had reached the maudlin stage of inebriation) were the sob-songs of mother, home, and the cowboy's heaven.

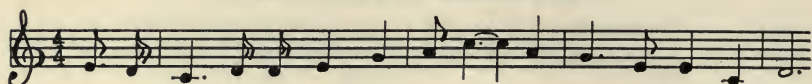
Sam Ridings, in *The Chisholm Trail*, mentions one of these songs, which he calls "Two Thousand Miles Away."³⁰ It is almost exactly like the chorus of the following song, which I heard Zeke Paris sing when I was a child. I wish it were possible to put into the printed song the great fervor and pathos of the singer!

30. Ridings, Sam, *op. cit.*, p. 294. Mellinger E. Henry records a song, "Dear Mother." He refers to a remark of Professor Combs concerning this: "Stanza 7 sounds dangerously like the old song a two-line refrain of which runs:

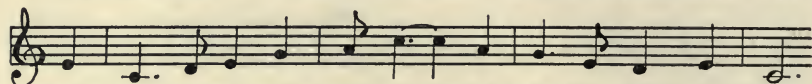
'For I have a dear old mother
 Ten thousand miles away.'"

Professor Combs says that he heard his mother sing the song thirty years ago.—*JAFL*, v. XLIV (1931), p. 97.

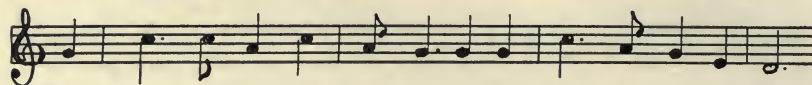
TEN THOUSAND MILES AWAY



On the banks of a lone - ly riv - er, Ten thous - and miles a - way.



There I've an ag - ed moth - er Whose hair is turn - ing gray.



Then blame me not for weep - ing; Oh, blame me not, I pray,



For I've an ag - ed moth - er Ten thou - sand miles a - way.

On the banks of a lonely river,
Ten thousand miles away,
There I've an aged mother
Whose hair is turning gray.

Chorus:

Then blame me not for weeping,
Oh, blame me not, I pray,
For I've an aged mother,
Ten thousand miles away.

Of the numerous songs depicting the cowboy's heaven, perhaps the most famous one is "The Cowboy's Dream," beginning

Last night as I lay on the prairie
And looked at the stars in the sky,
I wondered if ever a cowboy
Would drift to the sweet bye and bye.

The song, to the tune of "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean," is an analogy in which heaven, "the trail to the great mystic regions," is compared to the long drive up the trail.

The most picturesque stanza is

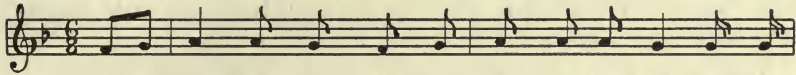
And I'm scared that I'll be a stray yearling,
A maverick, unbranded on high,
And get out in the bunch with the "rusties,"
When the Boss of the Riders goes by.

N. Howard Thorp's version, one of the earliest, he says was given him by Walt Roberts, Double Diamond ranch, White Mountains,

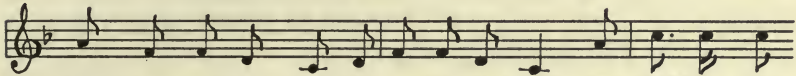
1898. The authorship is ascribed to the father of Captain Roberts, of the Texas Rangers.³¹

The loveliest cowboy song of the lone night on the prairie is "Night Herdin' Song." This version, as it is still sung to quiet the restless cattle on the range, was set down for me by Dr. Hull A. Cook. I know of only two tunes for this song, the one I record here and Margaret Larkin's.³²

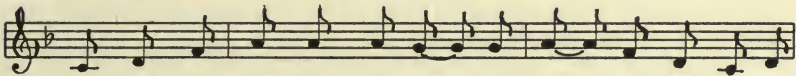
NIGHT HERDIN' SONG



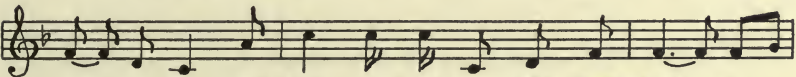
Oh, __ move slow, do - gies; Quit rov - ing a - round You have



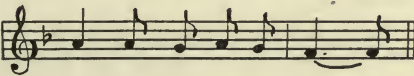
wan - dered and tram - pled all o - ver the ground. Oh, graze a - long



do - gies and feed kind - a slow, And don't for - ev - er be



on the go. Move slow, lit - tle do - gies, move slow. Hi -



o, Hi - o - o - o - o.

Oh, move slow, dogies; quit roving around,
 You have wandered and trampled all over the ground.
 Oh, graze along, dogies, and feed kinda slow,
 And don't forever be on the go.
 Move slow, little dogies, move slow,
 Hi-o, Hi-o-o-o-o.

I've circle herded and night herded too,
 But to keep you together! That's what I can't do.
 My horse is leg weary, and I'm awful tired,
 But if you get away I am sure to get fired.
 Bunch up, little dogies, bunch up,
 Hi-o, Hi-o-o-o-o.

31. "The Cowboy's Dream," Thorp, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41. Alice Corbin Henderson's "Introduction" to this volume is a scholarly piece of work. Her comment on the cowboy vernacular, p. xxii, is particularly illuminating.

32. Margaret Larkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-12, records one of these exceedingly rare tunes which make her collection so much more valuable than those without music. I regard the tunes in my collection as a more important contribution than the words, because they are, as Alan Lomax told me, "scarcer than hen's teeth."

The words of "Night Herding Song" are attributed to Harry Stephens by Lomax, *Cowboy Songs*, p. 324.

Oh, lay still, dogies, since you have laid down,
Stretch away out on the big open ground.
Snore loud little dogies and drown the wild sounds
That will all go away when the day rolls around.
Lay still, little dogies, lay still,
Hi-o, Hi-o-o-o-o (*Repeat*) Hi-o, Hi-o-o-o-o.

There is something singularly moving in this song, as it is sung in the dim light of a Western camp fire, to the soft accompaniment of the guitar. One who has slept out under the open sky on the barren high plains of Wyoming is reminded poignantly of the "wild sounds" that haunt the night watcher in that desolate region.

This picture of the "leg-weary" cowboy talking to his restless cattle, pleading with them not to stampede, and finally soothing them to sleep with his plaintive lullaby, brings to a fitting close this brief survey of the cowboy's life in song.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-third annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 18, 1938.

William Allen White, president of the Society, was unable to attend the morning meeting and in his absence Thomas A. McNeal presided.

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 18, 1938

Since the meeting last year more history has been made in the world than at any time since the close of the World War. Even in the United States it has been a period of change and a new consideration of the fundamentals of government. The result, as it affects the Historical Society, has been an increasing interest in the history of the state. Our experience confirms reports from other societies that there is a material growth in popular interest in local history. Many schools in small towns and rural communities are asking for detailed information about their towns and counties. These demands on the staff do not leave as much time as we could wish for routine work. The supervision of federal projects also requires continuous attention. The work of cataloguing and otherwise organizing our books, relics, documents, pictures and newspapers is progressing, however, as will appear in the reports of the various departments.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Pres. William Allen White reappointed Thomas Amory Lee, Robert C. Rankin and Chester Woodward to the executive committee, the members holding over being Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard. At the first meeting of the committee following the annual meeting Mr. Lee was elected chairman. The death of J. M. Challiss, first vice-president, was a great loss to the Society. Mr. Challiss was a member of a pioneer family, and he was an active supporter of the work of the Society.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next legislature were filed with the budget director in September. Four additions to the staff were requested: a research director and three cataloguers. Five hundred dollars was asked for microfilming, and a \$500 increase in the book fund. Also, \$1,350 was requested for the purchase of new catalogue cases. In the budget for the Old Shawnee Mission \$25,000 was asked for the restoration of the north building.

FEDERAL WORK PROJECTS

Federal work projects operating under the Society's supervision have continued without interruption. Mrs. Harrison Parkman and other WPA and NYA officials have provided better-than-average workers who have made commendable progress in the tasks assigned them. Mention of their work programs is incorporated in reports of the departments.

Thirteen to fourteen persons have been regularly employed sixteen days a month each under the WPA project. From October 6, 1937, to October 5, 1938, the federal government contributed \$11,771.73 for salaries. The Society's expenditure for the same period was approximately \$600 for typewriter rentals and working materials. During the year the Society's WPA program has operated under four project numbers. On July 1 our WPA personnel was absorbed by H. C. Sticher's WPA state-wide museum project. Direct control of individuals and their work assignments is still retained by the Society.

The NYA project, employing three to four young persons six or eight days a month, has operated continuously throughout the year. In its operation the federal government has expended approximately \$750 for salaries. Starting in September one Washburn student, employed through the college NYA program, was assigned to the Society.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Inquiries for information come from many sources. In recent months we have sent material to both national broadcasting companies, to two trans-continental railways, to several of the great newspapers of the country, to one of the large bus lines and to two of the leading motion-picture companies. Producers of several of the "epic" films have been supplied by us with historical data, which, however, is seldom recognizable when the pictures are produced. A great deal of what is seen in the pictures about Kansas or is heard on the air or printed in books, newspapers and magazines is based on information secured from the Society. There are, of course, innumerable questions from individuals that require little research.

During the year there have been more than the usual number of historians doing serious research. Their subjects are grouped here under several rather broad headings: *Biography*: Edgar Watson Howe; David J. Brewer; Arthur Capper; Robert Simerwell; Charles Robinson; William A. Johnston; Everett family; John Steuart Curry; Bat Masterson; Isaac McCoy; Mother Bickerdyke; Andrew H. Reeder; William L. Couch; Daniel Reed Anthony. *Economics*: Kansas sales tax; financial history of Kansas; survey of commodity prices; economic history of Dodge City; investments. *Education*: Permanent school funds of Kansas; sociological factors affecting the development of education in Kansas; history of private normal schools; early high schools of Kansas; educational development in Harper county; history of education in Pawnee county. *Foreign influences*: Contribution of the foreign element to Barton county; history of the Swedish colony in Allen county; Scandinavian immigration to Lincoln county. *Journalism*: Early newspapers in Morton county. *Literature and Music*: Music festivals; John Brown in literature; Kansas literature for 1937. *Politics*: Colored Farmers' Alliance and its relation to the Populist movement; Progressive movement in the Republican party, 1902-1917; congressional insurgency, 1909-1913. *General*: Coal mines; influence of Fort Leavenworth on the development of the West; history and evolution of the Kansas Corporation Commission; Kansas oratory in the territorial period; history of child placing in Kansas; Quantrill raid; Kickapoo Indians in Kansas; church histories; court of industrial relations; history of McLouth; history of the state penitentiary; Osage removal and settlement; history of settlement on Little Osage; Atchison, Topeka & Santa

Fé land grants; border trouble in Linn and Bourbon counties; railroads; history of Abilene; child labor amendment; organization of Kansas troops in the Civil War; range cattle industry in the Flint Hills.

LIBRARY

During the year the library has answered approximately 2,100 requests for information about Kansas, 900 about genealogy and 600 about the West, Indians and American history. Material from the loan file has been in continuous demand from schools and individuals over the state. Much assistance and material has been given to persons employed on federal projects.

This Society is the depository for Kansas of the Library of Congress authors' catalogue. Approximately 50,000 cards are filed in this catalogue each year. During the past year workers have filed these cards and have revised the filing of all cards under state and United States headings. An index to the roster of Kansas soldiers in the Civil War has been completed by WPA workers and is proving very useful. Other workers have begun an index to *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, the information in this three-volume set being practically lost for want of an index. Current and old newspaper clippings are being pasted by WPA workers and these files are being revised.

The first state textbook printed and bound at the State Printing Plant was recently presented to the library. W. C. Austin was state printer and Victor S. Boutwell was foreman of the bindery when this book was published in 1914, and both are occupying these positions today. The book was Anna E. Arnold's *History of Kansas*.

The Historical Records Survey of the WPA is compiling an inventory of Kansas imprints from 1854 to 1876. The majority of entries have come from this library. This work, when published, will be of value to all libraries.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the past year 597 pictures have been added to our collection. Six oil paintings depicting the early West were the gift of the Adolph Roenigk estate. Letters were sent to the Chambers of Commerce of seventy cities for which we had no or few pictures in our collection. As a result the Society received seventy-five pictures representing seven cities. Other cities have asked through their local newspapers for pictures and we hope later to receive more.

In February a catalogue case was purchased for the picture catalogue and we now have a convenient index containing approximately 30,000 cards.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Sixty-one manuscript volumes and 1,622 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

Of outstanding importance among these recent accessions are the diaries of Isaac T. Goodnow covering the period 1834-1894, in forty-five small volumes. They were the gift of his niece, Miss Harriet Parkerson, of Manhattan. Isaac Goodnow came to Kansas territory in 1855 and settled near Manhattan. In 1857, with Joseph Denison, Washington Marlatt and others he established Bluemont College, which later became Kansas State College. Goodnow served as superintendent of public instruction and was land commissioner for the M. K. & T. railway. He was prominent in local and state affairs for nearly forty years.

Fifteen letters by Charles Robinson to his wife, 1857-1862, have been added to the Robinson papers.

An unusual diary is that of George H. Hildt for the year 1857. Hildt, with companions from Canal Dover, Ohio, took up land near Olathe, Johnson county, early in 1857. William Clarke Quantrill, later guerrilla chief, was a friend and neighbor.

Sixty-four photostat copies of letters and documents on file in the office of the U. S. commissioner of Indian affairs, relating to the Shawnee mission and the manual labor school, were added to the manuscript materials on those historic institutions. They are dated 1838-1865.

Through the courtesy of Atlanta university photostat copies of 47 letters by John Brown to Seth Thompson, 1826-1847, were secured; also copies of 17 letters by Franklin B. Sanborn, 1857-1858. The Brown letters relate mainly to business enterprises in which Brown and Thompson were associated; the Sanborn letters relate to affairs of the territory.

Generous permission was given the Society by J. E. Everett, of Brewster, N. Y., to copy a series of letters written by his parents, John R. and Sarah Everett, during the period 1855-1864 while they were residents of Miami county. These letters set forth in detail the circumstances of pioneer life and the political conditions of the period, and are of such unusual interest that the entire series will be published in the *Quarterly* during 1939.

Typing of the letters in the letter press books of Thomas Ewing, Jr., and the Leavenworth law firm of Sherman, Ewing & McCook, 1857-1861, has been completed by a typist on the WPA project. Total number of letters copied is 919. Copies have also been made of various documents, including the minutes of the Connecticut Kansas colony, records of the Kickapoo town company, etc.

Workers on the NYA project have continued the indexing of the Society's correspondence volumes under the supervision of this division.

Gifts of manuscripts were made by the following during the year: Paul M. Angle; Mrs. J. A. Bacon; J. E. Bartholomew; J. W. Berryman; Mrs. Samuel J. Brandenburg; Annie M. P. Bundy estate; Mrs. B. E. Canfield; John Carter; J. T. Crawford; Mrs. J. H. Culbertson; Mrs. C. O. De Lap; W. H. Fernald; Ellsworth Fuller; R. W. Graham; Mary W. Greene; Myra E. Hull; Schuyler Lawrence; Mrs. George T. McDermott; Dr. Karl A. Menninger; Mrs. John Moore; H. Norman Niccum; Jennie S. Owen; L. Palenske; Harriet Parker-son; Mrs. Dwight H. Platt; Willard Raymond; Harold Root; Mrs. A. B. Seelye; Mrs. Ella D. Shaul; Mrs. John Siglinger; Mrs. Manie B. Specht; Donald W. Stewart; Oscar K. Swayze; Tecumseh Social Service Club; Mrs. K. Myrtle Smith Wheeler; William Allen White; Mrs. Evelyn Whitney.

STATE ARCHIVES

The Social Security act has increased the demands made on this Society, since applicants for old-age assistance must furnish proof of their ages. Individuals and welfare boards in nearly every county of the state have turned to us for help. In order to verify birth dates prior to 1911 it is necessary to check the official census records in our archives department or to make a search through the newspapers. During the past nine months we have issued 528 age certifications. Only occasionally is the information supplied by the applicant

definite enough to enable us to get the facts from the census immediately. During this time 2,277 census volumes and hundreds of newspapers have been consulted. Often it is necessary to devote hours in the search for a single name. This service has been provided without charge, as our contribution to social welfare, but it has become a rather serious problem. We also receive many requests from aged persons born in Kansas who are applying for assistance in other states.

During the year one WPA worker has been employed full time and other workers part time on the index of the 1860 census of Kansas begun last year. Names indexed to October 5 total 62,568. The names and other essential census data are posted on specially printed forms and are filed alphabetically.

The index of charters issued by the state, being prepared by WPA assistants, has been carried from 1855 to 1919. During the year 37,575 cards were added, the total now being 154,575. Nine volumes of amendments have been catalogued and the changes noted on original cards of the index. The value of this index was explained in the secretary's report last year.

The archives cataloguer and a WPA typist compiling a list of the "lost" towns of Kansas have forms partly filled out on 3,960 places. It is anticipated that this record of the towns that have disappeared in Kansas may total 5,000. Every phase of Kansas history is reflected in these town names. They come from Indians, explorers, businesses, railroads. They recall the strife over slavery. Many were brought from the Old World by foreign settlement and others have their source in religious cults. Some are descriptive of the flora and fauna of their locations and others are descriptive of their geological or geographical aspects. The range cattle era named some and the Civil War left its impress on many. There is comedy in many freak names and tragedy in the names of certain towns involved in county-seat fights. Statesmen and military officers were remembered, and many a farmer gave his own name or that of a woman of his family to many a lost post office. Frequently, in this connection, a change in name or location simply meant removal of the post office to another farmer's house.

NEWSPAPER SECTION

For several years the Society has considered using microphotography for preserving parts of its collections. Since camera equipment and materials for photographing newspapers on 35 mm. film cost several thousand dollars we do not expect to make photographs until a special appropriation to cover equipment, labor and materials can be secured from the legislature. Until then we expect to use the service offered by film laboratories where newspapers may be shipped and filmed at prices not at all unreasonable in comparison with other copy methods. A projector has been purchased and we hope to pick up for filming, as our funds will permit, rare files of Kansas newspapers heretofore not available to the Society's patrons. Filming of the Society's own newspaper collections that should be done will have to wait until more money is available.

In line of this policy we borrowed files of the *Abilene Chronicle*, 1870-1873, from H. W. Wilson, of Abilene, and the *Ellsworth Reporter*, 1871-1875, from Harold and Ned Huycke, of Ellsworth. Two rolls of film now in our film library were made from these newspapers by a subsidiary of the Eastman

Kodak Co., in Rochester. Both files carry much news of the early cattle business in these towns. Extra files have never come to light and it was gratifying to secure copies of them before they were lost to the Society forever.

For the first time the newspaper division has kept count of the number of patrons using its facilities and has noted the extent of newspaper materials requested. From January 1 to September 30, 3,797 patrons were registered. They consulted 5,407 newspaper bound volumes and 10,619 unbound issues.

The 1938 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. It shows 735 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly by the Society for filing. Of these, 61 are dailies, 14 semiweeklies, 490 weeklies, 27 fortnightlys, 12 semimonthlies, one once-every-three-weeks, 69 monthlies, 10 bi-monthlies, 21 quarterlies, 27 occasionals, two semiannuals, and one annual, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of the 735 publications, 170 are listed Republican, 45 Democratic, 281 independent in politics, 91 school or college, 29 religious, and 119 miscellaneous (including six Negro publications).

On January 1, 1938, the Society's collection contained 45,069 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to the more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to date. Additional steel shelving costing \$900, authorized by the 1937 legislature, has been installed. The new shelves provide storage for out-of-state newspapers which have been stacked on boxes and benches for twenty years, and for the first time in decades the entire newspaper collection is properly housed.

A collection of Emporia newspapers received from the office of Ted Newcomer, county clerk of Lyon county, was the outstanding old newspaper accession of the year. Chief among these was a very fine file of *The Kansas News*, published at Emporia from June 6, 1857, to December 20, 1878. Until receipt of these papers the Society had only three issues of the *News* dated before December, 1865. Other papers in this collection were *The Tidings*, April 13-December 28, 1894, the *Emporia Ledger*, January 8-November 19, 1874, and the *Emporia Weekly Republican*, January 26, 1882-December 27, 1894. Other gifts included fifteen bound volumes of the *New York Times*, July, 1914-January, 1917, from Dr. Arthur K. Owen, Topeka; miscellaneous newspapers and issues of *The Southern Kansas Herald*, *Miami County Argus*, and *Miami County Advertiser*, papers published in Paola in the 1860's and the latter two not previously represented in the Society's collections, from Ruth Field, Los Angeles, Cal.; *L'Estafette du Kansas*, French newspaper published at Leavenworth, December 25, 1858, from Grace Campdoras, San Diego, Cal., and miscellaneous newspapers from the State Library, Ralph T. Baker, Mrs. Clem C. Maurer, W. C. Epperson, Margaret E. Wallbridge, all of Topeka; Rupert Calvo, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. F. H. Hodder, Lawrence, and Gene Howe, Amarillo, Tex.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 33,637, an increase of 1,031 over the preceding year.

There were 64 accessions. The most important addition for many years was the airplane presented by Robert Billard of Topeka as a memorial to his brother, L. Phil Billard, who was killed in line of duty in France in 1918. It is a Curtiss type plane which was built in Topeka in 1912 by A. K. Longren. Mr. Billard had received requests from several institutions for this

plane and was offered \$25,000 for it. It is in splendid condition and attracts hundreds of visitors. On July 24 it was formally presented to the Society by Mr. Billard at a public meeting in Memorial hall. Sen. Arthur Capper, who is a director of the Historical Society and a long-time friend of the Billard family, made the principal address.

Another valuable accession was a replica of the first McCormick reaper, invented by Cyrus Hall McCormick in 1831. It was donated on behalf of the International Harvester Company by Cecil H. Wiley, manager of the Topeka branch.

Two collections of interesting historic objects were bequeathed to the Society in the wills of Annie M. P. Bundy and Kate King.

During the year the walls and ceilings in the museum were repaired and painted. All the pictures and exhibits were taken down and cleaned and repaired. The oil paintings were washed according to a formula provided by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; many of the frames were restored and new labels made. Also all silver and brass objects in the museum were cleaned and polished. In all, 619 pictures were restored between the first of March and the last of July.

All the birds in five of the large cases of the Goss collection were cleaned and the cases were repaired.

A project has been approved by the WPA for the construction of six dioramas for the museum. These dioramas will be five feet wide and will exhibit in three dimensions six outstanding scenes in Kansas history. This will be one of the most interesting exhibits in the museum.

It is impossible to list in this report all the accessions. The names of donors were: George A. Root, Annie M. P. Bundy estate, Clarence Messick, Carl Teichgraber, Kate King estate, Woman's Kansas Day Club, A. B. Griggs, C. B. Crosby, Cecil H. Wiley, Robert Pierce, Robert Billard, L. C. Oaklund, Harry L. Rhodes, all of Topeka; John O'Bennick and daughter Mary Tohee, Mayetta; Alice A. Scott, Olathe; Frank Brown, Soldier; Henry Clay Nahgonbe (Bear), Mayetta; L. A. Stone, Ottawa; Mrs. Harvey Hiskey, Robinson; Pierce R. Hobbie, Dodge City; Don DuCharm, Havensville; Lyman Hollis, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Anna L. Cook, Huggins, Mo.; J. W. Wallace, Long Beach, Cal.

ACCESSIONS

Total accessions to the Society's collections for the year ending June 30, 1938, were as follows:

Library:	
Books (volumes)	1,450
Pamphlets	3,818
Magazines (bound volumes).....	none
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	12,637
Manuscript volumes	17
Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	1,622
Volumes	61
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	97
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	762
Pictures	597
Museum objects	64

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

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines....	377,761
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,069,984
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	27,826
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	11,016
Pictures	18,341
Museum objects	32,912

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its seventh year, six volumes already having been published. Much of the credit for the high standard the magazine has achieved among the state historical magazines of the country should go to Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor, who is professor of history at Kansas University. Doctor Malin's criticisms of articles submitted is invaluable. Nyle H. Miller, newspaper clerk, deserves credit for his excellent work in checking all citations that appear in the magazine and preparing the manuscripts for the printer. The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Next year will be the one-hundredth anniversary of the erection of the first brick building at Shawnee Mission. Plans are now being made for the celebration of this event. The Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonial Dames, Daughters of American Colonists, Daughters of 1812 and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society will coöperate with the State Historical Society. The building was first ready for use in October, 1839, and tentative plans are for the celebration in October of next year.

In September the Society made application for a PWA project to restore the north building. In the budget requests submitted for the 1935 and 1937 legislatures an appropriation of \$25,000 was requested for this restoration. These requests were disallowed each time. If the PWA project is approved the federal government will assign \$13,750, leaving \$11,250 to be supplied by the state. It is hoped that if the project is approved the legislature will appropriate the state's quota. This building in many ways is the most interesting of the three. Almost all the original floors, partitions, mantels, lath and other woodwork are still in good condition.

To commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the mission the Society will publish an "Annals of Old Shawnee Mission." For the past six months Miss Martha Caldwell, a member of the staff, has been compiling a chronological record of the mission and school. In her research she has consulted scores of documents and books and has secured important records from the archives of the Methodist church, various government departments in Washington, and other sources. This manuscript now totals more than 600 pages. A selection will be made from this compilation in the form of a year-by-year record. Thousands of persons visit the mission each year and many ask if such a history is available.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol building, on Highway 40 in the Fort Riley reservation, continues to attract many visitors. During the year ending September 30, 1938, 13,282 persons stopped to inspect the building, about forty percent being from other states.

MARKING HISTORIC SITES

The Historical Society, in coöperation with a special committee of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce and the officials of the state highway department, have been working on a plan to mark and map the principal historic sites in Kansas. Following several meetings in the past two or three years the Historical Society tentatively selected 100 sites as worthy of marking. This work was done by George Root, who spent many hours checking the exact locations of the sites and verifying the events that make them historical. This list was submitted to the committee of the Kansas Chamber and as a beginning fifty will be selected for marking. The highway department has agreed to erect suitable signs and maintain them, and WPA officials will assist with material and labor. Some assistance will also be expected from local communities. The highway department is now working on blueprints of the proposed signs based on those being used in Montana, following a suggestion made last year at the annual meeting of the Historical Society by Charles H. Browne, of Horton. It is hoped that work can be begun on the erection of these signs within the next few months.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

This report would be incomplete without mention of the members of the staff of the Society. Last summer a member of the faculty of Washington University, St. Louis, who has conducted research in many of the large historical societies and libraries of the country, made the statement that the members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society were the most efficient and courteous of any he has met. The secretary is pleased to acknowledge 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.

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 19, 1937, to October 18, 1938

Treasury bonds on hand.....	\$3,500.00
Balance, October 19, 1937.....	1,771.05
Refund of money advanced for postage.....	310.00
Annual membership dues.....	121.00
Life membership fees.....	150.00
Refund of money advanced to janitor.....	15.00
Checks sent in for postage on volume VI of the <i>Quarterly</i>	1.75
Interest on treasury bonds.....	146.25
Check for volume XV, of the <i>Collections</i>	2.00
Total receipts	<u>\$6,017.05</u>

Expenditures:

Chairs for 1937 annual meeting.....	\$4.00
Announcements of 1937 annual meeting.....	18.40
Photographic work	78.00
Money advanced for postage.....	317.00
Installing airplane	55.55
Christmas checks for janitors.....	13.50
Notary commission	2.00
Hauling	7.50
Money advanced to janitor.....	15.00
Repair of Addressograph.....	2.06
Flowers	3.39
Manuscripts	39.00
Money advanced for WPA supplies.....	59.17
Expenses of Gustave R. Gaedert conducting the Mormon delegation across Kansas along the route of the Mormon battalion,	39.80
Expenses of Nyle H. Miller attending the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.....	64.32
Traveling expenses of secretary and members of staff.....	298.86
Subscriptions	116.00
Total expenditures	<u>\$1,133.55</u>
Balance, October 18, 1938.....	<u>4,883.50</u>
	<u><u>\$6,017.05</u></u>
Balance consists of—	
Treasury bonds	\$3,500.00
Cash	1,383.50
	<u><u>\$4,883.50</u></u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$950.00</u>
Balance, interest, October 19, 1937.....	\$32.31
Interest from October 19, 1937, to October 18, 1938.....	28.95
Total receipts	<u>\$61.26</u>
Expenditures:	
New Hampshire books bought of Frank J. Wilder.....	7.60
Balance, October 18, 1938.....	<u><u>\$53.66</u></u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$500.00</u>
Balance, interest, October 19, 1937.....	\$54.55
Interest from October 19, 1937, to October 18, 1938.....	14.52
Total receipts and balance October 18, 1938.....	<u><u>\$69.07</u></u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

The interest from this fund of \$1,000 is deposited in membership fee fund.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY EMBREE, *Treasurer.*

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

The report of the executive committee on the treasurer's report was read by John S. Dawson, as follows:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 18, 1938.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the accounts of the treasurer have been audited by the state accountant and they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Member of the Executive Committee.*

On motion of H. C. Raynesford, seconded by I. B. Morgan, the report was approved.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Thos. Doran in the absence of the chairman, Dr. James C. Malin:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 18, 1938.

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: Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence, president; Thomas M. Lillard, Topeka, first vice-president; Dr. James C. Malin, Lawrence, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman,*
THOMAS F. DORAN,
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
GRACE D. M. WHEELER.

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 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, William Allen White.

The annual address, by Mr. White, follows:

Address of the President

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

WE will be in order, and I believe, according to the printed program and the instructions of your secretary, who really is my boss, that it will be my job to open the meeting with what is commonly known as the "President's Address." And I shall take occasion to express to this Society my gratitude and appreciation for the distinction which they have given me in electing me their president, and I hope during the year I have not been insensible of the honor. I trust that I have paid some attention to the job.

I have tried to make as distinguished a meeting as we could have in the way of a program, and this evening, if I may advise our hearers, we shall have a dinner at the Jayhawk, of which Mr. Lloyd Lewis, one of the really significant biographers in America, whose book, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet*, has been so widely acclaimed, will speak to us about the early days of Kansas, up to the death of Jim Lane.

Mr. Lewis, in getting the record of General Sherman, found his hero's Kansas connections, and going into the Kansas days of Sherman, he became interested in our border warfare. I believe now Mr. Lewis is writing a book, and is making some search in the files within this building. His book will be about "Bleeding Kansas"—a Kansas by the way that is past history, and is passed into beautiful memories, along with the Indian, the buffalo, the papaw, abolitionist, and I was about to say—the prohibitionist. This book, I am sure, and the research for this book, in a manner will be the shadow of his talk tonight.

I thought it might be fitting if your president in his presidential address could consider for a few moments the population sources of Kansas, and their effect upon the economic and social status of the Kansas that we know.

Each state in this union has its peculiar distinctions. There are differences between every two states—between even Vermont and New Hampshire, between Kansas and Nebraska, between Missouri and Arkansas, between any two bordering states that one may name. The differences are fundamental. It is difficult to say why those differences have been marked through the decades or the generations—why they persist. They cannot be entirely geographical—they are not entirely differences of blood. But perhaps the equation is blood plus topography and plus the geographical differences

that make the unique distinctions which separate one commonwealth in our union from another.

Kansas was an organized community even before it was a state, and as a state and territory is only a little more than eighty years old. Two generations, perhaps three, in these swiftly moving days, have seen Kansas rise from the virgin prairies to a commonwealth which is of its own kind, a peculiar community, different from any neighbor, quite another kind from Oklahoma. Our slight differences are obvious in climate and blood. But do these differences alone distinguish us from Nebraska, where the geographical features are not deeply different and a slightly different blood strain shapes our state's individuality? We are strongly unlike Missouri, which has a historical background widely different from Kansas—another topography, another annual rainfall, another physical inheritance.

Nearly eighty years ago a young, thin, gaunt man from Massachusetts, a graduate of Williams College, stood on a ridge near Atchison, when that part of Kansas had just been abandoned by the aborigines. He gazed up and down the Missouri river with its wide and lovely expanse. He looked across the ridge into Missouri and back over rolling Kansas hills. He had been here long enough to know how the great prairies back of the Missouri river rise in an incline four hundred miles westward toward the Rockies. There on a lovely autumn day, as he stood on that ridge, he went back in imagination nearly 300 years to the time when the first white explorer from the East came to Kansas. John J. Ingalls, a youth in his twenties, wrote what I think was the high-water mark of his genius, an essay entitled "Regis Loisel." You will find it in the old *Kansas Magazine*, describing the Kansas that was—the wild Kansas, the illimitable virgin prairies, the limpid streams that he saw, that held the Narcissian images of the early first explorers from the East—the French and Spaniards. What they encountered in scenery and, indeed, civilization, when they came into our state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ingalls saw unchanged as he stood looking toward the Missouri river there in 1855. The French and the Spaniards left along the streams some faint marks of their passing. The missionaries followed the voyageurs, founded missions in the southeast part of the state, left the names of two or three rivers in the interior of Kansas. Perhaps 100 miles eastward from the Kansas-Missouri border a few townships and creeks still bear French names. The French came without their women—often-

times they married the Indians, and their blood merged. The Indian blood was too strong for the southern European stock. That Mediterranean civilization crumbled and was no more important to Kansas today than that of the mound builder and the troubadour—a phrase I steal from John J. Ingalls.

When Ingalls came to Kansas in the 1850's only a memory was left of this civilization of southern Europe, Spain and France. It had touched Kansas as a visitor and left only slight marks of its passing. The first real influx of population into this state came to make Kansas a slave state. It was followed directly by those who would make Kansas free. The opposing forces came from the South, clashing with settlers from the Middle and New England states. The contest started in the eastern tier of counties. It reached westward perhaps fifty and seventy-five miles, and in some cases penetrated 100 miles from the border, but there it stopped. Manhattan and Emporia were Yankee outposts in the fifties. Thousands of settlers came, and would-be politicians followed, trying to get control of this state to make it into a state where slavery was not permitted—a state where slavery would never be allowed. They came in the 1850's—they founded the towns or blocked out counties in the eastern quarter of Kansas. Those from the North brought their families; those from the South, in the main, did not. They hesitated to bring their families and to settle permanently in a country where their slaves might not be permitted to remain boundmen. But the Southerners came—young men and middle-aged. They came for voting purposes. The New England groups brought their wives and children, established homes and settled down for good or ill. After 1860 New England blood prevailed.

This morning, downstairs in this building, I was looking on one of those tables where Kansas papers are displayed, and I saw there a copy of *The Kansas News*, published by P. B. Plumb in the middle 1850's. And on the first page of this paper is a two-column block filled with the names of the members of the Lecompton legislature—the slavery legislature. That block stares across the years. With that careful impartiality which characterizes the Kansas newspapermen, Editor Plumb entitled the names there "The Roll of Infamy." I was interested in that roll. I looked it over carefully. I'll tell you why:

When I came out of the shell of adolescence and attended my first Republican convention in 1888, I met in that gathering many men who had been in Kansas in the 1850's. I met in Republican

politics and in Kansas politics, active in the 1880's, scores of men who were part of the border warfare. But in that long list of members of the Lecompton legislature I looked in vain for the name of one man who was active in Kansas in the 1880's. The men on Plumb's "roll of infamy" had come to Kansas and gone as if they never were. The civilization of the South touched Kansas almost as lightly as the civilization of the Spanish and the French. That New England group which conquered Kansas, of which John J. Ingalls was a fair example, brought here the torch of learning, brought here the culture of New England, brought here the political institutions from New England and the Middle West. These Abolitionists made our constitution a copy of the constitution of Ohio and of certain New England states. Our county system comes from the Middle states modified from New England in one or two generations. This prewar group that adopted the Kansas Free-State constitution marked us. For Kansas in 1860 was still in embryo, still in the process of gestation. Go through any town today in Kansas to the east and north of Emporia, and you will see the houses built in the 1870's and the late 1860's that might have been set down out of balloons from any New England town. You see the architecture, the general set-up of the towns, white houses with green blinds, in elm groves and wide green lawns that still persist in our Eastern towns, and still show New England in the passing.

After Kansas was made a free state came the war. Those Free-State men out of New England and the Middle states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana went to the war almost as one man. I believe Kansas had a larger proportion of veterans in the Civil War on the Northern side than any other state in the union. Which of course does not mean that we had more soldiers there, but rather that more Kansans went to war in proportion to our population than soldiers from other states. We were intensely union and intensely loyal to the union cause. These soldiers, returning in 1865, brought with them a host of Civil War comrades.

I suppose one of the economic reasons why we gained Northern settlers so largely in proportion to our total population was that the Civil War veterans, following the surrender at Appomattox, came West looking for free lands to which their war service entitled them. Probably in Kansas we had more bottom land and a fairly equable climate—more than any other Western states. To the north of us Nebraska was a little colder than Kansas. To the

south of us was the Indian territory. In the 1860's and 1870's, when the great flood of population surged westward after the Civil War, the young veterans of that war took up their service claims in Kansas. I saw them in their 30's when I was a child. I remember today how like the World War veterans they were. The Civil War boys had the same fighting young faces, they had the same lovely girls at their sides. They spoke then with the same Yankee twang—either out of New England, Illinois, Ohio or Indiana—that our Kansas veterans use today.

These young Civil War veterans who came into Kansas in the 1860's and 1870's and 1880's brought with them their institutions from the Northern states, mostly, I should say, from the Northern Middle states, a blood strained out of New England through the Ohio valley. The veterans found a fair free land.

They pushed the settlements in the decades of the 1860's, 1870's and even to the early 1890's. They urged a wave of Civil War veterans clear across the state, but it stopped, so far as permanent settlement was concerned, somewhere about half way across Kansas. In the seventies a wave of veterans and their young wives climbed the great hills from Salina to Hutchinson westward. They settled on the high prairies there. They tried to establish on the high plains in western Kansas the same methods of farming they had learned in Ohio and the northern Mississippi valley. Those methods worked in the Kansas east of Salina, in Kansas east of Hutchinson. But they failed on the high plains of western Kansas.

All over Kansas these Middle Western Yankees, these young soldiers of the Civil War, set up their own kind of a commonwealth, dominated by the political Puritan. They builded townships, cities and counties upon a belief in the moral government of the universe. In their yearnings they fabricated their own Utopias. They tried to set up a community that was a reflection of their own God's wisdom. So they attempted to establish a sort of theocracy. Moreover, they all joined the G. A. R. It dominated Kansas politics for 30 years: kept the state a rock-ribbed Republican plutocracy for thirty years after Appomattox—a plutocracy with benevolent aspirations. One of the early manifestations of this desire to establish a moral government in their commonwealth was prohibition. The settlers had begun to assail the saloon heavily even before prohibition was adopted in 1880. Indeed, temperance associations of one sort and of another by

that time had made a considerable portion of Kansas dry. We were a dry state even before prohibition.

I detour here a moment to talk about this prohibition amendment because it had a serious effect on our ethnology and social formation. You old men may remember in the 1870's and 1880's America was receiving a great influx of Germans, Scandinavians, Hollanders coming into Kansas, Wisconsin, Dakotas, in large numbers. But when in 1880 the prohibition amendment was adopted, when in 1882 we attempted to enforce it, and when it was a major issue during the 1880's we did not get the German who loves his beer. There are few German settlements in Kansas; some Scandinavians—only a few—and so Kansas, from the middle 1880's until today, has had a static population—a population bred of New England blood.

Kansas has not grown in numbers much. The stagnation was the result largely of prohibition, because the people from northern Europe did not like the prohibition idea. We got whatever population we had from the Middle states, who were out of New England; directly or indirectly we descended from the Puritans, who believed as we did, in a moral government established by the Kansas legislature. This Puritanical longing for the Kingdom of God on earth accounts for what might be called our ethnological difference from the rest of the Missouri valley states. Many Bohemians live in Nebraska; Minnesota is filled with people from the Scandinavian—even the Lindberghs and others. What we did get in the 1880's was the Mennonite, who came into Kansas in the middle 1870's—a great horde of them, and kept coming until the middle 1880's—and settled in middle western Kansas in comparatively great numbers. They have added distinction to the cultural values of our state. But they are also a highly religious people. They believed in a moral government of their universe and "the Kingdom." They differed from the Puritans only in that they spoke German.

And also like the New England Pilgrims, the Mennonites had been wandering over Europe—out of Spain to Holland, from Holland to Russia, where Catherine granted them privileges for 100 years. But at the end of the 100 years the Russian czars became reactionary, so the Mennonites rose like a horde of locusts and came to America, and we probably got more than any other Western state. They have given us the things the Yankees had—thrift, diligence and a strong tinge of religious feeling. By the middle

nineties the great migrations from Europe to middle western Kansas had been completed. But we had acquired little of that population. We remained as we were in 1850 so far as blood was concerned—excepting a few Scandinavians, a large settlement of Menonites. We remain essentially New Englanders—essentially a Puritanical type. We were different in blood and in ideals from the Nebraskans, from Missouri, from Colorado. We had a peculiar slant at life. We were basically diligent, thrifty, property-minded Republicans. We have carried this slant at life through the generations. But in 1890 and 1891 the great migrations from Europe—northern Europe—were over. After that, whatever America received was from southern Europe. It made an industrial population, not rural. Those settlers remained in Eastern America and the Atlantic seaboard, and Kansas was touched lightly by the influence of the southern Europeans. Only three counties, Wyandotte, Crawford and Cherokee, harbored these Slavic and Mediterranean people.

So Kansas remains, so long as it has no great industrial enterprises, pretty much the same kind of state it was in the 1850's, 1860's and 1880's.

When the great migrations were over at the turn of the century, when all America was builded, when the railroads were finished in the 1890's, when all the wires were laid, when all the city streets had been blocked out, when all the pipes had been laid under all the cities that had been formed in this land of ours, suddenly the upward spurt of prosperity that had been carried through three decades ceased. America ceased to expand. Then came the economic shock of the major depression of the middle nineties. That major depression found Kansas in debt. We had built our towns, our railroads, our whole economic life, on borrowed money. We were New Englanders. A natural reaction came. The Kansas Yankee, deciding to boss his own household, rose and we went into an economic revolt in the 1890's with the Populists. It was purely agrarian, Puritanical in its enthusiasm—not unlike the great anti-slavery revolutionary movements that swept through the country in the 1840's, 1850's and 1860's. The Populists took Kansas, overturned the political dynasty for four to six years, swept the Republicans out of office, and for two administrations, at least, gave us a Democratic or Populist or whatever-you-will administration. But the Populists left almost no constitutional changes. I may be wrong, but I think out of that came the eighteen-months redemption

law, and I think that was almost all that was left out of that Populist uprising that still remains of the days when Kansas was in a left wing Puritanical revolt. Yet that Populist revolt went into our blood deeply. It must have immunized us, because since then in the first decade of this century the northern Western states of Minnesota, the Dakotas—have seen agrarian revolutions. But Kansas remained steadfast after she returned to her Republican political home in 1898; Townley from Dakota came to Kansas—not a ripple. We have never paid much attention to Townsend. The Klan left us cold. I think we got such a bad dose of radicalism in 1890 it still remains in our blood.

The middle 1890's brings on another phase of Kansas economic and social growth. Let us briefly review our social history: first, the Puritan, who came in the 1860's; second, the settlers who came in the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's, and then the third phase began in the middle of the 1890's, and we saw another great wave of assault going up the hill to the high Kansas plains—going up the inclined plains west of Wellington, Salina and Hutchinson to the Colorado line. Then we discovered wheat—winter wheat! With that discovery a successful attack was made on western Kansas. The settlement that followed the discovery of winter wheat in western Kansas was an entirely different kind of movement from that of the group of pioneers who tried to go and maintain homes there in the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's. The wheat growers formed a younger group. They found there the old nestors on the high plains who had gone to remain through droughts and hard times—and this younger group began to build a civilization on wheat in western Kansas.

Then in the first decade we suddenly realized Kansas was two states. Really that is most significant in our politics and in our economic organization. The part of Kansas from the Missouri line to Hutchinson, Wellington, Salina is different in soil, different in climate, in rainfall, and by reason of those differences is entirely different in its economic needs and in its social formation from the Kansas lying to the west of the 100th meridian to the Colorado line. In the eastern half of Kansas is an alluvial soil much like the soil of the Mississippi valley, from Salina eastward to the Alleghenies—a rich, deep, alluvial soil. It is possible for a man to live comfortably on a farm of from 200 to 240 acres. He may be fairly self-sufficient, if he will, and in the Kansas of the 1870's,

1880's and 1890's he was fairly self-sufficient. But in western Kansas we have a sandy soil—a different soil, a different altitude two or three hundred miles west of Newton from 1,500 to 3,300 feet at the Colorado line, which means a different rainfall. All these differences account for the fact that the settlers who went into western Kansas after the coming of winter wheat made an entirely different civilization from the civilization of those who stopped in eastern Kansas in the last decade of the old century and in the first decade of this century. The western Kansas wheat farmers undertook a civilization based on farming in larger units. The survival quality of a farmer who could run a large farm or large ranch in western Kansas were different qualities from those which made men successful in eastern Kansas. The westerners made a civilization of bright, clean, vigorous towns up to 3,000 in population and down to hamlets of one hundred. This bright western Kansas town was the center of the new agricultural order where men grew wheat and cattle. Eastern Kansas is an industrial area, an agrarian industry, composed of farms of 160 acres or such a matter. Here the farmer has a bunch of cattle growing or bought in Kansas City. Farmers in eastern Kansas flourish in a small way raising a diversity of crops. They live on their farms. They are small farmers. Except in the Flint Hills, these eastern Kansans are barn-lot cattlemen, self-sufficient farmers. In western Kansas we have another type of civilization—not that the small farmer does not persist—not that he cannot, if he will, win if he can take the handicaps. Here in eastern Kansas we have a fairly settled population, while in western Kansas we have a sort of migratory population which moves to other climes when the hot winds rise and the crops are baked—another kind of state with different institutions and different social viewpoints. Yet the two states are living in harmony. Seventy percent of the people of Kansas do not realize we are operating under a two-state system.

Occasionally a quarrel between the two states breaks out in the state legislature, and, I think, much out of proportion to the importance of the question and population. But western Kansas runs the show for two reasons—a single vote in a county in western Kansas means vastly more in the Kansas state government than a single vote in any county in eastern Kansas. I am represented in the house of representatives at Topeka by a man who represents 14,000 people. If I lived in Morton county I would be one of 3,000

who controlled a member of the legislature. So out there they have more power—more political power—than we have in eastern Kansas, and they use this power with intelligence and I think with moderation.

Each of our two inner states of Kansas enjoys itself. But each is a different kind of economic, and to an extent, a different kind of social civilization. I think on the whole western Kansas is more individual—more of the old Puritanical civilization than here in the eastern half. But these waves of population settling the two topographical parts of Kansas have made Kansas what it is. We have learned the art of compromise in Kansas. We have had to compromise in and for successful government. Without a sense of compromise, without our democratic background, these two states long ago would have been up in arms. Instead we have gone on peacefully and scarcely known we live in two states—two good law-abiding states—yet they are one political world. Possibly not one Kansas citizen in 100 knows the peculiar social and political problems that we must meet in Topeka, divergent interests that have to be moulded to make public opinion in Kansas. This legislative compromise has made for intelligent knowledge of public affairs among our Kansas leaders. It has made us perhaps more a state of politicians than most of the American states. We have learned to live together—people with somewhat antagonistic interests. We have learned neighborly understanding—we have learned many necessary things to weld a democratic people in one political unit; and we have kept always in mind the fact that each part of Kansas had its own problems to consider, that all of us had our common problems to consider. This has given us a certain reasonableness and has provided Kansas with a considerable intelligence in handling public affairs. So today we are not only first in wheat, but first in freedom. I should say we have accomplished much. I think we may reasonably say that we are solving our economic problems. We have bitter and terrible privation in some sections of the state. Some of our farmers have lost their farms and homes. Of course we have in our towns and cities thousands on relief. But I should say here 75 or 80 percent of the people live on a common standard. We wear about the same kind of clothes. We live in the same kind of houses and eat the same kind of breakfast food. Our social habits are about the same. We go to the common schools and attend the same colleges. Do you realize that there

are more college students out of Kansas and Iowa and Nebraska in proportion to our population than go from any other three states in the union? In higher education we are in a class by ourselves. These things indicate a distribution of our wealth and economic justice which we have achieved on our Kansas prairies and high plains. It is not Utopia, of course. There is much yet to be done, but we have undoubtedly achieved much toward the ideal of the fathers who founded this state. If your father and my father could come back today and see the privileges that our children enjoy, whether their children may be rich or poor, if the founding fathers could see the towns we have built—most of them not overburdened with debt, if they could see our state and look at our state institutions operating with all the imperfections of a democracy—if our fathers could come back from where they rest and see the Kansas we have, it would be very close to their Utopian dreams. We have in deed and in truth made the West, as they the East, the home-
stead of the free.

At the conclusion of Mr. White's address, Guy L. Whiteford, of Salina, gave a talk on the Indian burial pit near Salina and illustrated his talk with a large photograph.

Fred W. Brinkerhoff made a short talk on marking and mapping historic sites. This was followed by a brief discussion of the plan and sites to be marked.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors of the Society was then called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

OCTOBER 18, 1938.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations begs leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1941:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.
Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.
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.

Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Morehouse, Geo. 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.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
 Van Tuijl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.

Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 White, William Allen, Emporia.
 Wilson, John H., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman*,
 THOMAS F. DORAN,
 MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
 GRACE D. M. WHEELER.

On motion of Robert Stone, seconded by Thomas A. Lee, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1941.

The reports of representatives of other societies were called for.

Reports were submitted from the Douglas County Historical Society by Mrs. Lena V. Owen, of Lawrence; the Riley County Historical Society by Mrs. Medora H. Flick, of Manhattan; Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society by Mrs. Elizabeth Harder, and the Kansas Catholic Historical Society by Father Angelus Lingens, of St. Benedict's College, Atchison.

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 then called to order by Mr. White. 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: Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence, president; Thomas M. Lillard, Topeka, first vice-president; Dr. James C. Malin, Lawrence, second vice-president.

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

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1938

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1939

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Browne, Charles H., Horton.
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.
 Gray, John M., Kirwin.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., 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.
 Morrison, T. F., Chanute.

Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1940

Austin, E. A., Topeka.	Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Berryman, J. W., Ashland.	Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Brock, R. F., Sharon Springs.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Davis, John W., Hugoton.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Wark, George H., Caney.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.
Kelley, E. E., Garden City.	Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1941

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Morehouse, George P., Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomic.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	White, William Allen, Emporia.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.	

DINNER MEETING

William Allen White presided at the dinner meeting for 229 members and friends of the Kansas State Historical Society held in the Hotel Jayhawk, beginning at 6:30 p. m. Lloyd Lewis, biographer, playwright and dramatic editor of the Chicago *Daily News*, was the featured speaker. His address follows:

The Man the Historians Forgot

LLOYD LEWIS

Members of the Kansas State Historical Society:

NOT long ago, at a luncheon in Chicago, your president, William Allen White, and I made the discovery that a certain Kansan, who has been dead down among the roots of your grass for more than seventy years, was a mutual favorite of our lives—and apparently of nobody else's.

And Mr. White said that I must come out and tell your Society what I had learned about this dead Kansan. I replied that almost everything I had found out had come from your own State Historical Society, and that this dead Kansan would have been forgotten entirely if your Society hadn't been the kind of Society it was—and is—one of the best of all historical libraries, in that it has preserved not only the writings and memoirs and documents of important people, but of the plain people, the masses whom more pontifical and less intelligent historical societies ignore.

The man is your first senator, James H. Lane, who has been crowded out of the schoolbooks and the histories of the nation, and whom various forces might well have eliminated from Kansas' memory, too, if your collections hadn't preserved the record.

Where a man stands in history depends upon who keeps the record; more than that, it depends upon who lives to keep the record. If you are a favorite of the literary men, the history professors, the clergy, you have a head start toward a place in history. So much of the importance of New England in history is due to its early corner on the literary men, the book publishers, the college professors. We are not yet free, as a nation, from the historical prejudices of the New Englanders. For the sake of objectivity there are still too many midland biographers and historians and professors blandly adopting the historical viewpoints of New England—a natural thing, perhaps, for men whose dream it is to be called some day to a full professorship at Harvard.

New England never liked Kansas' most influential citizen of the 1850's and 1860's. That is one of the reasons—there are others—why the schoolbooks of America either have no mention at all of Jim Lane, or merely dismiss him with a few sneering phrases. James H. Lane was a Westerner, an Ohio river man; he chewed tobacco when he could borrow it; he was divorced; he didn't pay his debts; he took

the name of his Lord God in vain—and in stride, he made no efforts to halt the fabulous tales of what his contemporaries described as his “worship at the shrine of Venus,” and he only laughed when he was branded as the father of political corruption west of the Mississippi river. Such a man was not to be understood by the elegant authors of New England—the Brahmins who in that day decreed what was good taste in literature.

James Henry Lane came barging into Kansas from Indiana in the spring of 1855, when the fate of the new territory was hanging in the balance between slavery and freedom. Across in Missouri the powerful political machine of Sen. David Rice Atchison was dictating the policy of Kansas, and from Washington the greater power of Pres. Franklin Pierce’s administration was aiding the proslave forces.

Pitted against these formidable machines was only one organization in Kansas—a little nest of New England Abolitionists in Lawrence—Emigrant Aid Society colonists, whose very “Yankee” presence was enough to drive the border civilization of Missouri to a frenzy. At the head of the Lawrence New Englanders was Dr. Charles Robinson—a physician, not a politician, although he learned something of politics—a cool, calculating man, but without the training to match Atchison and the payrollers of the federal machine in politics.

With him was Old John Brown of Osawatomie, who scorned politicians, and dreamed of blood and war, the sword of the Lord and Gideon. Brown’s experience in swaying other men’s minds had been limited to a brief career as an unsuccessful wool merchant. He was a child in the hands of the slick politicians on the proslave side, and did commit, in time, a major blunder, the Pottawatomie massacre. Brown, the fanatic, said little and struck hard; Lane, by contrast, said much and killed few. Brown offended, Lane persuaded. Brown was a great failure in Kansas, Lane a great success.

Into Kansas were pouring midlanders, farmers from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Kentucky—men anxious to get land and not caring much about slavery except that they didn’t want it where they were, cutting the price of labor.

The bulk of this vote was unexcited, unintense, very cool toward the evangelistic, coercive, New Englanders. It was a scattered vote, with nothing to bind it together to vote effectively for Free Soil.

In this extremity of the Free-State population, there appeared Jim Lane, ex-congressman from Indiana, ex-lieutenant-governor, son of the political boss of southern Indiana, wheelhorse of Stephen A.

Douglas who was the great politician of the midlands. Lane was a trained and veteran politician, and a gifted one—a master organizer, a highly intelligent man. He came from Indiana where the babies to this day cut their teeth on a poll book, and he proceeded to poll Kansas. A Democrat he had been—and still remained across four more years—a typical Andy Jackson Democrat of the Ohio river regions. But he could count, and he saw that slavery was doomed if the *votes* could be counted. And he was the man to do it—and he did it—and while John Brown comes to the mind when “Bleeding Kansas” is mentioned, it was really Lane who did more than any other one soul to make Kansas free. He knew the tricks with which to overcome Sen. Davy Atchison from Missouri; he knew the ruses with which to outlast, outmaneuver the whole administration machine from Washington. It took a powerful politician to meet such odds, but Lane met them. And largely because his methods weren’t of the purest, nor his devices of the most admirable variety, the idealists among the New England colonists disliked him. Their leaders resented the slow craft with which Lane absorbed them—the real pioneers—drew them into the main Free-State party which he came to dominate and which was ruled eventually by the midlanders, the Westerners themselves.

The New Englanders outlived Lane; they had a stronger hold on the sources of national publicity, on the educational system, and, to a large extent, they wrote Lane out of history, once he was dead—and he *was* dead eleven years after his Kansas career began.

There was a still larger class to want him out of history—the well-born and the well-fed. Lane was for the masses, the rag tag and bob tail, so the conservatives didn’t admire him, although they frequently couldn’t resist him. And when he was dead and his tremendous personal charm had vanished with the Pied Piper music of his voice—many of those who had followed him tried to fatten their own self-esteem by trying to pretend that he had been nothing but a trivial joke in their lives and in the life of Kansas—an error, I assure you.

Clergymen, as a class, tried to forget him. They had a natural resentment against him because he had made a tool, a jest of their craft. And the clergy, with their close connection with colleges and public education, have been a power in the shaping of history.

One of his greatest strokes of genius—and he *was* a genius—was to turn the pulpit into the stump at any time, anywhere. It was a thing many men tried to do in that day, but nobody ever did it

like Lane. Your Historical Society's collections have word pictures of him at such times—a strange, magnetic man in his middle forties, six feet tall, slender, wiry, nervous, tremendously alive. He burst with vitality—his voice was hypnotic. His hair was long and reckless, and above his ears black locks curled like horns.

There was always the hint of Mephistopheles about him—or of Dionysus, the god of revelry, who loved the plain people and spent his life with them. His eyes baffled men who tried to describe them—they were deep-set and dull when he was quiet; black diamonds, reporters called them, when he was speaking. The touch of genius and its cousin, madness, always there somewhere behind the glaze or the flame.

He had a wide, loose mouth, as mobile as that of a Shakesperian "ham" actor. He was, indeed, an actor, an artist—perhaps a great artist. Astute critics thought him the man of his time who could sway crowds most wholly to his will. A curious mesmerism would flow out from his gestures, his voice, his thoughts, a magnetic overtone that held crowds laughing, weeping or gritting their teeth, just as he willed. His voice could be a bugle call, or a lullaby.

He had what all great artists have—the power to make the thing they imagine and conceive pass out from themselves and possess other minds.

Again and again is it recorded that Jim Lane's enemies feared to meet him lest they be charmed out of their principles.

If there were time I could cite you book and verse on the occasions when this vivid and electric man rose before hostile audiences and slowly, craftily, won them to his cause—a Marc Antony oration on the plains. He could rise in front of a crowd where Western rivermen and horsemen stood fingering their revolvers and vowing to kill him, and within thirty minutes he would have them shouting "yea" to a resolution endorsing him for President of the United States.

It is no wonder that the circuit-riding preachers of his day thought him Satan—Satan in coonskin—for he never knew what he wore, anymore than what he ate. Rags or broadcloth, he didn't care which, and sometimes he wore a vast black fur coat all summer long and never noticed.

He never bothered to attract men's eyes, it was their ears he wanted. "Give me your ears," was all he asked. He wrote few letters, and left no testaments to history—always a bad thing to forget if you want to live in history. Whenever his political enemies

had captured a community with tales of his sins, political or personal, there Jim would go and weave his vocal enchantments again. A camp-meeting suited him best for these returns from Elba. It was his delight to let it be known that he'd be there, then ride up in the night, steal into the back of the singing or bowed congregation, then go forward, kneel, then arise and make public confession of his sins. Slowly the evangelist in charge of the meeting would fade out, and there in his place would be Jim, reciting the human frailties of his life, recounting the gaudy temptations that beset him, picturing the picturesque frailties which struck him down even in the high places he had trod, and winding up by begging the farmers for their forgiveness now and their votes Tuesday. The compliment was one the voters did not care to resist, and in an incredibly short time Jim Lane became the most powerful, influential—and I suspect the most intelligent—political figure in the territory, and by the time statehood came, Jim Lane was the political boss of Kansas—one of the first personal state bosses of a type since familiar all over America.

After Jim Lane was dead many religious people said that he, in rejoining the Methodist church so often, had only used the sacred institution of conversion to gain political power. But it is not so simple and easy as all that, for Lane had a native love of drama; the theatrical elements in churches had a powerful natural appeal to him. There were no theaters on the frontier, and the camp-meeting supplied music, lyric oratory; it was filled with suspense while the saved wrestled with Satan for the souls of the unsaved.

In the 1850's and 1860's there was a simple formula for stump oratory: Get up, say that somebody had said something about you, repeat it twice, and then say "it ain't so." Lane took that common formula, made himself the king of Kansas—he took that formula and went to the United States senate.

He would get up on a box or endgate of a wagon anywhere on the plains, and cry "They say Jim Lane is illiterate," and then disprove it by the eloquent and touching statement that his mother had come from Connecticut. He would shout, "They say Jim Lane is a murderer," and then refute it by asking people to remember how he had given his only horse to the ladies of Lawrence to start a public library.

He would begin, "They say Jim Lane is a libertine," and demolish the charge by saying that he had been 21 years old before he ever smoked a cigar, swore an oath or kissed a girl, and that he loved all

virtuous ladies, particularly his darling wife. He would croon that so gently that his listeners would forget how his darling wife had left him and gone home to Indiana.

Well educated, cultured, born into the distinguished pioneer family of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, Mrs. Lane had borne with this roving husband for years. She had seen him rush off to the Mexican war; seen him course the state of Indiana making speeches; she had followed him to Kansas, but she had struck at being left in the raw, lonely frontier night after night while he rode the border, drumming up votes for freedom.

So she went back to the Southern culture of the Ohio river town of Lawrenceburgh, Ind., got a divorce on the grounds of desertion, and thought to marry again. But somehow she didn't. And after two years of reading of the exploits of her husband back in "Bleeding Kansas," she saw that Jim was sweeping through Indiana and Ohio stumping for the Republican party. And there came a day when the door burst open, and what did she do?—Just what Kansas always did—she flew into Jim's arms.

She knew his faults, and she knew he would never change. She knew she was going back with him to a life of loneliness, relieved by nothing but the creditors knocking at the door. She knew that she and the children would go hungry, but she also knew that always, sooner or later, the door would be bursting open and Jim rushing in, his hair flying, his eyes blazing, and his tongue cascading those winning, wooing words again.

The truth of the matter seems to be that Jim Lane seems to have loved life and human beings more than most men are capable of doing. Often he would destroy an enemy politically and then get him a job.

He would make preposterous promises, and then when unable to fulfill them, would tell the outraged victims that he loved them still, and they would forgive him because they had a strong suspicion that it was true.

One of the most dramatic pieces of testimony comes from John Brown, Jr., son of Old Brown, who was more rival than friend of Jim Lane in "Bleeding Kansas." John Brown, Jr., told how on the night before Lane's election as senator by the revolutionary body of Free-State men here in Topeka, Jim came to his room in the Garvey house, asked him to vote for him tomorrow; and when he was told that Brown didn't approve, how Lane poured out compelling oratory, and finally inducted young Brown then and there into a

mysterious secret order, a new kind of lodge Jim was getting up—a fraternity which would fight the Missouri devils, fire with fire.

Thirty years later Brown remembered it. He wrote: "Never can I forget the weird eloquence of his whisper as he breathed into my ear the ritual of the first degree of the order, gave me the sign, the password, the grand hailing signal of distress, 'Ho Kansas.'" And Brown recalled how the next morning Lane gave him the emblem of the order, and, after Brown had duly voted for Lane, sent him home to organize his settlements. But that was all. Brown said Lane never did anything more and the great secret order died from Jim's lack of attention.

Lane had *used* Brown, and Brown *knew* it, yet after a third of a century Brown would still say, "But he had my heart and hand then; he has them still. I would not be divorced."

Albert D. Richardson, the famous correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, knew Lane well in Kansas, and summed him up like this, "For years he controlled the politics of Kansas even when penniless, carrying his measures against the influence, labor and money of his united enemies. His personal magnetism was wonderful, and he manipulated men like water. He had a sinister face, plain to ugliness, but he could talk away his face in twenty minutes."

Which brings us to a point which years ago I hastily rejected as impious when it first entered my head while reading about Jim Lane: "He could talk away his face in twenty minutes."

Precisely that same thing was said of another man of that time, a man whose career, whose antecedents, whose basic faith was so strangely like Jim Lane's. The man is Lincoln. For Jim Lane was a mixture of Huey Long and Lincoln, and I don't know but that he was more like Lincoln.

For after you have heard all the topsy-turvy tales about Jim Lane, even believed all the half-affectionate, half-scornful anecdotes of his stormy career, even accepted all the stories of his ruffish, scalawagism as partly true, you cannot laugh him off, or brush him aside. Always a figure of titanic accomplishment comes striding back through the fog. For when everything has been said and done, it was Jim Lane, more than any other man, who made Kansas free soil. He was the organizer of victory; he was the shrewd, scheming politician who knew what weakling to buy and what strong man to inspire. He was the man who called the neighborhood meetings by the side of the road, the mass meetings in churches, the delegate conventions in big halls. When civil war

came to Kansas in 1856 and the name "Bleeding Kansas" was on the front page of every newspaper and was the great theme for debates in the United States senate, it was Jim Lane who led the fighting men, riding the night, directing the raids, the burnings, the stratagems—wily as an Indian, dramatic as General Sheridan in the timeliness of his arrivals on the field.

Kansas laughed about him then, we laugh at him now, but just the same it was Lane who was the head of the executive committees, it was Lane who was chairman in the meeting of that Free-State experiment in revolution, it was Lane who was general of the fighting forces, Lane who wrote the resolutions, Lane who drafted the memorials and appeals for statehood, and when the Free-Soil men of Kansas territory had something formal to present to congress, it was Lane who was sent to do it.

Lane was a lawyer, but he had no time to practice; he was working for the cause of free soil. He took no time to earn money, because he was too busy with the cause of freedom. He might take a hasty flyer in real estate, then forget about it altogether.

Lane did believe in two things—perhaps only two in the whole realm of life—Kansas and freedom. Born in sympathy with slavery, he became one of the most effective orators and military planners for abolition. Born a Democrat, the son of the Democratic boss of southern Indiana, he became a pillar in the Republican party of the 1860's. He used every wile and trick in the realm of politics to save Kansas for freedom and the union for America. There was, I suspect, nothing he would not have done for the union. The same may be said of Abraham Lincoln.

Only the most innocent of people today still believe that Lincoln saved the union with beautiful words and tears. It took all the cunning—the almost Oriental type of cunning—in his sharp, deep mind to handle the voters so that the great purpose of his life, the salvation of the union, might be achieved.

Many of the Jim Lane men, fresh from the battles with Border Ruffians, went to Washington, D. C., in April, 1861, with Jim Lane, to gather around Lincoln in the White House and protect him from the threats of the Virginia mob.

Yes, when the dramatic hour came for Lincoln, and he was unarmed and practically alone in a Southern city with secession breaking like the surf around the White House, it was nobody but Jim Lane and a crowd of his war-hardened Kansas Jayhawkers who moved into the executive mansion and sat with their rifles waiting

for the Southerners who never came. It is quite likely a tragedy for the United States that Jim Lane and the Jayhawkers were not still there on an April night four years later.

Lincoln is martyred and goes into history too noble, too exalted to be linked any more with Jim Lane, who committed suicide. Yet, when both were living, Lane may be said to have been President Lincoln's political viceroy in Kansas, and sometimes, perhaps, in the whole regions west of the Mississippi river.

When Lincoln wanted to name a Democrat, Andrew Johnson, as his running mate upon the National Union ticket at the Baltimore convention in 1864, it was Lane whom he probably sent to engineer the delicate deal. Many men later claimed the honor, but the evidence points to Lane. When Lincoln began his campaign for renomination, it was Senator Lane whom he sent to open the drive in the East and in the West. Lane was the keynoter for Lincoln.

Lincoln himself once said that Lane was in the White House almost every day asking for favors for Kansas. The two men understood each other. Why not? Both were born near the Ohio river—Lincoln in Kentucky, Lane in either Kentucky or the Indiana shore—no one can be sure, since he would claim either birthplace, depending upon whether he was talking to a Southerner or a Northerner. Both were poor. Both received rudimentary educations.

In 1814 Lane's parents left Kentucky for Indiana. Two years later Lincoln's did the same. When Lincoln was nineteen he went to New Orleans on a flatboat and saw slavery in its auction-pen aspects. Lane was in his early twenties when he went to New Orleans on a flatboat, and saw the thing which he later described as having turned him against slavery. A friend left the boat and went up to a plantation to ask for work as a carpenter. The planter drew himself up and said, "I bought two carpenters this morning."

Lincoln in the 1830's was clerking in a general store in Illinois, Lane was doing the same thing in Indiana. Both went to the legislature. Both wanted to be senator and both were disappointed in their home state. Lincoln went to congress when he was thirty-five, Lane when he was thirty-seven. Lincoln was a soldier in the Blackhawk war, Lane in the Mexican war. Both studied law over the counter in country stores. Both, while young, were favorites of the wild boys of the pioneer civilization. Lincoln was popular with the uproarious Clary Grove gang. Lane was unpopular with his more sedate brothers because he was thick with the wild spirits along the Ohio river levee.

Both were six feet or over—wiry, thin, inexhaustible frontier types. Lane was energetic, Lincoln was lazy. Both loved to talk, and did it well. Both were humorists. Both dominated conversations, meetings. Lincoln was slow, Lane was fast; Lincoln disciplined his mind, Lane did not. Lincoln was great in many ways, Lane can only be said, as his enemies admitted, to have had greatness in him.

But both were cut to a familiar border pattern. Each represented the common change of the Western voter from Andy Jackson Democracy to the Andy Jackson Republicanism of 1856 and 1860.

Each had been retired after one term in congress and had been tossed back into what promised to be obscurity, until the Kansas issue rose on the political horizon. Lane went to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855 and rode the storm to his great ambition, the senate. Lincoln bestrode the Kansas issue in 1858 and rode the storm to the White House—his great ambition.

Do you wonder then, that Lincoln made Jim Lane one of the most significant exceptions in his administration? Lincoln's plan of organizing the federal volunteer army was to place the patronage, the commissioning of officers in the hands of the various state governors. But when it came to Kansas it was not the governor who had the control; it was the senior senator, Jim Lane, and there Lincoln held him, despite the roars of protest from Jim's factional enemies, and in spite of hints that the injustice would be corrected, till the end of the war.

And it was obviously with the acquiescence, if not secret orders of President Lincoln, that the constitution of the United States was strained in behalf of Lane. While still senator, Jim was commissioned a general in the army—a thing forbidden by the constitution. The announcements went forth; Lane didn't resign his seat; he took command of the Kansas army on the border, led a great raid into Missouri—a most effective raid from a military point of view—and in the face of an angry roar of protest, got away with it. Idolatrous biographers of Lincoln don't dig too deeply into it. It is all a mystery now. Papers were lost, official proof was missing, Jim showed that he had never signed his name as "major-general," only as "James H. Lane, commanding brigade"—the thing was glossed over—the constitution still lived—and the Missouri army had been kept out of Kansas.

For that is one of the ways nations are saved and wars won. In

times of stress and trouble the letter of the law didn't bother Lincoln much, nor Lane. There was a union to be saved.

And there is another strange story of Lincoln and Lane which the military men, the keepers of West Point tradition, do not explore too deeply. Early in the war, when the federal policy was to deal gently with private property in the South, to return all runaway slaves and keep the war aims solely that of preserving the union, Senator Lane came to Lincoln with a radical plan, not original with him in its generality, but specific with him in its concreteness.

Jim said that the milk-and-water policy of the West Pointers—the General McClellan school—was all wrong. He said the way to whip the South was not to jockey along the Mason and Dixon line, hoping to overawe the Southern states into a peaceful return to the old union as it was. He said it was time somebody got hurt. He said "slavery is the sore shin of the confederacy; kick it!" He said the way to break secession was to carry the war home to the civilian population. Make it feel the pinch, then it would call its armies to lay down their guns.

The President was very busy just then keeping radical generals from freeing slaves. He was broadcasting the policy of nonsavagery toward our Southern brothers. But he gave his assent to Jim Lane to organize a great raiding expedition at Leavenworth and invade the South, carry the war home to the people of Arkansas, Louisiana, perhaps Texas. Lane went west across Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, preaching the new crusade. Every soldier, he said, was to ride a horse like a knight-errant and be attended by a negro squire—both horse and negro being picked up along the way.

Volunteers came running. Half-organized regiments in Chicago broke away to join Lane. John Brown, Jr., led a band of volunteers from Ohio to join the man from whom he would not be divorced—and they brought to Kansas for the first time the new marching song "John Brown's Body Lies A-Mouldering In The Grave." All over the midlands voices were saying that Lane was the coming man—the soldier who would win the war. "The Lane policy" was debated in the newspapers. The legions began to gather, a Wild West army, cowboys, Mexicans, Indians, farmers, mechanics.

But Jim Lane's invasion was nipped in the bud, not by the confederacy but by the regular U. S. army clique. The West Pointers, the professionals, the academicians, hamstrung the venture. They bombarded Lincoln and the War Department with the charge that it was nothing but "Jim Lane's Great Jayhawking Expedition."

And Lincoln let it die. The army as a whole was more important than any part.

And in all the personal memoirs of the regular army men after the war, not one ever had the grace nor the insight to mention the now-obvious fact that what Lane had proposed doing in the winter of 1861-1862 was substantially what William Tecumseh Sherman did in the winter of 1864-1865.

What had been unthinkable when a Kansas politician proposed it was a proper and brilliant stroke of strategy when executed by a professional soldier three years later. "Jayhawking" became a great feat when the regulars performed it. The arming of negroes had been a mad idea when Lane had practiced it in 1861, but it was a noble measure when the army came to it two years later.

As a matter of fact, Lane had been an instinctive soldier as an Indiana colonel in the Mexican war and as Free-State general in the "Bleeding Kansas" revolution. His Kansas campaigns are models of how guerrilla warfare can be successful with a minimum loss of life. Lane's leadership of the Kansas volunteers in the Civil War was far wiser than the regulars ever admitted. You see, none of the professional people liked Lane—the army men were jealous of him, the clergymen had their natural resentment, the professional literary folk of New England disdained him, the legal profession had scorned him, partly because he ignored the law, and partly because he was reckless with such juries as he faced.

The importance of Jim Lane is not in the law, nor in the establishment of your Kansas institutions, although he was among the first to give land for your state university, nor in the railroads which he helped to bring Kansas—and he pulled wires, coaxed, bullied, intimidated capitalists till they gave the young and sparsely settled state its full share of the transcontinental roads then being built.

His national importance lies not in the fact that he loved Kansas and everything about it, but in the fact that he was among the first of all Americans to see the practical way of establishing a political party which would halt the extension of slavery.

Other men saw it too, but Lane was among them, at once more visionary and practical than most.

Lane saw that fusion was the way out of the dilemma which convulsed the nation after Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill shattered the old system of compromises by which the nation had been held together, half-slave and half-free. His mind was

the main forge in which the repellant metals of Kansas' early population were fused into a powerful political party—the one that triumphed in the end. To all intents and purposes the campaign was over within 18 months after Lane arrived. It could not be crowned for five years to come, but Kansas, as I read the record, was safe for freedom by the autumn of 1856.

Lane organized Fusion not as a Republican but as a Democrat. He fought to keep Kansas in the control of a party which should be merely Free Soil, neither Republican or Democrat. What that party should do, where it should go, he left up to old parties back East. Whichever would help Kansas the most would get his sanction. He took his story to Senator Douglas, the great Northern Democrat, and if Douglas had listened to him the history of America might have been spared the bloody pages of the Civil War. Lane had gone for fusion of Northern interests against the slave South by 1856. Douglas could not see as far ahead and turned it down.

National leader that he was, Douglas had drifted away from the common people; he did not know them in that moment as did Jim Lane. So he remained in the Democratic party, split it, lost the Presidency. If in 1856 he had been as quick as his former henchman, Jim Lane, to see that the Northern voters would unite in a new party, using Kansas as an issue, he might well have been its nominee in 1856 or 1860, or both. In which case Abraham Lincoln would have died revered and respected as merely the leader of the Illinois bar.

Stephen A. Douglas did not go for fusion in 1856—he had to wait five years for the light. But eventually he fused, in 1861, at the gates of Civil War.

Although Lane still shouted that he was a Democrat, an Antislavery Democrat, he came out of Kansas in 1856 to stump the Middle West and East for the new Republican party. It had resolved to help Kansas; in fact, its big issue was freedom for Kansas. It drew from the remnants of the Whig party, but its great appeal was to Antislavery Democrats—the old Andy Jackson men, on the hard and bony knees of Old Hickory had learned to hate the Secessionists of the Deep South.

And as the Republicans of 1936 made much of the Liberty League and Al Smith, so did the Republicans of 1856 star Jim Lane—with better results, however. In the campaign of 1856 Lane stumped back and forth across the regions east of the Mississippi, telling the tragic story of "Bleeding Kansas" and begging for all who loved

the memory of Andy Jackson to vote for Fremont and against Buchanan.

He was sent into Ohio, a pivotal state, to discredit the Democratic national convention at Cincinnati and to tell the voters that it was now nothing but a creature of the rich, the reactionary, the economic royalists and the malefactors of great wealth who had no sympathy with the white laborer and farmer. Lane's great meeting was scheduled for Chicago on the night of May 31—a Saturday night when the workingmen would be free, and the sailors in from the lakes and the longshoremen up from the docks, and the farmers across from the fields. For, make no mistake about it, the Republican party was a radical, almost a New Deal party in 1856. It was the masses against the classes.

To this great Chicago rally, which Lane was to headline, came many shouting delegates from Bloomington, Ill., where two days before Abraham Lincoln had crossed the Rubicon, left the Whigs and come out for Fusion.

And to add to the hysteria the telegraph had brought the news that the Proslavery Border Ruffians from Missouri had just burned the town of Lawrence, and that in Washington, a South Carolinian named Brooks had clubbed Senator Sumner of Massachusetts to the door of death because Sumner had spoken too violently in his philippic "The Crime Against Kansas."

Something like delirium—and revolution—was in the air, as the crowd, singing the "Marseillaise," saw Jim Lane, the hero of "Bleeding Kansas," actually appear before them on the platform.

In the newspapers of the midlands, letters had been appearing from Kansans asking, "Where is Jim Lane? Send him back to us. He is the only man who can save Kansas."

There were wild cheers as Lane was introduced there in Douglas' home town as the man who had renounced his leader and defied him for the cause of human liberty.

It was the moment for Lane's greatest speech, just as two days before in Bloomington it had been the moment for Lincoln's greatest speech up to that time. Lincoln had risen to the occasion with words so eloquent that reporters forgot to take it down and this, his "lost speech" became famous.

Lane, too, rose to the occasion so thrillingly that nothing but confused and hysterical reports were kept. The Chicago *Tribune* said, "Language is inadequate to describe the effect of his recital of Kan-

sas' tale of woes—the flashing eyes, the rigid muscles, the frowning brows."

What people remembered most was how, when the introductions were done, and wild cheers rose and crashed and eddied around him, "he stood there," as a witness tells us, "mouth firm shut, gazing with those wondrous eyes of his into the very heart of the throng. Before he spoke the fascinating spell of his personality had seized upon the whole vast audience—and for over an hour he controlled every emotion in that great gathering."

That night Jim Lane made Chicago see Kansas as a blackened and charred land, peopled with widows kneeling to kiss the cold white lips of husbands murdered by Proslavery Democrats; he made them see Kansas, which he called "the Italy of America," ravished and despoiled by butchers from Democratic Missouri; he made the large foreign-born population of Chicago roar with rage as he told how the Proslave power had denied the Irish and Germans citizenship in Kansas. He branded the federal administration as abettors of demons and assassins, and he held up that long bony forefinger like a tremendous exclamation point and warning light as he cried, "Before God and these people, I arraign Pres. Franklin Pierce as a murderer."

As he ended, pandemonium took the scene. Lane had let loose havoc and the dogs of war. Gamblers threw their pistols onto the stage, begging Lane to take them to Kansas and use them; sailors threw their wages onto the platform at Lane's feet; staid businessmen tossed in their purses; it is said newsboys cast their pennies up, women wept, men wept, the people milled around the platform singing, shouting.

They were the Commune that night, and Jim Lane was Danton, and it was all very well for our record as a safe and sane nation that the American Tuileries were 800 miles away.

Nor was it a passing craze of a single night. Next day it was found that \$15,000 had been pledged to raise aid for the revolutionists in Kansas, and that men were volunteering to go and fight the Proslavery armies which were backed by the federal power in the bleeding territory.

And some of the emigrants who did go from Chicago went with bayonets. And when the largest body rolled overland through Iowa and down into Kansas it was called "Lane's Army of the North." Not "settlers," not "49ers," not "emigrants," but an "army." It was the overture to the Civil War, and Lane was waving the baton. He

was at the army's head till he neared Kansas, then he spurred on in advance, making one of the best rides in the history of the Wild West, riding so hard that his companions—one of them Old John Brown, of Osawatomie—fell by the wayside, unable to keep up with this strange leader who never seemed to sleep nor eat but to feed himself upon eloquence. Lane never took alcohol, they say, and I believe them, for, after all, what could it have done for him?

The story of Jim Lane's return to Kansas is in your records—how, to spread terror among the Border Ruffians, the enemy, he magnified the size and number of "Lane's Army of the North"; and how, to encourage the all but beaten Free Soilers, who had begged for his return, he broadcast the whisper, "Look for Captain Cook on a white horse."

Everybody knew that Captain Cook would be Jim Lane, for whom the government held an indictment for high treason, if not a price on his head.

The amazing propaganda that he spread did cow the Proslave bands, and it did inspire the Free Staters to a superb burst of activity, with men marching through the night to bombard enemy block-houses, burn and shoot. And it was a matter for cheering when through the darkness the marching men heard, "Here comes Captain Cook," and turned to see it was Old Jim, his eyes a-fire.

This was the campaign which swept the border, and settled the fate of Kansas so far as armed force was concerned, and it is known elsewhere than in your state. But what is not generally remembered is that Jim Lane's most sensational speeches in Chicago, Cleveland and other midland cities, a month previous, were one of the most vital factors in the national financing of the Republican party.

Organized wealth and the conservative powers were against the young party. Its supporters were poor. But in the money which orators like Lane collected for the relief of Kansas, came the sinews for the new party. Most of the states organized Kansas committees, and these had a central committee in Chicago, which united the workmen, since the chief issue of the campaign was, "Kansas—shall it be free or slave?" it was an easy matter to unite the moral and philanthropic cause of Kansas relief with the Republican campaign. Every speech made for Free-Soil Kansas was a Republican speech.

Without Lane's inflammatory speeches in the midlands, would this money-raising device have been so effective? Probably not.

We must have done with this intriguing man. A word will wind him up. He went to the senate; he was a power in the renomination

of Lincoln in 1864, in the new Fusion which Lincoln decreed for that campaign, the joining of Republicans and war Democrats in the National Union party, and when the war was over and reconstruction at hand, Jim went with President Johnson for reconciliation toward the South. Not so prominently as some, but enough to set the Abolitionists and his old factional enemies, the New England Black Republicans, calling him a traitor to his party.

Was he gravitating back toward the Democratic party, as was Johnson and so many of the conservatives who had been close to Lincoln? Probably so.

Probably Lincoln himself, at the hour of his death, was gravitating away from the Radical Republicanism of New England and upper Ohio. We do not know, but it is likely.

When Senator Lane voted to support President Johnson in the fight with the Radical Republican congress, he heard that Kansas had risen against him, and that where he had been yesterday boss, and king, now nobody would speak to him. He went with the Lincoln program of mercy toward the South—and it wasn't popular. He also heard himself denounced and investigated by senators on the charge of having taken cash bribes from Western contractors.

He came home to Kansas and shot himself through the head, and to his enemies who lived after him and had their hand in the writing of history, this was enough to prove him guilty. His friends, in the main, were the inarticulate masses, who had nothing to do with textbooks. But to the neutral mind which studies Lane's whole life, these easy explanations for his death are not convincing.

The man had lived the last eleven years of his life facing down charges as serious as these. Indeed, Jim Lane in 1858 had outfaced and lived down the charge that he had murdered his neighbor in a fight over a waterhole. He had walked the streets of Lawrence an outcast after that catastrophe, yet within three years had come back to be elected United States senator and to become king of Kansas.

He had always thrived on accusations against himself, and had climbed by turning them to his own account. Was he devastated because Kansas disapproved him politically? Hardly that. He had met political midnight many times before, and with a whirlwind campaign had turned it once more into dawn.

His whole life belies the charge of bribery, for he never cared for money. It was not his medium of exchange. He had never taken time to collect it. It didn't interest him. What could it bring him compared to the things his silver tongue could bring?

He was a genuine artist, and genuine artists are fools where money is concerned. Jim Lane would rather bind fifty farmers in the spell of his oratory than win a fat fee arguing a case before twelve jurymen.

The hunger of his own children, the gauntness of his own frame are the witnesses against the charge that after a life of ignoring money he suddenly sold out for a few thousand dollars.

No; as I read the record of his life, Jim Lane shot himself because with the end of the Civil War, he saw his whole world gone, his era dead, his age vanished. He was the pioneer, the adventurer, the restless hunter for new horizons, and the glories of that time had vanished. He was a revolutionist, and the revolution had been won and was thenceforth to be in the hands of the corporation lawyers. He was a fighter, and the war was over.

After Appomattox America had set its feet in the path of the merchant, not the politician; in the way of the advertising agent and the realtor, not the spellbinder on the newly cut stump. And Jim Lane probably saw it.

In 1866 he came home and looked at Kansas. Was this fat and peaceful land the place where only ten years before he had been Captain Cook on the white horse riding in the glare of burning barns? Were these quiet business men who were now meeting in chambers of commerce the ragged boys who had manned the rifle pits upon which he stood firing them to bravery with his oratory?

He had had a lot of fun, and now he couldn't have it any more. He had slept at Lincoln's door in a night of peril with his naked sword, literally, across his knees, and now Lincoln was gone.

His own careless investments in real estate had, through no effort of his own, amazingly given his children comfort at last. He hadn't been the best father in the world, but he had been tender with his children whenever he thought of them, and, after all, few fathers had taken their children to see Lincoln as often as he. Kansas didn't need him any more; it was free, the negro was free. What was there to make speeches about now?

Jim Lane saw that the rules had changed; as William Allen White puts it, "Jim Lane saw the counters were different," and all at once he saw that Kansas and America were going to bore him.

Here was a civilization with which he could not cope. In the whole of the United States there was now, henceforth, no fuel for the great fires within himself to feed upon.

Imagination can picture him, standing there, and remembering back, recalling, now, of a place often mentioned in the religious litanies of his Calvinistic boyhood, a strange dreaded region in which the fuel was promised to be everlasting. This might be the place for him now.

He would go and see.

Bypaths of Kansas History

SANTA FE AND THE WEST IN 1841

From the New-York (Weekly) *Tribune*, November 13, 1841.

From the Evansville (Ia.) *Journal*.

We are permitted by a gentleman residing in the neighboring county of Gibson to take the following extract from a private letter from a friend, dated Santa Fé, July 20, 1841. The writer says:

"I left Vincennes on the 23d of April for St. Louis, with a view of ascertaining the object of the visit by the company raising for the Pacific Ocean. When I arrived at St. Louis, I found I had to proceed to Independence, the upper country on the Missouri river, and adjoining the Indian boundary, four hundred miles farther. There I found three different caravans busily recruiting. The Rev. Bishop Smidth, with a caravan to establish a mission amongst the Black-feet Indians, in the valley of the Columbia river, who left with the caravan to California, by way of the head waters of the Columbia river, commanded by Col. Bartletson and Richma, composed of about 90 persons, male and female. The second to California composed of about 100 men, and about 30 women and children—the yearly caravan composed of merchants to this city, Chewawa and Senora, composed of about 80 men, and 40 wagons, loaded with merchandize, &c. The caravans all left between the 8th and 10th of May. After ascertaining the object of the California caravan, Gov. Boggs and myself having understood positively a caravan was to leave from Santa Fé, to join the same one by the way of Columbia, raised 10 men and agreed to leave in time to overtake the Santa Fé company at or near the Arkansas, but the evening previous to our departure, the governor's wife was taken unwell, and he was compelled to abandon the adventure. Accordingly on the 19th of May, myself with three others, with three little wagons, loaded with provisions and arms, and three riding mules, left the line of Missouri for the Far West. The Indian country as far as the Council Grove, two hundred miles from the line, is perhaps as fine a tract of country as can be found in the world, there is rather a scarcity of timber, but in soil and water none superior. The Council Grove, as it is called, is the ancient site of a once proud and mighty city. It is situated on the main White river, which here forms a crescent or curve of about 9 miles in circumference, and contains more than a hundred mounds, half of which are more than ten times as large as those near Vincennes—those in the centre are in the form of a square, many containing a surface of more than two acres, some in the form of a triangle, and others perfectly round. Here the Pawnee, Arapah[oe], Cumanchee, Loups, and Eutaw Indians, all of whom are at war with each other, meet and smoke the pipe of peace once a year. Every person and thing are sacred for many miles around the peaceful grove.

This ceremony has been handed down for many centuries to the red men by their forefathers, and here their chiefs and great men are brought from hundreds of miles to be interred—one of whom, but a few weeks before we passed, had a proud mound of stones erected to his memory, with a pole painted red and a scalp appended thereto, to show that he had been a great brave. The

numerous camps every where to be seen around here, at once convince the traveler that here is the great rendezvous of thousands annually. From thence onward for 400 miles, there is nothing to be seen but one eternal desert, without one—even one solitary stick of timber to cheer the eye for thirty days. Nothing here is to be had but buffalo dung to cook the food that is used, but of this the whole prairies are covered, and it is an excellent substitute. We overtook the caravan in sight of the Arkansas, about 400 miles from the line of the U. States, and 800 from St. Louis, without trouble by the Indians, and attached ourselves thereto for duty in crossing the river which is much larger than at the mouth, and always muddy and rolling her quicksands into bars almost every hour, so that fords and crossings are dangerous and uncertain. From the Arkansas river the scarcity of water commences, and even the little that is to be had is so deeply impregnated with salt, sulphur and —, that stern necessity alone brings the traveler to the use of it. On the Simerone river there are one or two good springs, at one of which we met of the Arapahoe Indians 500 warriors, who treated us with a proper friendship, elated with their success ten days before, when in battle they killed seventy-five Pawnees. We gratified them with encamping on the battle-ground, where the unburied bodies were yet almost unbroken. The next day we visited their lodge, six miles from the battleground, where we had a full view of savage life in a perfect state of nature; among 500 women and children there were but few that had ever before seen the dress and equipage of the white man.— After leaving these good and friendly Indians, we were cheered in eight or ten days with the far-distant appearance of the Rocky Mountains. From day to day as we approached them, the beauty of the scenery increased, and when within twenty miles the reflection of the sun through the melting snow, that eternally crowns their highest peaks, is splendid beyond all description. Here the traveler beholds a chain of many hundreds, nay, thousands of miles, piled up, as it were, until they reach to heaven, with stone, uncovered with shrubbery or verdure of any kind; nothing but the white caps of snow, and the rough and terrific precipices varied for the eye to behold, until you reach the crossings of Red river, at the foot of the mountain, and here the pine and cedar tree again on the mountain side and in the valley greets the eye once more; and here on this plain we had to encounter 300 Eutaw warriors, but after repeated skirmishings, they were fain to retreat without effecting any damage of consequence. From here to the good town of Bogas, we found water, wood and good cheer.

The caravan arrived in this city on the 2d July, all in good health, in less than two months; the quickest trip ever made over the desert. Now for Santa Fé or the Holy City. It is situated in a valley 10 miles long, and from 2 to 5 wide, surrounded by immense mountains covered with pine and cedar trees, and affords the most beautiful scene the eye can conceive, or the mind imagine. Santa Fé is the seat of government of New Mexico, and is commanded by a governor general. It is also a military post, port of entry and depository of all the ancient archives of the neighboring states. The houses are built of raw bricks, two feet long, six inches deep, and one foot wide, made with straw and mud, and dried in the sun, and such is their durability that many houses more than two hundred years old are standing and look well; they are only one story high, handsomely whitewashed inside, with dirt floor. Even the place in which his Excellency resides has no other than a dirt floor, but they

are generally covered with carpets; the houses are covered with stones and dirt, and are flat-roofed and perfectly weather-proof. The city contains six churches, generally richly fitted out. The population is about 8,000 inhabitants, all rigid Roman Catholics. It is situated on a small branch of the Rio del Norte, and about fourteen miles from the main river, which is near the size of the river Wabash at Vincennes. Now for the character &c., of the inhabitants: The ladies certainly are far more beautiful in this country than those of the same ranks in America; their jetty black hair, piercing black eyes, slender and delicate frame, with unusual small ankles and feet, together with their gay, winning address, makes you at once easy and happy in their company. Perhaps no people on earth love dress and attention more than Spanish ladies, and it may be said of a truth that their amorous flirtations with the men are matters to boast of among themselves. They work but little; the Fandango and Siesta form the division of time.

The Fandango is a lascivious dance, partaking in part of a waltz, cotillion and many amorous movements, and is certainly handsome and amusing. It is the National dance. In this the governor and most humble citizens move together, and in this consists all their republican boast.— The men are honest, perhaps more so than those of the same class in the United States, proud and vain of their blood, the descendants of the ancient Spaniards of their pure blood, those of the Spaniards and Pueblo Indians, the descendants of their Great Monarch Montezuma, doubly more so. The pure blood cannot inherit office here; the present governor general and all the officers of state are of the mixed blood of Montezuma. This has been the case since the year 1836. In that revolution fell the most honorable and beloved of all the native Spaniards in Mexico, and all his family were banished. In the city there is but one officer of justice, the *alcalde*, and he has nothing to do. The commerce of this place is certainly very considerable, and although there is but one gold mine worked here now and one copper mine, yet the daily receipts afford about six or seven hundred dollars net. Generally from one to two hundred and twenty hands are employed at work. The revolution has set every thing back here in the mining departments, as they are generally held by natives of old Spain, and accounted forfeits to the general government after the revolution. This thing will soon be settled, and then the Holy City will appear in all her gaudy plumage again.

I start in two or three days for California; the company consists of about two hundred Americans and Spaniards, to co-operate on the 1st of January, 1842, with the Columbia caravan, at Monterey on the Bay of San Francisco. We expect the governor will allow us to settle and concede to us certain lands, &c.

PORTRAIT OF SUSAN

On or about May 11, 1858, a trunk with contents was allegedly lost at the Shawnee House in Leavenworth. Its owner was one Susan Stone who promptly took legal action to recover a sum of money to satisfy this loss. An inventory of her property has come to light after eighty years in the business papers of the lawyer who

represented her. The records divulge nothing further about Susan—whence she came or why, or the length of her stay in the territory. But no one whose possessions have been made a matter of public record remains unknown and thus we have a portrait of Susan which may be a fairly accurate picture of any young woman of 1858 setting out for the frontier. The practical and the aesthetic lay cheek by jowl in Susan's trunk. She was prepared for anything that the frontier might offer.

The trunk and contents were listed as follows:

1 Trunk	2.00	1 Pr Mitts50
1 Shawl	8.00	2 Linen Hdkfs	1.00
1 Delaine Dress "Wool"....	9.50	1 Veil	1.00
4 [items not named].....	15.00	1 Rose Wood Work Box...	3.00
1 White Basque	3.50	1 Pr Boots	2.50
5 Night Dresses	6.50	1 Bible75
4 Chemise	6.00	Books	2.00
2 Skirts	2.00	1 Pr Ear Rings.....	2.00
3 Pr Drawers	4.50	3 Aprons75
3 Yds Cotton Cloth.....	.38	1 Wool Plaid Dress.....	8.00
Thread60	2 Calico	3.00
1 Brush & 2 Combs	1.50	3 Belt Ribbons	1.25
1 Accordion	2.00	3 Daguerreotypes	2.50
1 Finger Ring	3.00		
1 do do	2.00		
2 Fine Collars	4.00		
			<hr/>
			\$98.73

AN INDIAN BURIAL

From the Dodge City *Times*, October 5, 1878.

On the Indian trail, five miles west of Cimarron, and two miles north of the river, lying within a few hundred yards of the trail, on Saturday last, was found the dead body of an aged squaw. The body was discovered by a Cimarron party, it being wrapped up in two blankets and covered with a buffalo robe, and placed on two poles or two sticks. Such was an Indian burial by a roving band striking terror wherever they go.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Selden's golden jubilee was celebrated June 6 and 7, 1938. The Selden *Advocate* from March 31 to September 15, 1938, published reminiscences of several northwest Kansas pioneers. Mrs. Orpha Comstock, Mrs. Charles Motz, Mrs. Joe Jenkins, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Anthony were contributors.

The golden jubilee of the founding of Liberal was celebrated April 21-23, 1938. Highlights in the city's history were printed in a thirty-two page "Golden Jubilee Edition" of *The Southwest Daily Times* issued April 17. The first pages of sections B, C and D pictured the fifty years of progress and the civic growth and development of Liberal. Included among the pictures of the city were: "When Liberal Was Nearly 'Old Enough to Vote,'" "When Young," and the "Little Red School House." Among the historical articles were the following: "High Praise For Western Kans. Settlers Who Came and Stayed"; "Pioneer Youth Had Its Fun, Too"; "Newspaper Has Played an Important Role in Liberal's Development"; "Alice Ward Is First Trained Liberal Nurse"; "First Liberal Street Lights Used Coal Oil"; "Liberal Woman's Club Starts in January, 1902, as an Aid to Town's Cultural Growth"; "[Mrs. R. L. Ingham] Recalls Joys and Hardships of Early Days"; "An Involuntary Fast," by Mary Joy Jones; "An Optima Lady Sends Program of 'Institute'"; "First Hospital Here Was 5-Room Bldg."; "Lady Who Came Here in 1900 Relates Vivid Memories of Town Then"; "Hard Times in Early Days of Seward County"; "Liberal Got Its Name From the Generosity of Rancher Who Owned First Well Here"; "Interesting Incidents Are Reprinted From Early Days of Liberal—From the *News*"; "Biscuits and Barbs," by Mrs. S. A. Bayersfield; "[*The Southwest Daily Times* Is] 52 Years Old This Week!"; "Local Smoke-Eaters Are Volunteers But Are None the Less Serious and Efficient"; "Young Dawson's Outlaw Gang," by S. A. Bayersfield; "Seward County Had Its County Seat Fights in Southwest's Early Day"; "City Library Serves Entire S. W. District," and "April 13, 1888, Plat of Liberal Is Opened For \$180,000 Sale of Lots."

Manhattan's *Morning Chronicle* and *Mercury* issued their forty-eight page "Kansas State College 75th Anniversary Edition" July 10, 1938. Included among articles of historical import were: "K. S. C. Has Three Objects," "College's Education To Be Liberalized," "K. S. C. Has Contributed Much in Science Field," "Alma Mater

Rather New," "K. S. C. Customs Have Changed With Time," "Dr. J. T. Willard Symbolizes Greatness of College," "Early Pioneers Realized Need of Higher Education," "They Have Served on Kansas State College Faculty For Twenty-five Years," "Justin Smith Morrill a Great Benefactor," "Enrollment at College From 1863 to 1938," "Dr. [J. D.] Walters K. S. Veteran," "Presidents Have Done Much to Advance College," "A. A. Stewart Served on Kansas State Faculty in 1874," "Greek Societies Are Comparatively New," "Riley County Towns Grew Up With the College," "Small Land Office Served as the First Community School," "[Maj. E. A.] Ogden Famous as Commander," "Old Kansas History Tells of Early Day Newspapers," "Early Day School Boards Confronted With Many Problems," "Tracing the History of Some of the First Churches Started in the City," "The First Townsite for Manhattan Was Laid Out in 1854," "Ogden Was the First County Seat of Riley County," and "A History of Sunset Cemetery." Other sections of the edition were devoted to articles on city and county history and college athletics.

The seventieth anniversary of the founding of Scandia by the Scandinavian Agricultural Society was observed July 28-30, 1938. Included among the historical articles published in a special edition of the *Scandia Journal*, July 21, were: "Colonists Move to New Land at the Beginning of New Era," "Crossing the River Was a Big Problem in Early Days," "Life of the Early Pioneers Was Real and Very Exciting," "Scandia's Commercial Life Established by a Saw Mill," "Settlers Suffer Sad Experiences," "Easter Blizzard [1873] Was Worst Storm," "Many Storms Are Still Remembered," and "Grasshoppers Shadowed the Sun as They Came in 1874." School and church histories were reviewed in other stories.

Bethel College celebrated its golden anniversary on October 12, 1938. Many persons gathered to pay tribute to the Mennonite pioneers and to witness the laying of the cornerstone of Memorial hall. Historical articles and detailed accounts of the celebration were printed in contemporaneous Newton newspapers.

A history of Ransom's Methodist Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Lester R. Fish, was published in *The Ness County News*, Ness City, December 8, 1938. The church during the week of November 21-26, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in Ransom.

Ozawkie history was reviewed in detail in an historical edition of *The Coyote*, published by the Ozawkie Rural High School, February 1, 1939.

Kansas Historical Notes

A stone marker honoring the Thirty-second U. S. Volunteer infantry, a unit participating in the Philippine war, was dedicated at Fort Leavenworth, September 16, 1938. The memorial, inscribed with the names of men killed in action, was erected at the old camp ground where the unit mobilized and drilled. Col. Louis A. Craig was commanding officer. Newly elected officers of the Thirty-second Volunteer Infantry Association, sponsors of the memorial, are: William P. Murphy, Shawnee, Okla., president; John Jenkins, St. Louis, Mo., first vice-president; Karl D. White, Independence, second vice-president; Ernest Richards, Waterville, secretary-treasurer.

New officers of the Douglas County Historical Society elected at its annual meeting in Lawrence, November 14, 1938, are: W. C. Simons, president; Irma Spangler, first vice-president; S. S. Learned, second vice-president; Ida Lyons, secretary, and Walter Varnum, treasurer. Members of the board of directors are: Cora Dolbee, Mrs. Guy Bigsby, Agnes Emery, A. E. Huddleston, Fred N. Raymond, and Hugh Means.

At the annual meeting of the Ness County Historical Society held in Ness City, November 19, 1938, the following officers were elected: Mrs. Grace Beardslee, president; Mrs. Nina Bondurant, vice-president; Martha Borthwick, treasurer, and Mrs. Nellie Holtom, secretary. Members of the executive committee and the townships they represent are: Luke Pembleton, Center; Mrs. James Cole, Bazine; John O'Brien, Highpoint; Lea Maranville, Franklin; Mrs. Roy Roth, Johnson; Mrs. Mary Meik, Nevada; Mrs. Bell Unruh, Forrester; J. C. M. Anderson, Waring; R. J. Price, Eden; Mrs. Naomi Henry, Ohio.

The annual dinner of the Shawnee County Old Settlers Association was held in Topeka, December 5, 1938. W. J. Rickenbacher was elected president of the society, and J. H. Heberling, vice-president. Maude Snyder was reelected secretary-treasurer.

New officers of the Augusta Historical Society elected January 13, 1939, are: Stella B. Haines, president; Mrs. C. C. Durkee, vice-president; K. L. Grimes, secretary, and Clyde Gibson, treasurer. The society announces that Augusta's first building, recently occupied by a woodwork shop, has been purchased and will be preserved. Miss Haines appointed as a permanent committee to look

after this building: George Smith, C. C. Durkee, John Moyle, R. A. Haines, Will Cron and R. A. Cox; and as a permanent committee in charge of the historical room in the intermediate grade building: Mrs. Clyde Gibson, Mrs. David Peebler, Mrs. C. A. Viets, Mrs. Will Cron, Mrs. K. L. Grimes and Mrs. A. N. Taylor.

Nearly 350 persons attended the second annual dinner meeting of the Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society held in Emporia, January 30, 1939. Officers of the society are: William L. Huggins, president; Harry A. Wayman, first vice-president; Frank A. Eckdall, second vice-president; E. C. Ryan, secretary; John Langley, treasurer. Historians: Mrs. F. L. Gilson, Mrs. Fanny Vickery and Lucina Jones. Directors: O. J. Corbett, Emporia, first ward; J. J. Wingfield, Agnes City township; L. H. Ames, Americus township; Richard Langley, Center township; Mrs. R. D. Carpenter, Elmendaro township; Park L. Morse, Emporia township; Catherine H. Jones, Emporia, second ward; Mrs. Alice E. Snyder, Emporia, third ward; William A. White, Emporia, fourth ward; Robert D. Lumley, Fremont township; Clarence Paine, Ivy township; Mrs. J. C. McKinney, Jackson township; Ben Talbot, Pike township; Tom Price, Reading township; Mrs. William Sheets, Waterloo township. The chapter is encouraging Lyon county high schools to form special history study groups. Membership now totals 352, including twenty-one life members.

Gilbert J. Garraghan's three-volume history, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, America Press, 1938), reviews quite extensively the histories of Kansas' Osage mission in present Neosho county and the Pottawatomie mission at St. Mary's. The study presents a well-documented and comprehensive record of Catholic missionary work conducted through these major missions.

Ralph Volney Harlow, professor of American history at Syracuse University, is author of a new biography *Gerrit Smith—Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1939). Smith (1797-1874), a leading reformist, among other things labored for Sunday observance. He advocated vegetarianism, and opposed the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages. He joined the anti-slavery crusade in 1835 and became one of the best known Abolitionists in the United States. After Kansas was thrown open to settlement Smith contributed much time and money toward the campaign to "save" Kansas for freedom. He was in sympathy and in communication with John Brown, even entertaining him in his

Peterboro, N. Y., home as late as April, 1859. After Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry Smith became temporarily insane. Until his death he consistently denied complicity in this plot against federal authorities. But, as Mr. Harlow points out, despite Smith's vehement denials and libel suits, available evidence bears out contemporaneous newspaper charges that he was an accessory before the fact. Two chapters of this book are of especial interest to students of Kansas' territorial history: "Gerrit Smith and the Kansas Aid Movement" and "Gerrit Smith and John Brown."

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Brief biographical sketches of members of the Everett family were published on page 3 (February, 1939, *Quarterly*).

The Fourth of July in Early Kansas

CORA DOLBEE

THE Fourth of July was a day of peculiar significance to early Kansas. In preterritorial times it marked the approach or the arrival of explorers and travelers. It found hunters and trappers and traders there in pursuit of pelts; and sometimes it revealed these adventurers as themselves the objects of pursuit by hostile Indians. Many of these early visitors were foreigners who had no more public interest in the birthday of America than did the missionaries, too absorbed in their churchly duties even to allude in diary entry to the politics of the day. After the Louisiana purchase in 1803, however, travelers in the region often kept the national anniversary, by firing salutes, raising the flag, and feasting or drinking as extensively as the uncultivated prairies permitted.

Following the organization of the territory in 1854 Kansas, in both cause and name, became almost as suggestive of American independence as was the anniversary of the nation's birth. Not only in the territory but in the United States at large citizens were annually mindful of the cause to be settled there. Either they hoped in their Fourth of July observances for Kansas' early sharing in their own type of statehood; or they refrained from all celebration of their own blessings out of sympathy for the young territory's uncertain fate. During the first years orators in the North waxed warm over her rights to freedom; and in the South toastmasters greeted her as already secured to slavery. Later, when the question of national union superseded the territorial issue of political self-determinism, Kansas' seven-year struggle for freedom proved but a prologue that had prepared the American mind for the Civil War.

PRETERRITORIAL DAYS IN THE KANSAS REGION

Hurrah! for the prairie and mountain!

Hurrah! for the wilderness grand!

The forest, the desert, the fountain—

Hurrah! for our glorious land!¹

The first keeping in the Kansas region of July 4 as a national holiday apparently did not occur until 1804, although different persons are known to have been in the area on earlier anniversaries.

1. Composed for the 1843 celebration of Sir William Drummond Stewart near the Sweet-water and Wind River mountains.—Letter of M. C. Field, Fort Platte, La Ramee fork, July 8, 1843, to "Dear Friends," in New Orleans *Weekly Picayune*, September 11, 1843.

In 1792 Pedro Vial, Vicente Villanueva, and Vicente Espinosa were prisoners of the Kansas Indians northeast of the Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas.² In 1802 James Purcell (Pursley) and two companions maintained their personal independence in a knife and gun battle with another Kansas tribe on the Osage river;³ and in 1803 and 1804 Purcell was hunting and trading on the headwaters of the Arkansas.⁴

Then, in the latter year, as the United States began the exploration of her recently acquired but little known territory, the explorers, Lewis and Clark, made the first holiday observance in Kansas of a Fourth of July. Six members of the party wrote colorfully of the occasion in their journals: William Clark, Meriwether Lewis, Charles Floyd, Joseph Whitehouse, John Ordway, and Patrick Gass. The diary of Gass, printed in Pittsburgh in 1807, was the first published account of the expedition. Its entry for July 4, 1804, began, "we fired a swivel at sunrise in honour of the day, and continued our voyage" up the Missouri from Green Point toward what is now Atchison. Joseph Whitehouse noted that the day was "mighty hot when we went to toe the Sand (s)calded our (feet) Some fled from the Rope had to put on Our Mockisons." Clark wrote that they dined on corn. They named two streams, Independence creek and Fourth of July, 1804, creek, now called White Clay creek. Captain Lewis explored the prairies which seemed "butifull" to them all. When Jos. Fields got bit by a snake, Lewis quickly applied barks to the swollen foot. Floyd named the scene of the episode "Fieldes Snake prarie," now the site of Atchison. Ordway described the place as "under the hills." At night they encamped on an "ellivated Situation" "named Old town de Caugh," a deserted Kansas Indian village, where they closed the day with another discharge from their bow piece and "an extra gill of whiskey."⁵

2. Vial, Pedro, "Journal . . . of the Voyage . . . From Santa Fé del Nuevo Mexico to San Luis de Ylinesses in the Province of Luisiana," in *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*, ed. by A. B. Hulbert (Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933), pp. 52, 53.

3. Pike, Z. M., *Exploratory Travels* (Lawrence & Co., Denver, 1839), pp. 314-316. Also, *Expeditions*, ed. by Elliott Coues (F. P. Harper, New York, 1895), 3 vols., v. II, pp. 468, 756-758. Also, Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland, 1905), v. XIX, pp. 173, 174. Thwaites cites Chittenden, H. M., *The American Fur Trade* . . . (Press of the Pioneers, New York, 1935), 2 vols., v. II, p. 493, and *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 10, 1824, as giving "Purcell" as the correct form of the name.

4. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 487, 488.

5. Gass, Patrick, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the Army of the United States, From the Mouth of the River Missouri . . . to the Pacific Ocean* (Printed for David M'Keehan, Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 20. Also, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, printed from the original manuscripts, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Dodd, Mead, & Company, New York, 1904-1905), 7 vols., v. I, pp. 66, 67; v. VI, p. 37; v. VII, pp. 15, 40. Also, Sgt. John Ordway, "Journal, Kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration, 1803-1806," ed. by Milo M. Quaife, Wisconsin State Historical Society, *Publications*, v. XXII, pp. 91, 92.

Between 1804 and 1819 travelers in the region were more numerous, but business in hand preoccupied them to the exclusion of all thought of Independence day celebration. In 1806 American traders were being made captives to Don Facundo Malgares and his 300 Spanish soldiers, en route to the Pawnee Indian village on the Republican; and Indians threatened or took the lives of white men on the Arkansas.⁶ In 1807 United States authorities were trying to protect the Indians against the trickery of the Spanish trader Manuel Lisa.⁷ In 1810 John Shaw, Peter Spear, and William Miller were hunting beaver on the headwaters of the Arkansas.⁸ From July 3 to July 5, 1811, George C. Sibley, Indian factor from Fort Osage, rested at a U-jet-ta⁹ Indian camp south of the Arkansas after visiting the salines.¹⁰ A year later Manuel Lisa was keeping two groups of traders among the Arapahos,¹¹ and ten traders from Fort Osage were crossing the western portion of the region toward Santa Fé.¹² In 1813, Ezekiel Williams, a Missourian who had been trapping in the Rockies, was prisoner of the Kansas Indians;¹³ free in 1814, he was again in the area, this time descending the Arkansas river where low water compelled him to caché his furs; at the same time the Phillebert company of eighteen was cachéing its furs in the mountains.¹⁴ In 1816, A. P. Chouteau, returning along the Arkansas with the winter's hunt of himself and Jules De Mun, had

6. Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, pp. 188, 362, 363, 370, 371. Also, Zebulon Pike's *Arkansas Journal*, ed. by S. H. Hart and A. B. Hulbert (Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1932), pp. 78-82.

7. James, Thomas, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, ed. by Walter B. Douglas (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1916), pp. 293, 294. Also, Nathaniel Pryor, letter to William Clark, October 16, 1807, in *Annals of Iowa*, Third series, v. I, pp. 613-620.

8. Shaw, Col. John, "Personal Narrative," in Wisconsin Historical Society's *Collections*, v. II, pp. 197-232.

9. "U-jet-ta" was Sibley's spelling of the primitive Indian name of the Little Osage nation, recorded in English orthography by Lewis and Clark as "Ood-zâ-tâu."—*American State Papers (Indian Affairs)*, v. I, pp. 707-709). Another variant is "Utsehta," given by F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Pt. II, p. 877.

10. Sibley, George C., agent of Indian trade and Indian affairs.—"Notes of an Official Excursion from Fort Osage, to the Kansees, Pawnees, Osages, the Grand Saline and Rock Saline, in May, June, and July, 1811," in archives of Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Typescript supplied by Brenda Richard, assistant archivist. Also, "Extract from a journal to the Pawnee and Kansas villages, undertaken by an officer [Sibley], of the Factory on the Missouri."—Written as a letter from Fort Osage, September 4, 1811, to Gen. W. Clark, in *Louisiana Gazette*, St. Louis, May 16 and 23, 1812. Photostats used.

11. Bolton, Herbert E., "New Light on Manuel Lisa and the Spanish Fur Trade," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Austin, Tex., v. XVII, pp. 63, 64. Also, Gianini, Charles A., "Manuel Lisa, One of the Earliest Traders on the Missouri River," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fé, v. II, p. 328.

12. James, Thomas, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 292, 293. Also, Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XIX, pp. 175, 176. Also, John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri*, ed. by Stella Drumm (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1920), entry of June 4, 1812.

13. Sibley, George C., report to Governor Clark from Fort Osage, in Missouri Historical Society's *Collections*, v. IV, pp. 199-206. David H. Coyner in *The Lost Trappers* (Cincinnati, 1847), makes the time of Ezekiel Williams' experience 1807-1809, and puts the caché on the Platte, but the editor of *Collections* says Coyner's book is now regarded as "a lie with circumstance."

14. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 496, 647.

a severe fight with the Pawnees and then encamped on the Little Arkansas, whence he sent out young men to hunt.¹⁵ In 1817, Chouteau and De Mun were prisoners of the Spanish in Santa Fé, as was David Meriwether in 1819.¹⁶ Many of these travelers were loyal American citizens, but their days were too precarious for holiday keeping of the Fourth.

On July 4, 1819, however, occurred the second festive observance in Kansas of the national birthday. On that day Martin cantonment, Cow island (Isle au Vache), in the Missouri river, used the flag in celebration.¹⁷ Maj. Willoughby Morgan, in command, wrote Gen. T. A. Smith on the morning of the Fourth: "Our colours are flying; and Riley is preparing something to eat— We shall have a pig with savory¹⁸ tarts to grace the table." Missouri river water and metheglin were the drinks.¹⁹

In 1820, Maj. Stephen H. Long on his Western expedition had hoped to reach the Rocky Mountains by July 4; but finding themselves still on the plains between the Platte river and the mountains on the day itself, his men determined to refrain from their intended rest and push on, letting an extra pint of maize to each mess and a small portion of whisky be their only recognition of the national anniversary.²⁰

Beginning with 1821, when the Spanish dominion terminated in New Mexico, travel across the Kansas plains toward the Southwest increased. Two parties that set out from Arkansas and Missouri for New Mexico in 1821 and traveled much of the way together, parted company on the return journey in 1822, but both spent a weary, hungry July the Fourth within the confines of the present

15. *Ibid.*, p. 497. Also, Jules De Mun, "Journal, June 15-August 4, 1816," in Missouri Historical Society's *Collections*, v. V, pp. 323, 324.

16. *American State Papers (Foreign Relations)*, v. IV, p. 207 ff). Also, Thomas James, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 294, 295. Also, Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 498, 499.

17. This is not the first appearance of the flag in Kansas though it is the first positively known use of it in an Independence day celebration. Traders may presumably have brought the flag into the region any time after 1777. The first flag in Kansas, however, of which there is now record, is the one displayed at the Pawnee village on the Republican, September 25, 1806, for the reception of Zebulon M. Pike. "On our arrival," Pike wrote the Hon. Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, October 1, 1806 (*Exploratory Travels*, appendix, pp. 362, 363), "we found the Spanish and American flags both expanded in the village." This flag may have been there as early as July 4, 1806. In 1811 George C. Sibley wrote of United States flags in the Indian camps he visited; *vide ante*, Footnote 10.

18. The Wm. B. Napton typewritten copy of Willoughby Morgan's letter, July 4, 1819, to Gen. T. A. Smith about this event in Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, uses "divers" instead of "savory."

19. Morgan, W., letter, Martin cantonment, July 4, 1819, to "Dear General" [Gen. T. A. Smith, Franklin, Mo.], in Manuscript division, Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia. Copy in letter of Floyd Shoemaker, August 9, 1938, to author of this article. George J. Remsburg, in Atchison *Daily Globe*, July 3, 1907, refers to effect of evening fireworks on Indians at Cow island celebration, but in letter of June 9, 1938, Porterville, Cal., to George A. Root, he says he cannot recall the source of this information. The Morgan-Smith correspondence does not refer to the episode.

20. James, Edwin, *Account of [Stephen H. Long] Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, 1819-1820* (H. C. Carey, Philadelphia, 1823), 2 vols., v. I, p. 496.

state of Kansas.²¹ Leaders of the Arkansas party were Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler. Thomas James and John McKnight were the dominating spirits of the Missouri group of nine. On "Thursday 4th July 1822" Jacob Fowler wrote of trying to locate wagon tracks on the burned "Pirarie" between Cedar and Turkey creeks, Johnson county. Encamped on July 3 near Olathe, he and his friends made only sixteen miles July 4 along the "mesurey or the Caw River," to Turkey creek near the state line where they stopped for the night. Some of the men who had got lost returned at noon, "there feet Sore and mogersons Woren out." Fowler does not say of what the anniversary repast consisted. The day before, he did write that the party had not much left to eat, but had at night killed a fat elk.²² The party of James and McKnight which had come eastward a little more slowly since the middle of June reached the Neosho around July 4 where, as James wrote later, "we found corn growing; this was just in the silk without any grain on the ear. We boiled and ate the cob with a hearty relish." Shortly after, Osage Indians from the north hailed them, laughed at their last meal, and led them into the village to a feast of hominy, meat, and bread, made from flour furnished by George C. Sibley at Fort Osage.

Three other groups journeying through the Kansas area July 4, 1822, were the Coopers—Benjamin, Braxton and Stephen, the wagon party of William Becknell, and the party of one Mr. Heath; none of them, seemingly, recorded their keepings of the Fourth.²³

The Franklin, Mo., party of 81 men, 25 wagons, and 156 horses and mules that set out on May 15, 1824, under the leadership of Augustus Storrs, with \$30,000 worth of merchandise, encamped July 3 to July 5 on Cimarron creek, then in the New Mexican province but now within the limits of Kansas or Colorado. M. M. Marmaduke wrote, in his "Journal" of the expedition, that water was remarkably bad and scarce and that the only food for days had been meat of buffalo, antelope, and wild horse. Further west, on July 8, he found grapes and wild currants.²⁴

On July 4, 1826, James O. Pattie and others were trapping for beaver upon the headwaters of the Arkansas, where, on July 5, in

21. James, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-108, 176-189.

22. Fowler, Jacob, *Journal*, narrating an adventure from Arkansas to the sources of the Rio Grande del Norte, 1821-1822, ed. by Elliott Coues (Francis P. Harper, N. Y., 1898), pp. 170, 171.

23. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 501-504. Also, Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 154. Also, Thomas James, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 175. Also, Gregg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 178-180.

24. Storrs, Augustus, "Answers . . . to Queries . . .," January 3, 1825; Richard Graham, "Answers"; M. M. Marmaduke, "Journal," in *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*, pp. 69, 72, 73, 81-83, 99, 100. Lansing B. Bloom, editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. IX, p. 111, doubts that Storrs and Marmaduke were of the same party.

an attack by mounted Blackfoot Indians they lost four men and killed sixteen Blackfeet.²⁵

On July 4, 1827, the United States surveying expedition of the Santa Fé trail was completing the correction of its survey of 1825. The field notes of Joseph C. Brown,²⁶ are without dates, but the personal diary of one member of the party²⁷ shows that the portion checked on Independence day, 1827, was the stretch between Caravan Grove, near present day Olathe, and the Big Blue ford in Missouri. At Caravan Grove on July 3 Brown found the camping ground excellent and the timber plentiful for shelter and fuel. Flat Rock creek, nine miles east, south of present-day Lenexa, had a good ford and adequate wood, water, and grass for camping. Nine miles south of the mouth of the Kansas, the surveyors passed into the state of Missouri and camped at the ford of Big Blue creek on the night of July 4.

Various parties crossed the plains, both to and from New Mexico, in 1828.²⁸ Alphonso Wetmore, a courier on the Santa Fé trail, was one, but he made no reference to the significance of the day as he entered in his diary for July 4 record of a twenty mile march along the left bank of the Arkansas past Anderson's cachés to the ford of the river where he encamped for the night.²⁹ This stretch of the trail, between Pawnee fork and the Jornada, he described as "the finest natural road in the world." Antelope, fish, and buffalo supplied his meat along the way and he "dressed" his suppers over buffalo fuel.

The next year, 1829, found the cachés well bepeopled on July 4, for at 6 p. m. a company of seventy traders with thirty-seven wagons arrived there under military escort of Maj. Bennett Riley, and four companies of the Sixth regiment of the United States infantry.³⁰ The troops had left Jefferson barracks, May 5, 1829, for protection of the trail and joined the traders in rendezvous at Round (Cara-

25. Pattie, James O., "Personal Narrative," ed. by Timothy Flint, in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XVIII, pp. 142, 143.

26. Brown, Joseph C., "Field Notes," U. S. surveying expedition of Santa Fé trail, *Eighteenth Biennial Report of Kansas State Historical Society* (1913), pp. 117-125.

27. Sibley, George C., "Diary" of the resurvey of the Santa Fé road in 1827, in Lindenwood collection of Sibley manuscripts. Entry of July 4, 1827. Typescript by Kate L. Gregg used.

28. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 511.

29. Wetmore, Alphonso, "Diary of 1828," in *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*, pp. 188, 189.

30. Izard, Lt. James Farley, adjutant to Maj. Bennett Riley, "Journal," filed in the War Department as of Maj. Bennett Riley, ed. by Fred S. Perrine from photostatic copy, *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. III, pp. 275-278.

van) Grove June 11.³¹ In the group were two celebrated travelers of the prairie, William Waldo and P. St. George Cooke, who have both written of the experience. Cooke made an impressive picture of the 130-mile march in view of the Arkansas, with mile after mile of prairie blackened by buffaloes, only here and there a tree on the river bank, and the tantalizing mirage ever ahead. At the Pawnee fork of the Arkansas on July 1 the troops were put on half rations of flour; the fresh meat of buffalo, hunted and killed daily, became substitute for the expended salt pork. Buffalo dung, when not wet, was the fuel, except for an occasional dead tree. Diarrhoea became general among the men. In consequence of these handicaps, their celebration of the national anniversary was "slight," in the words of Lieutenant Izard, but equal to their means. One gun preceded the morning reveille; the troops had an extra ration of whisky, preceding an eighteen mile march to the cachés. There, at dark, an express arrived with mail, nine days from Cantonment Leavenworth. At 8 a. m. July 5, the detachment moved on toward the upper crossing of the Arkansas at Chouteau island, where its services as escort to the traders were to end.³²

Annually after 1829 the federal government seems to have provided some military escort for protection of Santa Fé trade against Indian depredation.³³ Annually, no doubt, too, the Fourth of July had some observance along the trail, by soldiers on duty there if not by traveling merchants. Full accounts of those escorts, however, are not available.

In 1831, when a number of parties were en route to Santa Fé and Jedediah Smith lost his life at the hands of the Comanches on the Cimarron in June, the rest of his party of eighty-five arrived at their destination in the Mexican capital July 4, before learning of his fate.³⁴ That same year Josiah Gregg, a month behind the Smith expedition, had got slightly to the southwest of Kansas by July 4.

31. Report of John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, to congress, November 30, 1829, and letter of Bennett Riley to Brig.-Gen. H. Leavenworth, November 22, in *American State Papers (Military Affairs)*, v. IV, pp. 154, 277-280). Also, William Waldo, "Recollections of a Sep-tuagenarian," Missouri Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. II and III, pp. 1-18. Waldo says the caravan consisted of sixty men and thirty-six wagons.

32. Cooke, P. St. G., *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 44-46.

33. *American State Papers (Military Affairs)*, v. IV, p. 219; v. V, p. 31). Also, *Iowa Historical Record*, v. VI, p. 453; *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. XII, pp. 121, 122. Also, John Irving, Jr., *Indian Sketches Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1835), 2 vols., v. I, p. 29. Also, Josiah Gregg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 187-193. Both Gregg and his editor, R. G. Thwaites, are mistaken in their assertion that the government supplied protection only in 1829 and 1834.

34. Dale, H. C., *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* . . . (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1918), pp. 294-299.

Encamped on McNees creek, in what is now Union county, New Mexico, he and his followers began their patriotic demonstration at dawn. The roar of artillery and rifle platoons echoed from surrounding hills, as did the martial music of drum and fife and the enthusiastic huzzas of the people. In American wayfarers on the remote desert, Gregg observed, the anniversary always stirred "heartfelt joy" and "almost pious exultation."³⁵ Such, however, was not the feeling of the Rocky Mountain expedition of which Zenas Leonard wrote as being then without provisions or game, on the Republican. For days, around July 4, they subsisted chiefly on mussels and small fish. Then the captain ordered two of his best horses killed and the carcasses distributed to each mess.³⁶

In 1832, Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary, who had purchased a little land about one mile within Indian territory was erecting "log dwellings," in a wood for his family.³⁷ This was not far from the site chosen for his mission. In the parties of Nathaniel J. Wyeth and William Sublette that had crossed the mountains and South Pass about July 1 and spent July 4 in swimming their 150 horses across Hoback's river, there was more of melancholy than of joy as they drank the health of their friends and home "in good clear water," that being the only liquor they had.³⁸

In 1833, the Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy, "in compliance with invitation . . . went (accompanied by Mrs. M.) to Independence," to deliver an address on July 4 before the Jackson County Temperance Society.³⁹

Capt. Clifton Wharton, Company A, U. S. dragoons, left the Santa Fé caravan of 1834 under the command of Josiah Gregg at Camp Livingston on the south bank of the Arkansas on June 27 and turned back toward Fort Gibson. Somewhere between Camp Livingston and the Osage agency which they reached on July 13, the dragoons spent July 4, 1834.⁴⁰ This year a second Baptist missionary to Kansas, Jotham Meeker, was at the McCoy mission July 4, where he "engaged in translating an account of the discovery of America &c.

35. Gregg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.

36. *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard*, ed. by Milo M. Quaife (Lakeside Press, Chicago, 1934), pp. 6-8.

37. McCoy, Isaac, "Journal," entry of June 13, 1832.—Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

38. Wyeth, John B., "Oregon," in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XXI, pp. 60-62.

39. McCoy, Isaac, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1833.

40. Wharton, Capt. Clifton, "Report," campaign of 1834 as escort to the Santa Fé caravan under command of Josiah Gregg, ed. by Fred S. Perrine, "Military Escorts on the Santa Fé Trail," *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. II, pp. 269-304.

for the Ottawa first book.”⁴¹ The Wyeth party, now two days away from the annual mountain rendezvous on Green river, had liquor kegs to open and allowed its men an abundance. A renewal of the coarse and brutal scenes of the rendezvous ensued. When the “happy” ones reeled into line to fire a volley in honor of the day, the men who were not “happy” had to lie flat on the ground to avoid the bullets careening in every direction.⁴²

Events of varying import occurred in the Kansas region in 1835. The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, of England, spent the day at Fort Leavenworth. The firing of twenty-four guns and an excellent dinner with Madeira and champagne he accepted as “usual commemoration” of the American holiday. Arrival at the post, however, of 150 Pawnee Indians and entry into the mess room of twelve or fourteen warrior chiefs before the dinner was over, was impressive and unusual. Equally surprising was the ease with which the unsophisticated visitors sat down to cigars and wine. After the hosts engaged in choral song, the red brethren, on invitation, rose all at once, tuned mind and lungs to the proper pitch, and let forth a shrill cry that sank to monotonous cadence and rose again in “full chorus of mingled yell and howl.” At twilight the Englishman jumped on his horse “to gallop off the effects of wine, noise, and smoke,” only to be more startled on his return in the moonlight at seeing amid the white army tents eight or ten blazing fires around which almost naked savages were roasting huge fragments of a recently killed ox. On buffalo skins sat the white men who smoked with them and who soon received hunks of the half-roasted meat. Only the Indians ate with any relish, they even tearing the meat from the bone with their teeth.⁴³

Meantime, about twenty-five miles away, at the Baptist mission, Isaac McCoy was writing in his diary, July 4, that one Mr. Blanchard’s female cousin, who “had belonged to the Methodist connexion,” was this day “united with our Baptist church by experience. Mrs. Blanchard united with us by letter.” The next day, Sunday, McCoy rode with his wife to the Shawnee settlement to baptise the young woman received yesterday but was disappointed to find the Indians so absorbed in council over their government annuity to be re-

41. Meeker, Jotham, “Journal,” 1832-1855, entry of July 4, 1834.—Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society. Entries of July 10, 14, and August 4, indicate Meeker was preparing books to teach the children of the Ottawas, to whom he was to be missionary, to read.

42. Townsend, John K., “Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains,” in Thwaites’ *Early Western Travels*, v. XXI, pp. 197, 198. Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scotchman already a year in the mountains, joined the Wyeth party at the rendezvous, July 2.

43. Murray, Charles Augustus, *Travels in North America During the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836* (Richard Bentley, London, 1839), 2 vols., v. I, pp. 253-256.

ceived on Monday, that only "a few women attended the Baptism."⁴⁴ Jotham Meeker had left the McCoy mission July 1 to visit the Ottawas, whom he found cultivating crops and hunting. They all treated him with great kindness. On July 4 the chief accompanied him to a spring where he selected a place for building the Ottawa mission.⁴⁵

On this same day Capt. Lemuel Ford who had set out from Fort Leavenworth on May 29, 1835, with Col. Henry Dodge on a Western expedition, made two records of the anniversary. Entry for July 4 in his journal reads: ". . . Though we are in the far west . . . & cant join with our families & friends in a land of civil- alition in the celebration of this day, I have not forgotten . . . the decleration of American Independence." After a twenty-five mile march up the Platte river bottom, in what would now be the vicinity of Lincoln county, Nebraska, he bathed in the river which was "cool and not more than waste deep."⁴⁶ In a second sketch "A Summer Upon the Prairie," also in diary form, Captain Ford told of shooting a fat buffalo cow in a "heard of buffalo" at evening. Officers of the command assembled at the tent of Captain D[uncan] to close the fifty-ninth anniversary of American Independence in a glass of excellent brandy, and Platte water. "After partaking of a soldier's fare each retired to his blanket and bear-skin . . . satisfied."⁴⁷

No one is now known to have kept July 4 as a holiday in Kansas for the next seven years. Jotham Meeker, still at the Baptist mission at Shawnee, spent the day in 1836 hunting horses and attending a monthly concert at the mission house. Daily he divided his time here between services to the Indians and living problems of his own; he was teaching Blackfeather and Bluejacket to write and on the Lord's day, July 3, he attended a religious meeting in Westport and assisted with exhortation and prayer; between times he cut a bee tree and hived the bees. He had neither time nor need for patriotic display.⁴⁸

Meeker's program for 1837 was not dissimilar, but he had now settled among the Ottawas. His own abode was a rough cabin intended for a stable. There the Indians visited him. In his fields

44. McCoy, Isaac, "Journal," entries, July 4, 5, 1835.

45. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 1-4, 1835.

46. Ford, Capt. Lemuel, "Journal," recorded on march of Col. Henry Dodge from Fort Leavenworth, May 29 to September 16, 1835, edited by Louis Pelzer, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March, 1926), v. XII, pp. 550-579.

47. Ford, Capt. Lemuel, "A Summer Upon the Prairie," in *Overland to the Pacific*, ed. by A. B. Hulbert (1934), v. IV, pp. 257-259.

48. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 1-4, 1836.

he grew corn, pumpkins, potatoes, melons, peas, and cabbage. He had bought a bee tree. On July 4 he plowed the corn, hoed the pumpkins and melons, wrote letters, and visited some of the Indians. Again his only manifestation of patriotism was cheerful devotion to duty.⁴⁹ Isaac McCoy at Shawnee was less content. His diary entry for the day was a ten-page discourse on his own personal disappointments and on Indian troubles: the June number of the Baptist magazine, just received with annual report of Baptist missions, made no mention of the twenty-year service of himself and wife; often he had felt great anxiety to know how he would obtain bread for the mouths of his family or raiment for their bodies, but in the words he carried with him for comfort he found safety,—“Trust in the Lord and do good, . . . and verily thou shalt be fed.” The Indian troubles disturbing McCoy were the dissatisfaction of the chiefs, at the council of the Shawnees, in the provisions of the bill for organizing the Indian territory, and the report of a Delaware-Sioux war near the Pawnee villages, the Delawares having brought in the scalps of two Sioux Indians to the Shawnee council.⁵⁰

In 1838 McCoy was on July 4 concluding a six weeks' survey of the half-breed Indian tracts and adjusting Pottawatomie boundaries.⁵¹ Meeker, who had just completed his school building and been interpreting for Doctor Chute who had been vaccinating Indians, spent his holiday shelling corn and visiting.⁵²

On Independence day, 1839, the “Putawatomie Temperance Society” came into being. Following a morning meeting of resolutions and four addresses, thirty-six Indians of both sexes signed the temperance pledge, making a total of ninety-four members, twenty-two of whom were Ottawas. Then all of the members partook of a dinner prepared by a few. Jotham Meeker, who had ridden over the day before with sixteen Ottawas, was one of the speakers. On July 5 he celebrated at home by taking “fifty weight of honey from two of my hives.”⁵³ At the far west Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a lawyer from Illinois, seeking both to recuperate his health in the out-of-doors and also to engage in the fur-trade in the Northwest, was, on July 4, approaching Bent's fort, which he reached on the afternoon of July 5 after fatiguing travel. “Our hearts, relieved from the anxieties, . . . leaped for joy as the gates of the fort

49. *Ibid.*, entries of June 18-July 4, 1837.

50. McCoy, Isaac, “Journal,” entry of July 4, 1837.

51. *Ibid.*, entries, May 24-July 9, 1838.

52. Meeker, Jotham, “Journal,” entry of July 4, 1838.

53. *Ibid.*, entries of July 3-5, 1839.

were thrown open, and . . . the hearty welcome of fellow-countrymen in the wild wilderness greeted us. Peace again—roofs again— . . . bread, ah! bread again!"⁵⁴ To the north between the main chain of the Rockies and the projecting Wind River mountains, Dr. F. A. Wislizenus was going with a party to the annual rendezvous of Indians and whites on Green river, still a day's journey ahead. Although he wrote of July 4 as "the great holiday of the United States," only humdrum routine marked the occasion as the men stretched out around the fires, smoked, and in expectation of the morrow's journey, went quietly to sleep.⁵⁵

The year 1840 found sickness so prevalent in the Ottawa mission that Jotham Meeker had to divide his care between the physical and spiritual needs of his following. After spending the week in blistering and bleeding patients, putting drafts on the feet and giving calomel, he devoted Saturday, July 4, to visiting the well brethren to persuade them to come on the Lord's day, July 5, to "listen" to his sermon on the day of judgment. Chebas, an old juggler, disrupted a long time.⁵⁶

In 1841, when the Fourth fell on the Lord's day, the mission held an all-day baptismal service for "three sisters," who had the day before told their "Christian experiences." At 10 a. m. Isaac McCoy preached from the text, "Behold the Lamb of God." After the mission gave out a luncheon, the sixty or seventy attendants formed a procession and marched to the stream nearby singing, in Ottawa, "O for a thousand tongues to sing." McCoy made baptismal remarks; Meeker immersed the three Indian women in the name of the Trinity. "Perfect order prevailed," wrote the latter. "Tears flowed from the eyes of both professors and non-professors." After the immersion the two clergymen administered the Lord's Supper.⁵⁷ This same year a Catholic clergyman, P. J. DeSmet, already beyond the Kansas plains in his westward journey, wrote of approaching Independence Rock, July 4; and, on arrival, July 5, of refraining from crying, "Hurra for Independence," out of deference to a jealous young Englishman. They all cut their names on the south side of the rock "under initials, I. H. S."⁵⁸

54. Farnham, Thomas Jefferson, "Travels," in R. G. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XXVIII, p. 107.

55. Wislizenus, Frederick Adolphus, M. D., *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839*, being a tr. of *Ein Ausflug nach den Felsen-Gebirgen im Jahre 1839* (St. Louis, 1840), made by Frederick A. Wislizenus, and pub. by the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, 1912), p. 85.

56. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 1-5, 1840.

57. *Ibid.*, entries of July 3, 4, 1841.

58. DeSmet, P. J., "Letters and Sketches," in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XXVII, pp. 215, 216.

July 4, 1842, found Jotham Meeker at Shawnee mission, en route to Ottawa from a trip in the East. The entire day he gave to duties as treasurer of the institution there.⁵⁹ This year, to the north, near the point where the north and south forks of the Platte river unite, John C. Frémont with an exploring party was spending the first of four successive Fourths of July in the Kansas region. With salute at daybreak and scanty portions of "red fire-water" served his men, Frémont advanced westward through a short day made memorable by a huge herd of buffalo, estimated at 11,000, and by a festive evening meal of macaroni soup, choice buffalo meat, preserves, fruit cake, and coffee, enjoyed in barbaric luxury on the grass.⁶⁰

The national anniversary had wide celebration in and around Kansas in 1843. Again Frémont was approaching the Rocky Mountains on July 4. Arriving with an advance guard at St. Vrain's fort at noon, he accepted the invitation of St. Vrain to join in a feast already prepared for the anniversary.⁶¹ On the same day Theodore Talbot, following in the rear with a detachment of Frémont's men, wrote of killing a buffalo at first shot, "a grand triumph for a tyro like myself." Then he lent his aid in disposing of another.⁶² William Gilpin who was traveling west under the protection of Frémont, spent the Fourth with one of these divisions.⁶³ At the same time the hunting expedition of Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scotchman, who had joined in the American celebration of the Fourth with the Wyeth party between Green and Bear rivers in 1834,⁶⁴ enjoyed a "munificent and magnificent jollification" in the neighborhood of the Sweetwater and the Wind River mountains. The party was "93 strong, well-armed and provisioned." At sunrise three volleys of thirty rifles and three loud cheers saluted the flag, raised in mid-camp. Father De Vos, a Catholic priest traveling with the party to the Catholic settlement among the Flatheads, said mass. The formal exercises included an oration by George W. Christy, an ode by M. C. Field, news correspondent of the occasion, and an original song. The dinner, *à la bras impérial*, given by Sir William, the host, consisted of roast beef, plum pudding, Rhine wine, milk punch,

59. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1842.

60. Abbott, John S. C., *Christopher Carson* (Dodd, Mead, New York), pp. 217-220. Also, "A Narrative of Adventures and Explorations," in *The Daring Adventures of Kit Carson and Frémont* (Hurst and Co., New York, c1885), pp. 93, 94, 488.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

62. Talbot, Theodore, *Journals*, 1843 and 1849-1852, ed. by Charles H. Carey (Metropolitan Press, Portland, 1931), pp. 13, 17; entry of July 4, 1843.

63. Bancroft, H. H., *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth* (History Company, San Francisco, 1891), v. I, pp. 522, 523.

64. *Vide ante*, p. 123.

Minny Warka, corn dodgers, and buffalo.⁶⁵ Wm. L. Sublette was one of the hunting party.⁶⁶

Following on the trail of Sir William Drummond Stewart were Overton Johnson and William H. Winter with twenty emigrants to the Far West. On the fourth day of July they effected a six-day passage of the South fork of the Platte eighty-five miles above the forks. Boats made of green buffalo hides, sewed together and stretched over wagon beds tightly, with the flesh side out, to dry in the sun, and then covered with tallow and ashes conveyed the goods of the company across the stream, here one mile wide. Teams drew the empty wagons across farther down where the water was more shallow.⁶⁷

Meantime, in the eastern part of the region two missionaries pursued their callings on this holiday. Jotham Meeker visited around among the Indians and held a lengthy religious conversation with Pinasukeshikoqua.⁶⁸ The Rev. Wm. H. Goode, a Methodist missionary of the frontier conference, was paying a visit early in July, 1843, to the Indian manual-labor school, later known as Shawnee mission. On July 3 the superintendent of this mission took "some forty of his pupils, male and female, to attend a Sunday school celebration at Independence." Well trained in vocal music, these Indian pupils were "calculated greatly to lighten the interest of such an occasion." Mr. Goode himself, suffering from an infected tick bite, removed on the Fourth of July to Kansas landing, consisting then of a single log warehouse and dwelling. Here while he waited for a boat to St. Louis, and enjoyed his first taste of buffalo meat, he kept a "mid-night vigil," upon the cause of missions and the saving of souls.⁶⁹

Far to the southwest, on the north bank of the Arkansas, forty miles east of Chouteau's island, Capt. P. St. George Cooke and his dragoons saluted the sun this same July 4 with a shell that exploded across the river, before the annual Santa Fé caravan began its ten-hour crossing into Mexican territory. All day the traders worked in a gale, taking across twenty-four American wagons, thirty-two

65. Field, M. C., letter, Fort Platte, La Ramee fork, July 8, 1843, to "Dear Friends," in *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, September 11, 1843. Reprinted in *Niles' National Register*, September 30, 1843, v. LXV, p. 71. Also in *New York Weekly Tribune*, September 23, 1843. The letter in the *Tribune* is dated July 8, 1840. M. C. Field, editor of the *New Orleans Picayune*, traveled to the end of the journey with the Stewart party.—*Cf. Niles' Register*, v. LXV; also, H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon* (History Company, San Francisco, 1886), v. I, p. 396, Footnote 6.

66. Johnson, Overton, and Wm. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, reprint by Carl Cannon (Princeton, 1932), p. 5.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

68. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1843.

69. Goode, Wm. H., *Outposts of Zion* (Poe and Hitchcock, Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 99, 100.

Mexican wagons, and some hundred mules and oxen. In the party were ten American owners, five Mexican owners, sixty-eight armed Americans, and about the same number of armed Mexicans. Floundering incessantly in the water and dashing with wild yells of encouragement to the mules, the Mexicans sounded like a great water fall. The last wagon over, the trading company dispatched a letter of appreciation to Captain Cooke for his efficient protection; and he and the dragoons were free on the morrow to turn back toward Leavenworth.⁷⁰

Capt. Nathan Boone, who had encamped on the south bank of the Arkansas opposite Captain Cooke on June 21 was now at Eagle Chief creek, due west of Avard, Woods county, Okla. Here he kept the Fourth in "roasting fine buffalo meat" and in curing some, while his worn-out teams rested in a grove of elm, hackberry, tallow, and chittim trees.⁷¹

The national anniversary had little to mark it in Kansas in 1844. Jotham Meeker, whom the Ottawas had permitted on July 3 to select a site for the Ottawa mission, spent the holiday attending a prayer meeting and holding religious talks with Chebas, the juggler, and his wife.⁷² Frémont's expedition on its return eastward, reached Bent's fort, July 1, 1844, where they "were saluted with a display of the national flag, and repeated discharges from the guns of the fort, [and] where we were received by Mr. George Bent with a cordial welcome and a friendly hospitality, in the enjoyment of which we spent several very agreeable days." On the Fourth itself "Mr. Bent gave a dinner in commemoration of the occasion to Frémont and his party. Although hundreds of miles separated from their countrymen, yet they sat down to as sumptuous a repast as could be furnished in many towns of the States."⁷³ Wm. Gilpin who had been with Frémont in 1843 was now between Fort Hall and Fort Bridger at Soda Springs where he and Peg Leg Smith after two days without food, celebrated the Fourth by eating antelope and drinking soda water.⁷⁴

On July 4, 1845, Frémont was again in Kansas, on the first leg of

70. Cooke, Capt. P. St. G., "Journal" (ed. by W. E. Connelley) of an expedition of a detachment of U. S. dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to protect the annual caravan of traders from Missouri to Mexican boundary on road to Santa Fé, May 27 to July 21, 1843, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. XII, pp. 238-241.

71. Boone, Capt. Nathan, "Journal," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. VII, p. 92.

72. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1844.

73. Peters, Dewitt C., *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures*, from facts narrated by himself (Dustin, Gilman, and Co., Hartford, Conn., c1874), p. 219. Also, *A Narrative of Adventures and Explorations*, p. 488.

74. Bancroft, H. H., *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, v. I, pp. 529, 530.

another Western tour, when he named a second Kansas stream "Independence creek" in honor of the day.⁷⁵ Francois des Montaignes of St. Louis, who kept "veracious memoranda, taken during this expedition," and called "The Plains," described this stream, crossed at evening on July 3 as "a small creek of tolerable water." Camping on a hill beyond, where the grass was good and the wood plentiful, the "patriotic Canadians" at daybreak on July 4 saluted the captain's tent *à la mode avec fusil et pistolet*. The captain himself appeared *in propria persona* and distributed a small quantity of fire-water by way of "largesse." Remaining encamped for the day, the men concentrated their gun-powder propensities in shooting at a mark for brandy and clothes. Night left the camp "in a mixed condition of gloom, patriotism, pizin, and old clothes." In his diary thereafter, Montaignes denominated this camp "Camp Largesse," but he did not allude to Frémont's christening of the stream "Independence."⁷⁶ At the Ottawa mission Jotham Meeker directed ten or twelve brethren to prepare for the quarterly meeting by erecting a large shed with seats, killing a beef, and arranging a baptismal place. The next day he received five persons in baptism and rejected two.⁷⁷ To the northwest in the Black Hills Joel Palmer wrote of the beautiful timbered hills with an abundance of red, yellow, and black currants, and some gooseberries; elk, buffalo, deer, antelope, and bear were the meats nature then offered for Independence day choice.⁷⁸ On their return from the Far West the detachment of Colonel Kearney alternated long marches over glaring sands and rocks between South Pass and Fort Laramie with rest periods in spots covered with currants, gooseberries, strawberries, and clover. At the request of westward bound emigrants to Oregon, encamped near the soldiers the night of July 3, Colonel Kearney fired the mountain howitzer to announce the Fourth and awakened a glorious confusion of echoes from the granite peaks about. The gun, or the day's ensuing march, prompted a long satire by P. St. George Cooke

75. Abert, J. W., "Notes," in W. H. Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance From Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California* (Washington), pp. 393, 394. Colonel Frémont, in *Memoirs of My Life* (Belford, Clarke, and Co., Chicago, 1887), gives but cursory review of this 1845 trip across eastern Kansas. Independence creek according to Abert is a little more than a day's journey east of Big John spring. The map made by Abert in 1847 to accompany this volume does not show any "Independence" creek. Between the camp of July 3, west of Fish creek, and the camp of July 4, 1846, at Big John spring, the map shows four streams crossed by the expedition: an unnamed branch of Pool creek, Pool creek itself, Bluff creek, and Rock creek, a branch of Bluff. The branch of Pool creek seems most likely the one meant.

76. Montaignes, Francois des, "The Plains," in *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, New series, v. IV, pp. 224-226, 295.

77. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 4, 5, 1845.

78. Palmer, Joel, "Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains," in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. XXX, p. 65.

on independence and dependence, political, social, and personal.⁷⁹ In the camp of Vasques and Peg Leg Smith on a branch of Green river, Overton Johnson and William H. Winter were this day entertained by tall tales of all the parties the Sioux had cut to pieces thereabouts.⁸⁰

Although Jotham Meeker, arriving again from Boston on July 4, kept the holiday in 1846 by attending a prayer-meeting with the brethren at the Stockbridge mission and sat up "till after midnight conversing &c at Bro. Pratt's,"⁸¹ and William Walker, located at the mouth of the Kansas river, rejoiced over the news that the bill for the improvement appropriation for the Wyandots had passed the lower house of congress,⁸² most of the demonstration for the Fourth in Kansas in 1846 was by the military. The Mexican war was on. From the first of June the entire eastern frontier was in commotion. Volunteers were organizing and drilling all along the border for the Army of the West.⁸³ For convenience in camping and marching, "the different companies, squadrons, commissary trains, traders' wagons, et cetera, were strung out many miles" along the Santa Fé trail to be concentrated August 1 within cannon shot of Bent's fort by Col. Stephen Watts Kearney, in command.⁸⁴ Although John T. Hughes was the official military biographer of this reconnaissance and J. W. Abert, the appointed observer of natural history for W. H. Emory, topographical engineer, at least six other persons kept elaborate diaries along the way. The writers were at different points along the trail on July 4.

Frank S. Edwards, who traveled from Fish's crossing of the Kaw river to Elm Grove⁸⁵ on July 4, regarded the Kaw as a beautiful stream, "clear as crystal," and the military road from Fort Leavenworth through flower-sprinkled grass high as the backs of horses, as much more attractive than the first view of prairie seen from the trail.⁸⁶ Capt. A. R. Johnston, regimental adjutant, assigned to Captain Fischer's company, wrote of a slow, hot journey over the

79. Cooke, P. St. George, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, pp. 368-372, entry of July 4, 1845.

80. Johnson and Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

81. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry for July 4, 1846.

82. Walker, William, "Journals," ed. by Wm. E. Connelley, in *Nebraska State Historical Society's Proceedings*, Second series (Lincoln, 1899), v. III, pp. 182, 183, 188.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.

84. Elliott, Richard Smith, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (R. P. Studley & Co., St. Louis, 1883), p. 223.

85. Fish's crossing was near the mouth of the Wakarusa. Elm Grove, known also as Caravan Grove, Round Grove, and Round Tree Grove, was near Olathe.—"[Santa Fé trail] Field Notes by Joseph C. Brown," *Kansas State Historical Society's Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 117.

86. Edwards, Frank S., *A Campaign in New Mexico With Colonel Doniphan* (Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 24, 25.

same route with the artillery and baggage. Upon arrival at Elm Grove, the men of this company "were permitted to buy liquor from the sutler to celebrate as best they might the national anniversary." In order to set out betimes on July 5, the artificers and carpenters had on the anniversary evening to repair a caisson and wagon tongue and the cooks had to bake bread for an early breakfast. Reveille was to be at daylight at 3:30.⁸⁷

George Rutledge Gibson, a Platte, Mo., volunteer, about a day's journey in advance, wrote of encamping the night of July 3 at Willow Springs, where the only wood for cooking was small willows, and where on the morning of the Fourth the company found itself devoid of spirits or aught else with which "to pay some respect to the day." Pulling up stakes, therefore, the soldiers advanced ten miles to Rock creek, where the water was plentiful but indifferent. From that point on the march became difficult and exhausting. The day was excessively hot. For twenty miles they could find no water. Lame, sick, worn out, the men dispersed over the prairie in search of relief, unable longer to control themselves and thereby increasing their fatigue. Then, finally, Capt. Wm. S. Murphy, in advance on horseback, discovered water at 110 Mile creek and returned with several canteens, resuscitating the faint and enabling many stragglers to reach camp at 110 Mile crossing.⁸⁸ Extra mules were sent back for the more feeble. At the end of this thirty-mile march, Gibson wrote "coffee and water made us feel better and the men were soon wrapped in their blankets," too weary to remember the significance of this day they had earlier desired to honor conventionally.⁸⁹

The party to which Lieutenant Abert was attached encamped seven miles beyond Independence creek on the eve of July 4, and on the day itself moved on westward to reach some eminent place in honor of the national anniversary. At five o'clock they arrived at Big John spring where they "luxuriated on the delightful cool water" and reclined under the shade of a tall oak, *sub-tegmine querci*. The temperature of the water was 53° but of the air above 80°. Further notes tell of primroses, both yellow and white, seen

87. Johnston, Abraham Robinson, "Journal, 1846," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale), v. IV. pp. 76-78, entry of July 4, 1846.

88. This camp was near the site of present Scranton.

89. Gibson, George Rutledge, "Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. III, pp. 133-135, entry of July 4, 1846.

nearby, and list the birds about, as brown thrush, king bird, grouse, and quail.⁹⁰

John T. Hughes, described the effect of Independence day upon the troops. In the boundless solitude of the prairie, with only the heaven above and the solid earth beneath, their bosoms swelled with noble impulses and a quenchless love of freedom; "ever and anon the enthusiastic shout, the loud huzza, and the animating Yankee Doodle were heard." After a twenty-seven mile toilsome march across the green plains, in the heat of an almost vertical sun, they pitched their tents at evening twelve miles east of Council Grove on the banks of Bluff creek where grass and fuel were as abundant as the cool spring water. Good humor prevailed throughout the camp.⁹¹

Between the Cottonwood fork and the Little Arkansas, M. B. Edwards, a private, attributed the "good *spirits*" with which his company made its twenty-five mile advance "through the hottest day that ever shone," to a keg of whisky procured the night before from Capt. William Waldo, the trader. "In commemoration of the glorious '76," each man had begun the day by drinking his fill. In spite of the holiday rejoicing, Edwards wrote that marching across the plains was not what it was "cracked up to be." Flies and mosquitoes were annoying. Supplies were low.⁹² Jacob S. Robinson, who was with the same company, wrote that they had cut their rations one-third; "if we cannot overtake the commissary wagons, we shall have nothing to eat but our horses."⁹³ Camping on the open prairie at "Good Water"⁹⁴ on the night of July 4, the company "ate cold provisions." Here they had their first sight of buffalo grass, short, curly, and thin but nutritious. To Robinson the dry prairie had become monotonous; but Edwards wrote that the moon, shining with the brilliancy of day, made the night beautiful and a gentle breeze was a pleasant end to July 4, 1846.

Still farther west another group had additional trials, recorded in the words of a woman, the chief sufferer, as "a disastrous celebra-

90. Abert, J. W., *loc. cit.*, pp. 393, 394. W. H. Emory, the engineer, p. 10, explains that he did not publish his diary of this part of the journey because the way had been so commonly traversed.

91. Hughes, John T., "Doniphan's Expedition," reprinted in W. E. Connelley's *Doniphan's Expedition* (Topeka, 1907), pp. 155, 156.

92. Edwards, Marcellus Ball, "Journal, 1846-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *South-west Historical Series*, v. IV, pp. 125, 126, entry of July 4, 1846.

93. Robinson, Jacob S., *A Journal of the Santa Fé Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan*, a reprint ed. by Carl L. Cannon (Princeton, 1932), p. 9, entry of July 4, 1846.

94. *Ibid.*, footnote, p. 9, suggests that this camp was probably at Indian creek, a branch of Turkey creek.

tion." Encamped on the night of July 3 at Pawnee Rock with a contingent of soldiers was a merchandise train of seventy-five or eighty wagons. With one trader, Samuel Magoffin, was his bride, Susan Shelby Magoffin. On the morning of July 4 while her husband kept watch for Indians with his gun and pistols, she carved her name on Pawnee Rock among the hundreds already inscribed there. She did not do the work well, she wrote, because fear of Indians made her tremble all over. Since the rest of the caravan had gone on its way, the driver for the Magoffins had to hurry to overtake the party at Ash creek. Then at the bank when they failed to take the usual precaution of dismounting and walking down, their carriage was whirled over the verge of the cliff "in a perfect crash." The top and sides were broken to pieces but the passengers were almost entirely unhurt. Mrs. Magoffin, who was herself stunned so that she had to be carried to a shade tree and have her face and hands rubbed with whisky to come to herself, rather rejoiced in the opportunity the occasion afforded to test her husband's oversight and devotion. The scene, however, she described as "a perfect mess, that; of people, books, bottles, . . . guns, pistols, baskets, bags, boxes, and the dear knows what else."⁹⁵

This same day, July 4, 1846, Francis Parkman, with three of his own men, four trappers, and an Indian family of Morin, traversed in sight of the Black Hills "a forlorn and dreary monotony of sun-scorched plains, where no living thing appeared, save here and there an antelope flying before us like the wind." Weakened by a recent recurrent illness Parkman seemed to take no thought of the national anniversary, but coming at noon upon a fine growth of spreading trees along Horseshoe creek he flung himself down on the rich, tall grass beneath, "exhausted . . . scarcely able to move."⁹⁶ West of Fort Laramie two emigrant parties, one of Edwin Bryant and the other of Lillburn Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, held a conventional Independence day celebration in a grove. A salute, a procession, the reading of the Declaration, a collation "served up by the ladies," toasts with a discharge of musketry after each, and patriotic songs constituted the program. J. H. Reed, of the Bryant party, had preserved wines and liquors, especially for the occasion.⁹⁷

On July 4, 1847, Philip Gooch Ferguson, who had just enlisted,

95. Magoffin, Susan Shelby, *Down the Santa Fé Trail and Into Mexico*, diary, 1846-1847, ed. by Stella M. Drumm (Yale Press, 1926), pp. 40-42, entry of July 4, 1846.

96. Parkman, Francis, *The Oregon Trail*, Sixth edition (Little, Brown, Boston, 1875), pp. 162, 163.

97. Bryant, Edwin, *What I Saw in California* (Richard Bentley, London, 1849), pp. 100, 101.

was en route from Westport to Fort Leavenworth to report for duty. Camping at Gum spring, near Shawnee meeting house, July 3, he and several other volunteers had breakfast on the Fourth with "an old Frenchman who had an Indian wife and two pretty, half-breed daughters, all belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church." Crossing the Kansas in flat-bottomed boats belonging to the Delawares and Shawnees, the party marched through rough, hilly country to a point four or five miles from the fort. The Kaw had seemed "a clear beautiful stream" to them, refreshing for bathing. Frequently along the road had been squaws with whisky to sell. At night thousands of fireflies made the prairie beautiful.⁹⁸ At evening, July 3, another company of the Missouri Mounted Volunteers, going out to take the place of the regular troops still in Mexico, had reached the crossing of the old California trail with the Walnut, about a mile below what is now El Dorado. There, the next day, according to Capt. J. J. Clark, "the eagle screamed, and salutes were fired, and due honors paid to the warriors of an older day."⁹⁹ Three days' journey west of Council Grove this year was a party of traders, too engaged in evading the Indians, apparently, even to note the passing of the national anniversary. In the train were Solomon Houck, R. S. Elliott, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and James Josiah Webb, the latter three of whom have left some account of the trip.¹⁰⁰ Although they were fortunate enough to escape serious depredation themselves, they kept hearing of Indian encounters with the troops advancing westward. One was an attack upon Lt. John Love, and another upon Col. Alton R. Easton, both en route with detachments from Leavenworth to Santa Fé on July 4.¹⁰¹

At Wyandot in 1847 William Walker had such a rheumatic affliction in the head as to set him almost distracted.¹⁰² At the Ottawa mission Jotham Meeker had been undergoing dark days, but following extended church meetings, for which the visitors camped around and nearly always supplied their own provisions, his heart was re-

98. Ferguson, Philip Gooch, "Diary, 1847-1848," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. IV, pp. 22, 23, 294. Ferguson was editor of *Miner's Prospect* at Potosi, Mo., when he enlisted.

99. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1888), p. 1431.

100. Elliott, R. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 216-220, 254, 255. Also, James Josiah Webb, "Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. I, pp. 31, 298. Even the original account of this trip by J. J. Webb does not allude to July 4. The present owner of the manuscript, Paul Webb, New Haven, Conn., a grandson, suggests that the men along the trail may not have been able to keep accurate track of the days; and that anyway they were probably too busy looking after their scalps to pay any attention to the date of the Declaration of Independence.—Letter, New Haven, Conn., March 24, 1939, to author of this article.

101. *Ibid.* Also, Thomas Fitzpatrick, letter from Bent's fort, Arkansas river, September 18, 1847, to Thomas H. Harvey, St. Louis.—*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 cong., 1 sess., appendix.

102. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 211, entry of July 4, 1847.

vived on July 4, the Lord's day, by two requests for reinstatement after confession, and one request for baptism. Two sermons indoors preceded the address to 100 persons at the water. After the baptism Meeker gave the right hand of fellowship to the three Indians just received and administered the "holy sacraments" to fifty native members.¹⁰³

"'Independence Day!' Mexico free. 'Glory enough for one day!'" wrote William Walker on July 4, 1848.¹⁰⁴ Jotham Meeker working in his garden was still devoid of interest in national affairs; threats of some young Ottawas to break their tribal laws, especially those of gambling, did concern him, however, and he noted that the Ottawa nation was to consult together on the subject.¹⁰⁵ Along the Arkansas the volunteers under William Gilpin were still active in defense against continued Indian depredation.¹⁰⁶

The national anniversary in 1849 was wet in Kansas. Although at the Ottawa mission it rained nearly all day long, Jotham Meeker finished mowing the grass in his dooryard and chicken yard and along the fences in his truck patch.¹⁰⁷ At Wyandot rain fell also at night. "What a day for a celebration!" wrote William Walker, but his is the only allusion to any festive keeping of the occasion in Kansas this year. More serious problems weighed on him, however, as he noted that cholera had broken out afresh this week in Kansas [City].¹⁰⁸ At Highland, S. M. Irvin, missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians, recorded morning, noon, and night temperatures of 70°, 86°, and 77°, respectively, with a north wind and clear sky.¹⁰⁹ To the northwest, in the Platte river valley, R. C. Shaw wrote that a California emigrant party ushered in the Fourth by a discharge of firearms, which were ready for use again after a thorough cleaning.¹¹⁰

At the Iowa and Sac mission at Highland, in 1850, the Fourth of July temperature readings were 72°, 88°, and 78°, respectively, for morning, noon, and night; a south wind blew and the sky was clear.¹¹¹ Jotham Meeker spent the week of July 4 in preparation for the quarterly meeting at the Ottawa mission; on July 3 he had five bushels of corn ground and he made up a lot of cook pills and

103. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1847.

104. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 254, entry of July 4, 1848.

105. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1848.

106. Bancroft, H. H., *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, v. I, pp. 544, 545.

107. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1849.

108. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 292, entry of July 4, 1849.

109. Irvin, S. M., "Meteorological Observations at Iowa and Sac Mission," Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, readings for July 4, 1849.

110. Shaw, R. C., *Across the Plains in Forty-Nine* (W. C. West, Farmland, Ind., 1896), p. 53.

111. Irvin, S. M., "Meteorological Observations," reading for July 4, 1850.

anti-cathartic pills, &c.; on July 4 he held religious talks with two persons, attended a prayer meeting, and made further preparations for quarterly assembly on July 6.¹¹² The cholera had become so prevalent in the Kansas [City] vicinity now that William Walker referred to it daily in the few journal entries he took time to make. On both June 28 and July 5 deaths from it occurred; on July 6 citizens were fleeing from Kansas but "this is folly."¹¹³ The only allusions to patriotic significance of the day again were in the diaries of travelers already well to the northwest. Franklin Langworthy, between Green river and Fort Bridger, spent "this celebrated day" on dry and dusty roads across swells of bleak and barren land.¹¹⁴ John Steele wrote of an all-day celebration by Western emigrants then approaching the Sweetwater and Independence Rock. Shortly after midnight, July 3, the boys of the writer's own division brought an immense pile of dry sage into the camp and fired it. Volleys with rifles and pistols elicited three hearty cheers, echoed by neighboring trains. With a national salute at dawn, the party started early across the ashy plain, strewn with carcasses of oxen and horses. Encamping at 3 p. m. on the Sweetwater, both men and beasts refreshed themselves at the clear, cool rivulet, and relaxed until 10 p. m., when the camp-fires were replenished and a shout arose rolling from camp to camp. Then a discharge of fire-arms closed the celebration. As the fires waned, only a wolf's plaintive whine broke the stillness.¹¹⁵ Farther west, near Salt Lake, where wild sage and dust were "about the only thing in the eye," C. W. Smith, of a party rushing to the gold region from Weston, Mo., wrote on July 4, "to the travel-worn emigrant in the eternal wilds, this day's remembrances hardly stir the sluggish blood."¹¹⁶

The day when the first ground was broken in St. Louis for the Pacific railroad, "July 4th, Annus Domini, 1851," wrote R. S. Elliott, "was the beginning of a new era of industrial civilization between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean."¹¹⁷ People in Kansas, however, were totally unaware of future advantages therefrom awaiting them. Local affairs only concerned them on the holiday. For William Walker, now free of care, the day was a "glorious 4th

112. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries July 3-6, 1850.

113. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, pp. 311, 312, entries for June 28, July 5 and 6, 1850.

114. Langworthy, Franklin, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, a diary, 1850-1853, ed. by Paul C. Phillips (Princeton, 1932), p. 65, entry of July 4, 1850.

115. Steele, John, *Across the Plains in 1850*, ed. by Joseph Schafer (Caxton Club, Chicago, 1930), pp. 86, 87, entry of July 4, 1850.

116. Smith, C. W., *Journal of a Trip to California*, in summer, 1850, ed. by R. W. G. Vail (Cadmus Book Shop, New York, 1920), pp. 67, 68, entry of July 4.

117. Elliott, R. S., *op. cit.*, p. 269.

spent in Kansas [City] amongst very good company."¹¹⁸ Jotham Meeker was preparing, as usual, for approaching meetings and visiting the sick. On July 4 the Catholic priest, Deuerinck, and one of his servants stopped for the night at the Ottawa mission.¹¹⁹

In 1852, William Walker had no thoughts for the Fourth of July, but the community had been saddened two days before by the arrival of "the corpse of Gov. Calhoun, who died on the road from Santa Fé to Kansas." Burial, Walker noted, was to be with Masonic honors.¹²⁰ The Fourth this year falling on "the Lord's day," the Ottawa mission held a long service of five sermons, by missionaries and by Indians. A congregation of about 100 gave good attention, but the mission had had to drop its midweek prayer meeting for want of interest.¹²¹

In July, 1853, but little was transpiring in Kansas, aside from the Pacific railroad survey, that could have foreboded the great activity which was to begin in 1854. William Walker had no journal entry at all for the Fourth.¹²² Jotham Meeker put in the day setting "types on some school cards, &c." for the school.¹²³ Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, who had been at Fort Atkinson since June 1, holding "a talk" with the five Indian tribes of that region and inviting them to be present at the treaty of Fort Laramie the following September, was now journeying back toward headquarters in the escort of Maj. R. H. Chilton, Co. B., of the First dragoons, but no one left any word of their keeping of July 4.¹²⁴ Two divisions of the party for exploration of a route for the Pacific railroad, also traversing Kansas now, did mark the day. Notified by a rifle report, at daylight, of the arrival of the national anniversary, the command of Capt. J. W. Gunnison responded with numerous discharges of fire-arms, and set out for the Kansas river for the purpose of crossing to Fort Riley. A pontoon from the fort, placed too low for the light vehicle of the troops, upset, midstream, "a small incident for the 4th of July." The horses swam across. Captain Gunnison was the guest of Capt. C. S. Lovell at the officers' mess at the post through a short nooning. A ferry then conveyed the explorers' wagon across the Republican, and the party proceeded 7.59 miles and encamped at a beautiful spring of delicious, cool water

118. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 327, entry of July 4, 1851.

119. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 3, 4, 1851.

120. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 353, entry of July 2, 1852.

121. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1852.

122. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

123. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1853.

124. "Early Military Posts, Missions, and Camps," extract from the *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1854, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. I-II, pp. 263-270.

near the Smoky Hill. The division under Lieutenant Beckwith, pursuing the Santa Fé road, camped from July 3 to July 5 in a slightly timbered spot on the Cottonwood fork, seventeen miles from Lost spring. The days were oppressively hot with scarcely a breeze, the thermometer in the shade of a wagon reaching 100° Fahrenheit on July 3. Recent rains had made grazing abundant but had also left pools of water about for the breeding of mosquitoes. Innumerable flies were another annoyance. In spite of the discomforts of the place, the party remained there for the benefit of its animals on July 4; but one of them manifested his own independence by pulling up his picket-pin at the usual hour for marching, and taking the road to the next camping ground, where he joined another train.¹²⁵

Before July 4, 1854, the Kansas area, like the Beckwith mount, was itself to take on individuality. On May 30, 1854, it became an organized territory with definite boundaries. Emerging from the era of un-organization already battle-scarred, as P. G. Lowe once wrote,¹²⁶ by trial and trouble, the territory might at once have been allowed the security and freedom of government; but before the next July 4, before May 30 even, actor-settlers were to move upon the scene for roles in a political drama the nation was setting there. Kansas, separated now by lines of latitude and longitude, was to find herself controlled again by the power of the area from which she had but just parted. For the next seven years most of her Independence day acts were result of sectional design or subject for national scrutiny.

125. Beckwith, Lt. E. G., "Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad," in *Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys* (Washington, 1855), 3 vols., v. II, pp. 10, 16, 21.

126. Lowe, Percival G., "Kansas, as Seen in the Indian Territory," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 360-366.

Notes on Imprints From Highland

The Second Point of Printing in Kansas

LELA BARNES

TWO decades before the organization of Kansas territory the history of printing within the borders of what is now the state of Kansas had already begun. In February, 1834, the Baptist missionary-printer, Jotham Meeker, set up at the Shawnee Baptist mission a Smith press on which was printed on March 8 of the same year a Shawnee hymn, first item in Kansas imprints.¹

Nine years later a second press was brought to the territory for the use of missionaries at the Iowa, Sac and Fox mission in present Doniphan county. This mission was established by the Presbyterian church in 1835.² Samuel M. Irvin and William Hamilton came to the station as missionaries in 1837, and in 1842³ requested the missionary board to supply a press for printing school books and religious works in the Iowa language. The board acceded to the request and a press was received at the mission in April, 1843.

The first printing by Irvin and Hamilton was *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language*.⁴ This book, as well as *Original Hymns in the Ioway Language*,⁵ bears the date 1843, and it has been quite reasonably assumed that both works appeared in that year.⁶ But a recent examination of the diary of Samuel M. Irvin⁷ establishes the fact that the *Elementary Book* was not completed until February, 1844; and that the *Original Hymns* was still in press at that time. That the latter work and a "Prayer book" appeared before September 30, 1844, may be concluded from the report of that

1. See Douglas C. McMurtrie, "Pioneer Printing of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, p. 4 et seq.; Kirke Mechem, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," *ibid.*, v. IV, pp. 61-73.

2. *History of American Missions* (Worcester, 1840), p. 724.

3. *Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, May, 1843, p. 6.

4. English title: *An / Elementary Book / of the / Ioway Language, / with an / English Translation. / By / Wm. Hamilton, / and / S. M. Irvin. / Under the direction of the B. F. Miss. of the / Presbyterian Church. / J. B. Roy, Interpreter. / Ioway and Sac Mission Press, / Indian Territory. / 1843.*—James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Siouan Languages* (Washington, 1887), p. 32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33. English title: *Original / Hymns, / in the / Ioway Language. / By / the Missionaries, / to the Ioway & Sac Indians, / Under the direction of the / Board of Foreign Missions of the / Presbyterian Church. / [Two lines quotation.] / Iowa and Sac Mission Press, / Indian Territory, / 1843.*

6. See statement by McMurtrie and Allen in their *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas* (Chicago, 1930), p. 16.

7. The manuscript diary of Samuel M. Irvin for portions of the period 1841-1849 is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.

date by the missionaries to Maj. W. P. Richardson, Indian sub-agent, Great Nemaha, Mo., in which they state:

We have printed—

- 1 Elementary book, of 101 pages—225 copies.
- 1 Hymn book, 62 pages—125 copies.
- 1 Prayer book, 24 pages—100 copies.
- 1 Question book (in press), 30 pages—200 copies.⁸

The diary also established the fact that the "Question book" listed above was still in press in January, 1845;⁹ and that the first printing on the "Testament in Iowa" was done on February 14, 1845.¹⁰ The diary furnishes no clue as to when either of these works was completed.

Because of the importance of this early press in the history of printing in Kansas, and the rarity of the works printed on it,¹¹ extracts from Irvin's diary relating to printing are here reproduced in order that the information may be added to the meager knowledge about the press.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF SAMUEL M. IRVIN

[It is unfortunate that the extant diary contains few entries for 1843, the year in which the press was sent to the mission. First mention of printing in the available records occurs in 1844.]

1844

January

- 2 In the office setting type &c.
- 3 Spent the day in the office at type setting and study.
- 6 Finished setting up one form of pages for the primary Book. . . .
- 9 In the printing office all day. . . . Through the day and last evening I have been much affected with my comfortable situation and that of my family. We have everything that we could ask, plenty to eat, a good bead, our family in health—and we know not what it is to suffer for any thing. true our house is but a cabin and some would say in our situation that they were poor, but we are wonderful well off. I have my little room and my family have theirs and I can read and study and print and no one to disturbe me. O how unworthy these privileges.
- [12] Struck off 160 sheets of 16 pages making 2560 in all. . . .

8. *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844*, Doc. No. 2, pp. 358, 359.

9. McMurtrie and Allen have given this work the date 1844 and have listed it as No. 4 in their bibliography. They append the statement that its inclusion in the *Report of 1844* indicates that it was printed in the fall of 1844.—*Op. cit.*, p. 27. Pilling has dated the work 1850, but gives no reason for doing so.—*Op. cit.*, p. 33.

10. McMurtrie and Allen list as No. 5 in their bibliography a work containing six chapters of the gospel of St. Matthew. They have dated it 1846 or 1847.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28. Pilling has dated the same work 1850.—*Op. cit.*, p. 33. In their report of September 30, 1847, to the Indian Sub-Agent W. E. Rucker, Irvin and Hamilton state: "Portions of the Scripture have been translated, and a part of Matthew's gospel printed."—*Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847*, Doc. No. 1, pp. 935, 936.

11. There is but one item from this press in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society—*An Iowa Grammar* . . . , printed by Hamilton and Irvin, Iowa and Sac Mission Press, 1848.

- 13 Spent most of the day in the offise distributing type. . . .
- 17 In the offise all day and verry tired standing up so much.
- 18 In the offise untill sent for by the agent. . . .
- 19 . . . In the evening and through the day I was much affected with my situation. I could not wish it more comefortable and easy. I have nothing to do. . . . I mean manual work, but much of study and printing. May I improve all to the honour of him who giveth. . . .
- 20 Most of the day in the offise. . . .
- [23] Engaged in seting type most of the day except what time I was necessarily diverted from labour by the Indians. . . .
- [24] In the offise. . . .
- [25] Finished seting up a for[m] of 16 p. for the press. . . .
- [26] Busily engaged in the offise and in the evening struck one side of a sheet. . . .
- 27 Verry busy in the offise all day and late in the evening finished striking off a sheet of the primary Book.
- 30 Continued to set type most of the day. . . .

February

- 3 There has been such a constant monotony in this week of work at the press and study without any things worth[y] of note that I have not wrote down anything here. On Wedensday we reed some Goods and Books from New York which was a welcome receipt. . . .
- 10 . . . My time has been mostly engaged in the offise and I have this evening got off another sheet of the Elementary Book.
- 17 With much pleasure was able to finish printing the last sheet of our primary Book today. It is swelled to 101 pages. We commenced last June. We hope that it will be very useful to the school and we hope with the blessing of God, an aid in communicating useful instruction to the poor Indians. . . .
- 21 Still engaged in printing. on Saturday I struck off the last sheet of our primary book and was not a little rejoiced at the end of the Book. . . . On Monday folded my sheets, and red up the offise. On monday evening got a letter from the Board but not much encouragement about the school. I am now engaged in a hymn Book & wish to get through as soon as possible. . . .

March

- 7 . . . Still engaged in the offise. . . . I am so busy that it seems I cannot get time to write here, and yet I seem to get but little done. . . .

1845

January

- 10, 11 Busily engaged in the printing offise printing a question Book and striking some forms for the agt. . . .
- 16 Did not do much except assist Mr. Hamilton some in the offise in geting up some forms &c.

February

- 14 Spent near all the day in the printing offise printing off the first sheet of the Testament in Ioway. We struck off 240 sheets of half a ream and having taken some pains in putting type and balls in order we made quite a good impression. . . .

Letters of John and Sarah Everett,

1854-1864

Miami County Pioneers

(Continued)

Osawatomie July 10, 1856.

DEAR FATHER

We received yours of the 20th & 25th ult. this week. We continue well and safe. The Legislative Assembly who met at Topeka on the 4th, the true Representatives of four fifths of the actual settlers of Kansas, were dispersed at the point of the sabre by U. S. troops. This is "Squatter Sovereignty" in Kansas. The wild borders of Missouri, hangers on and lick spittles of Missouri slaveholders, vote for and elect those who rule us, while the People's Representatives are hunted down as traitors. We are all traitors to slavery, but if we were not loyal to the Union, most loyal, such an insult and indignity as above recorded, would never have been written. The patience of those parts of the territory who have suffered most is wearing very thin. Our returned representatives said it was hard to keep some of the free state men from firing into the U. S. troops. There were some six or seven hundred free state men there well armed. Is there a North? Why will she not unite for our deliverance? I am glad to see the firmness of tone manifested in Congress. The plain story about Kansas is this:— There is not a proslavery man of my acquaintance in Kansas who does not acknowledge that the Bogus Legislature was the result of a gigantic and well planned fraud, that the elections were carried by an invading mob from Missouri. The free state Legislature was the result of the unbiased and free vote of the people. The question is, shall we be ruled by a foreign mob or by the resident people expressing their will in a peaceable election.

We hear that the Southerners are in camp three or four miles East of Osawatomie on the Osage, and that they talk of making a town there, "*New Georgia*." If they do, we shall have to look to our locks and our hen roosts, for the proslavery men about Westport got disgusted with them—they were so thievish. You ask if Whitfield²⁶ led the mob who robbed Osawatomie. Some who had seen him

26. John W. Whitfield was commander in chief of the Missouri forces.

thought they recognized him, but they were led by a drunken Capt. Bell of S. Carolina.

We have just got some hens for the first time. A few weeks ago, we took a hen and chickens to raise on shares. Then we bought two hens and a hen and chickens. A hen will set and raise three broods of chickens here in a summer. We have a hen setting now for the 2nd or 3d time. She began laying, when her last brood were three weeks old. Our two cows and yearling heifer are doing well. We are raising the two calves. Love to all John.

Longwood July 22, 1856

Dear Cynthia

We received Father's of July 9 this morning. Our Quaker friend Richard brought it along just before Breakfast— The Tribunes did not come this week. Twenty seven come now in the mail. Tis the first week they have been detained. For some little time (since about the 4th) we have had quiet, but some goods that belonged to one of our merchants Mr. Saml. Geer was broken open between here and Westport within three or four days and all the boxes searched. This begins to look like another beginning of the "reign of terror." A Mr. [John E.] Stewart who lives on the Wakarusa and was passing down to the Neosho called here on his way to get dinner. He says that the people there have been prevented in a great measure from getting in crops and that many have lost a great deal of private property. The only way that they had been able to do anything in the way of ploughing and putting in was to go in large companies to their fields armed with the invincible Sharpe's rifle. Mr. Stewart I have since learned is a New England Minister—but I gathered from his conversation that he thinks that here in *the Territory* "moral suasion" will be a little better for having something like a Sharpe's rifle to stand on. He agrees with H. W. B.²⁷ on that point— It is very dry. We have had no rain to do much good for over 5 weeks. If we do not have some soon our crops will present a totally ruinous look—

Father inquired about the soldiers; they left the Sabbath before the 4th. We sold them a little more than \$10 worth of "*sundries*"—

We are going to have a great many wild plums in our grove this year— They are very nice too, not at all like the sour plums that grow in Steuben— I think I shall be able to dry some to sell besides what we shall want— We found plenty of gooseberries in their sea-

27. Henry Ward Beecher.

son so you see this summer we are likely to fare rather better in some respects than we did last— We make butter enough to pay all our store bills at present— We have a few eggs now. We have two hens of our own that lay and two of friend Richard's here that have begun to lay today. We have 5 of his here which we took to see if we could get them to laying. They have sixty or more chickens and so little to feed them all that the hens stopped laying 2 months ago so a few days ago we borrowed five hens and two of them commenced laying today— We bought $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of corn to feed them and are going to pay for it in eggs— 15c a doz for eggs and 20c for the corn— So much of chicken news— I must send you a piece of Frank's new trousers and apron—the "yaller" piece is like the apron—How do you suppose his little white head looks growing up through such a suit as this makes— I have cut his hair today for the first time and must send you a bunch. It reached clear down to his shoulders— We have meetings now in our neighborhood—could have them here if we chose but think it a little nearer the centre of the district at friend Mendenhall's and so they are held in his doorway shaded by the forest trees.

There are six preachers located on claims within 2 miles of us or rather their claims are located within that distance. Two of them have not yet moved on to their claims—

Good bye for the present
Sat ²⁸

July 24.

It continues very dry. We long for rain. The Cenhadwr for July came to hand this week. Also Phrenological & Water Cure Journals. . . . The reconsideration and passage of the Kansas Free State Bill in the House revived our drooping hopes. The moral effect of such a vote is very great. If Douglas's bill ²⁹ should become a law, another just such an invasion would take place as have taken place, although perhaps more cunningly contrived. We should have thousands of Missourians among us on sham claims, who would stay just long enough to call it a residence; put up a log or a rail pen for a shanty, split out a few oak boards to sleep under, and then pass the time in fishing hunting and lounging about. Many families here

28. Family name for Sarah M. C. Everett.

29. The Toombs bill, reported by Sen. Stephen A. Douglas from the committee on territories on July 2, provided for a census of all white males over 21 years of age, bona fide residents of the territory. Those counted were to be permitted to vote on November 1 for delegates to a constitutional convention. The bill offered precautions against election irregularities. It passed the senate but failed in the house.

live almost entirely out of doors from choice in the Summer particularly Missourians. Some houses have a projecting roof in front, with three or four shelves for dishes &c, and there the women spend most of the summer days. Others have rails laid up just like a rail fence roofed slightly, and live in that day times. We hardly ever get any rain oftener than once a week except for a few weeks in the rainy season. So it would not be much expense to set up a habitation for the summer.

Our health continues good.

Love to all

John

Longwood, Aug 1, 1856

Dear Cynthia

Father's last, announcing Jane's arrival was received this week. But the only thing that I could fix my mind on was the Fremont enthusiasm. In his election is our only rescue!

If that proves a failure we are in common with the free North "Subdued!" We can no longer speak of our glorious Republic! Liberty and Democracy will be utterly overthrown to be raised again only by strife and bloodshed! It is a shame that a government commenced as was ours, should now be overthrown by a spirit darker and more malignant than that which provoked its origin. We are looking forward to the Nov. election with trembling anxiety.

Can it be possible that any one born and reared in the free north blessed with all its privileges, can in their hearts desire that this country should be tilled by slaves? If they have not hearts to feel for the oppressed, can they yet really desire the introduction of an Institution here that shall hinder the development of the country's wealth, and render the soil in a few short years worthless and worn out? . . .

We do not hear of any more difficulty in the Territory as yet. Have learned from our Eastern papers that Col. P. Smith is now in command of the U. S. troops in the Ter.³⁰ It matters not who has that post so long as Frank Pierce is Commander in Chief. I should not lose 10 sec. of sleep if I should hear any night at bed time that *that* man or demon or whatever he be had been assassinated!

The weather here continues very dry and hot! Newcomers are mostly getting down sick. An old lady one of our neighbors who

30. Gen. Persifer F. Smith succeeded Col. E. V. Sumner as head of the territorial forces. General Smith's sentiments were Proslavery, but he did not take an active part in territorial affairs.

came in, in the winter where Mr. Rose lived, was buried last week, and another young woman in town.

The old lady was in at our house a few weeks previous talking about the troubles in the Territory. She set down the Free State party as a mean set and she and I approached somewhat towards a quarrel before the talk ended which was only avoided by her very adroitly turning the conversation. She had given me reason to infer from what things she had said when here once before that she was as radical on the slavery question as we, and 'twas this hypocrisy that called forth my indignation at this time.

When she left I remarked to John that I felt as if I never wanted to see her face again and I never did, for we did not hear of her death till two days after the funeral! There is no hardness between them and us. They are "pro-slavery to the core" and her son has threatened to shoot the first abolitionist that steps into the house—yet he knows we are abolitionists and he is as obliging and good a neighbor as we want.

We are quite well yet John has a sore foot that prevents him from working out much so he is digging a little cellar under the house—Frank looks as "tough as a knot." . . .

Let me see I must keep you posted up on the chicken news. I believe I told you we had borrowed some hens—they have all got to laying! and as our neighbor wanted some tin ware very badly I managed to get two of the hens for a tin pan. I did not like to spare the pan but thought I could get more by next summer with eggs! Butter is worth 30 cts a lb. in Kansas City and we have concluded to pack down what we make after this week and send it there—or keep it till winter when twill be worth more than tis now here. I have been writing to my brother to send us money to get cows with this fall and if we can bring things around right will make cheese next summer! and so get money to pay for our claim.

I shall have to stop any way for I have covered my sheet. . . .

Our love to all . . .

Sarah M. C. Everett

[This Fragment, in the Handwriting of John R. Everett, Bears No Date But Contents Place It at This Point in the Series. The Letter Describes the Battle of Osawatomie on August 30, 1856]

arms flashing in the sun. One house seemed to be burning. I staid some time there, but could not distinguish any thing more particularly. We could hear occasionally the roar of the cannon and

the shouting of the Missourians. I came down and as I came home could see smoke after smoke go up from the devoted town. They had finished plundering and had gone to burning in earnest. I found more fugitives from town at the house, a son of O. C. Brown³¹ (*not Capt. John Brown*, but a very different man) and a son of Rev. Mr. Adair, the Congregational preacher.³² The latter was a cousin of Frederick Brown, Capt. John Brown's son, who was shot before any alarm was given by a scout of the enemy, a proslavery Baptist preacher named Martin White. This was the first sad note of warning. Young Adair was sent immediately to alarm the free State men under Capt. J. Brown named above. His son shot dastardly, unsuspectingly was the word to rouse the brave Captain. Adair was cut off from returning by the advance of the enemy. He made his way below the town and over to us. He is a brave boy about 14. In the mean time friend Mendenhall had returned to his watch on the hill, and stayed there till he saw the Missouri *crowd* take up the line of march and leave. He immediately, with another neighbor Rev. James Caruth³³ started to town to render assistance to survivors &c. They came past our house and I went with them. We were almost the first in town after the burning. The first house we came to was a farm house, Mr. Chestnut's, a zealous free State man with a large family. This house was in the town limits, but not in the village strictly. They had moved their goods nearly all out. The mob came there but providentially did not burn up their shelter. The next house we came to was smoking but standing. We went in and found the floor had been fired from underneath, but was then only half burnt. We put out the fire with some wet wash clothes standing in a tub and saved that house. Others came in, and we went down to the timber to the field of conflict, to look for wounded or dead. We found one body on the bank of the river shot through the breast. He appeared to have died instantly. No one was killed on the battle field of our party. This man was sick, and could not escape. We got a couple of poles, laid shingle boards across them, and four of us mournfully carried him to an empty house, belonging to a proslavery man and so marked with a white flag and saved. The next

31. Two sons of Orville C. Brown were in Osawatomie at this time, Rockwell and Spencer Kellogg. The latter, then a boy of 14, describes his participation in the battle in his journal. (See George Gardner Smith, *Spencer Kellogg Brown*, D. Appleton & Co., 1903.) He was taken to Missouri as a prisoner for a short time following the battle. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union army under General Lyon and held the rank of fourth commander on the gunboat *Essex*. He was captured as a prisoner of war while destroying a rebel ferry boat near Port Hudson in August, 1862, and after a year's imprisonment at Richmond, was executed on the charge of being a spy.

32. The Rev. Samuel L. Adair, whose wife was a half sister of John Brown.

33. James Harrison Carruth, Presbyterian minister, later professor of natural sciences at Baker University, Baldwin, and state botanist, 1868-1892.

day he was buried in a rough box in his clothes as he fell, with two others, martyrs to the liberty of Kansas. We looked around a long time but found no others. Again the next day we were down searching. George Cutter was wounded you know *before* the battle, over a mile from town.³⁴

And now to answer some more questions. We feel in somewhat more danger on account of our nearness to Missouri. But there are 18 m. Indian territory to the line and twice that to any center of invasion.— My health is not very good for a few days. I feel better today. Sarah and Franky are pretty well. . . . As for the coming winter if they pay us for the care of Mr. Cutter we shall do well enough. We have not got any thing yet except part of a bag of flour. We hope to get something. I saved the \$20 I should have sent you for the Tribunes, till I had a chance to get 3 nice pigs for \$4½ dollars of it. This is a good investment of a small sum. They live on acorns they find in the woods, and the house refuse. With their natural increase I calculate they will be worth \$50 besides their keeping next fall. The other \$15 I have been obliged to break into on account of extra expenses for our wounded man. If it had not been for business having been broken up and the people driven off by our late calamities we should have done well enough. As it is, we shall have no trouble if we get our pay.

Osawatomie, Oct. 29, 1856.

Dear Father

We received yours of Oct 14, yesterday, by our weekly mail. This mail brought very discouraging news for us by the papers. We see that Pennsylvania and Indiana went for the border ruffians at the State elections. It will be a very dark day for Kansas if they vote the same way next Tuesday. But it is idle now to talk. Before this reaches you the great question will have been decided as far as this election can decide it. However it may go, those who have thrown all their influence for freedom may feel that *they* have *succeeded*, for blood guiltiness will not be upon their souls. Their record is clean. Their consciences are satisfied. And the great Ruler of the world can make even the wrath of man to praise Him. It is mysterious how He permits the wicked to flourish like a green bay tree, and their plans of gigantic wickedness to succeed. I am sure, I

34. George Cutter, with Frederick Brown and three others, had come to Osawatomie from Lawrence on August 29 with dispatches from General Lane. They spent the night about a mile and a half west of the town. Early the next morning the advance party of the border ruffian forces approached Osawatomie from the west. Frederick Brown, on his way to the home of Samuel Adair, was shot and killed. Cutter was also shot, but not fatally. He was removed to the home of John and Sarah Everett and cared for by them until his recovery.

would not be in Buchanan's place, or in that of his intelligent supporters for all "the wealth of Ormus or of Ind." They are trying to strangle freedom in an immense territory, and to plant human oppression, bloodshed, and the worst tyranny in its stead. To succeed in this is as if a man should *succeed* in murdering his own offspring.

Last night the prairie around us got afire, and we were out about 3 hours from 12 to 3 o'clock "fighting fire." It burnt up about $\frac{2}{3}$ of what hay I had saved in spite of us.

I have been talking the past week quite seriously of going East this fall, working there at something through the winter and returning in the Spring; while Sarah would stay here to take care of our claim, stock &c. But now I do not think it advisable to do so. If Fremont is our President, I think we should have quiet here this winter, probably. But if Buchanan is elected I fear trouble. From what I am able to learn, the free State men do not mean to give it up in any event. There is still a chance for us to save this territory to freedom and virtue. There is still a majority of free State men among the actual settlers in the territory. Are the East prepared to sustain us here? I hope the host of liberty have girt on their armor for the war, and that one reverse will not dishearten them. If the government is against us, there is more need that we should be true to ourselves and to the great cause.

Rev. Mr. Finch, the Wesleyan Missionary and one of our neighbors, went to Lawrence this week. He was going to try to get some money to pay us for taking care of Mr. Cutter. He took out 20 or 25 pounds of butter to sell for us.

There are a good many families around here who will suffer this winter unless they have help. The war has paralyzed industry, and prevented employment. One cannot work even for himself in the midst of continual alarms. I am glad to see so much interest taken in collecting funds for the suffering in Kansas. It will be needed.

Our health as a family is good. Our wounded man is getting along slowly. He has three wounds still open. This is the ninth week he has been here. This is a cold windy day. The thermometer at sunrise was 26°.

With much love to all at home

Your son

John

Osawatomie Nov. 13, 1856.

Dear Father

We received yours of Oct 29, this week Tuesday, with the gold dollar for Frank. The little boy is very proud of his present, and thanks J. W. Roberts very much. Tell Mr. Roberts that Sarah does not despair of making a buffalo cheese yet. I have seen a number of cows that are part buffalo. The hunters take out a cow with a young calf, they find a calf whose mother has been killed. They kill the cow's calf, and the cow takes to the buffalo calf. So tell Mr. Roberts to look out for a buffalo cheese some time or other. These half or part buffalo cows are generally esteemed better for the cross. I saw a man who said he once had a three quarters buffalo cow, the best cow he ever had.

Those currant slips came by this mail—11 white and red. I have put them in the ground, and I hope they will live though they are somewhat dried. I am very much obliged to whoever took the trouble to do them up.

You ask about religious meetings. We have had none this side of the Pottawatomie since the burning and scattering here. At first people dare not leave their families and homes—all was apprehension. Every day or two brought some fresh rumor of impending invasion. Now there is a feeling of measured security again—for how long the future alone can reveal. This added to sickness in some families broke up our meetings. . . .

I am working for a neighbor this week, helping him gather his corn. I am tired this evening, and will close with much love.

Your son

John

P. S. Osawatomie was not burnt a second time as reported. The steam saw mill was not burnt at all. It is sawing boards again now. And alas for the steam grist mill I see reported burnt. There is none here. (Vide O. C. Brown's letter in the Utica Morn. Herald of Oct. 30. That man *cant* tell a straight story.)

Osawatomie, Nov. 20, 1856.

Dear Father.

Yours of Nov 6 was rec'd this week. The election of Buchanan was what I had been expecting for the last three weeks, and especially for the last week. It has not depressed the feelings of free State men here as I thought it would. We are still determined to struggle for a free State. If Fremont had been elected that would

have been assured, but even now we do not despair of the Territory. We have still Justice on our side. Eternal principles are with us. The God of the oppressed is for us. The sympathies and prayers of hundreds of thousands in the free North are ours still. A great majority of the intelligent, upright, thinking Northern public is strongly and actively with us. A bare plurality of votes of the ignorant and prejudiced, obtained by the grossest misrepresentation and fraud is all that our enemies can boast of against us. I confess I think more now of the "troops and crowds and clouds of friends" who have stood so faithfully by struggling Kansas, and who came so near carrying this battle for freedom. And although the battle is lost, the *cause* is not lost. The great principle we may nay *must* fight for still. I am proud to think that your town and county and State did so nobly.

You ask what our Quaker neighbors intend doing? I answer, they feel more firm to stay now than before election. One timid woman told Sarah yesterday, she was so *mad* to think her State (Indiana) had gone for B-n, that she would not leave now for anything. Most think still that this will some way be a free State yet, although the danger of its being given up to slavery has been greatly increased. But "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." We hope God will bring good out of evil.

My health has not been quite as good this week—slight chills and fever. Sarah has not been very well either for a few days. Frank is well, *as usual*. George is having chills again. A piece of bone came out of one of his wounds the other day. He sat up a little to-day for the first time in nearly 12 weeks. The weather is mild and pleasant—the ground not frozen.— Sarah wants to know the price of sugar, rice, molasses &c with you.

Your son

John

Osawatomie, Nov. 28, 1856.

Dear Father,

It was with feelings of inexpressible sadness that we heard of the death of Robert. He was to me more than a brother—so kind, so warm in sympathy, so generous in feeling, so unselfish and self sacrificing. And I never shall see him again on earth! I feel that he is not lost. I know that he is in heaven. The first consoling thought was that he is now walking the hills of paradise, free from the fleshly trials, with Henry. I little thought when we parted in Utica, it was to meet no more on earth. I have no recollections of Robert, but of kindness of generosity and love.

I cannot write much. It is too late in the season for us to think of going back now. We could not sell our claim and improvements. When I talked of going I expected money from Lawrence on George's account to travel with. We have not received any, and may not at all although we expect to sometime. Navigation on the Missouri will soon cease probably. It sometimes stops by the middle of November. We feel now a good deal more like striking our roots downward and outward in this soil where we are planted now, than of uprooting and starting again elsewhere. Our free State men here feel much more encouraged now than two months ago. The splendid and unexampled vote of Fremont and free thought in N. York, Mass., Mich., Northern and Western Pennsylvania, Northern Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and indeed through the North, wherever there was intelligence enough to reach the conscience. There is no doubt that here on the ground for all the harassings and harrings, for all the butcheries, burnings and legal persecutions, we stand better numerically now than in July. I must stop here. Perhaps Sarah will add some
John.

We are not all feeling quite well— John has been helping friend Mose gather corn a part of the time this week and gets very tired & I have been about sick with a cold for three weeks—the first I have had in the Territory— Frank is well and is growing out of his clothes— George is gaining some faster now. I think its likely he will be able to go home in a few weeks now— Two days this week I have spent in getting things from the charity fund for him and ourselves and neighbors. One of our neighbors went to Alton to meet his wife who had been visiting East, and by stating the wants of the people of this part was successful in raising 5 large boxes of clothing & bedding (second hand) beside two or three barrels. These things he has been distributing to such as need especially to those who have braved the war and not run from the field.

I got for George socks shirts bedclothes and overcoat—for John overalls, vest, boots & socks, for myself dress & stockings, for Frank stockings aprons a nice little embroidered wadded merino sack also a nice red french merino long cloak—and worsted trousers, and a bundle of soft flannels— I got one heavy white woolen bed blanket. We have had 50 lbs. of flour this week from the regular relief fund (National) and clothing for George, and the promise of whatever we need
Sarah

Osawatomie Dec 4 1856.

Dear Father.

Gov. Geary is getting more in favor with free State men. He is a vast improvement on Shannon. His removal of Donaldson³⁵ and rebuke of the infamous Judge Lecompte³⁶ is well received as an omen of better times. The troops have been withdrawn from the Southern part of the Territory. They made seven arrests while here of men who had been in the free State army last summer. They had warrants out for a good many more, but the persecuted generally got warning and kept out of the way. Now the troops are gone there is no more danger for them. I was last summer among those who thought "prudence the better part of valor," and not having a gun, neither knowing how to use one was not in the fighting army of freedom. (I must say I am rather ashamed to confess it for there never was a more righteous cause than ours, but so it was. I will say in palliation that our place is out of the way, not exposed to all the evidences of strife, and I was not disposed to go counter to your opinions on war, if I could avoid it.) There is no danger of our being exposed to legal prosecutions that I am aware of, and for Missouri armies such as we saw last summer, as long as Geary is Governor they will be kept out. The merchants of Kansas City are very tired of the past state of things; and will do what they can undoubtedly for quiet. They were getting a great trade from the Territory but war of course cut it off. A great many of the turbulent Southerners have gone home. As to the reports you speak of respecting disturbances near Osawatomie we have not heard of any thing particular. A messenger or other officer of the Congressional Committee of inquiry, Mr. Arthur, had his house burned and stock driven off some four or five weeks ago. Mr. Arthur's claim is on Sugar Creek, 25 miles south from here. The letter writers sometimes make "Osawatomie" include a district 30 miles West and from ten to twenty five miles South. I feel almost as much encouraged to look for the ultimate success of freedom in this territory when I consider the splendid success of the Fremont ticket wherever there was a thorough and straightforward canvass and an intelli-

35. It was erroneously reported in the summer of 1856 that Governor Geary had asked for the removal of U. S. Marshal Israel B. Donaldson. Reference is possibly to this, or possibly to the arrest of Capt. John Donaldson of the territorial militia on order of Governor Geary issued November 7, 1856. Captain Donaldson had removed a prisoner from and dismissed the court of R. R. Nelson, a justice of the peace at Lecompton. Donaldson was later reinstated.

36. On September 23, 1856, Governor Geary addressed circulars to Chief Justice Samuel Lecompte and to Assoc. Justices Sterling G. Cato and Jeremiah M. Burrell, asking for complete reports on their activities in office.

gent vote, as if Fremont had been elected by a meager vote. The heart of the North is aroused. The thinking farmers and intelligent mechanics are with us. The vast majority of the conservators of religion are with us. I hope we shall see a large emigration here in the spring—men moving West who will come here as peaceful settlers, ready to stand in the gap for freedom. It is said that the larger part of the emigration, what there is, even now is from free States. The Yankee race are said proverbially to be remarkably tenacious of their purposes; *they are not going to give up the territory.*

Our health is pretty good now. George is improving some, but is having a chill to day. There is some prospect that we shall have a speedy remittance from Lawrence on his account. . . . The free state people are very much *enheartened* and helped by the liberal donations of their friends in the East. It will save a great deal of suffering, besides coming in a time when we specially felt the need of evidences of sympathy and help from our brothers at home.

We were unavoidably hindered from getting our last letter in the mail in season, so you will perhaps get two together.

With much love John.

[December 4, 1856]

I am glad that you can so readily supply us with rennet.³⁷ I have bothered myself beyond all telling trying to make it hold out, now I shall give myself the satisfaction of using just enough after this and hold you responsible for the consequences.

. . . [John] and Mr. Snow finished . . . a very large stack of hay to day. 12 tons they calculate!

You asked in your letter if we did not sometimes long to see such things as hills stones and so forth. At the south ($\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from us) we are blessed with the view of a magnificent bluff, "Crescent Hill," that circles around to the eastward forming a fine curve the slope of which is mostly wooded, on the west and east the bluffs step down into rich wavy rolls and to the North we descend very gently to the creek. Stones! I will show you some when you "settle in Kansas" that ten yoke of oxen can hardly stir!

John says send on that money and he will promise to take good

37. Rennet is the prepared inner surface of the stomach of a young calf, used for curdling milk. The outer skin and superfluous fat are removed from the stomach while fresh and it is then placed in salt for a few hours and dried. Small pieces are soaked in water and the water added to milk, producing curds which form the basis of cheese. Sarah Everett explains in a later letter that it was difficult to secure rennet in the territory because few calves were killed.

care of the cow. \$14 will get only a heifer. I am not in much of a writing mood as you must have already discovered, so perhaps I had better stop. . . . Are white linen cuffs and collars fashionable? . . .

[Sarah M. C. Everett]

Osawatomie Dec. 11, 1856.

Dear Father

Yours of Nov. 27 we received this week. We thank you and our kind friends in Steuben and Pennymynydd very much for your offer of help in case we wished to return. We *may* be glad before very long, to avail ourselves of any help we can get. But no present danger threatens us. I was talking with the mail contractor the other day. He had just returned from Westport. I asked him how they seemed to feel there? He said they were very clever now. Those who were encouraging the border ruffians last summer now spoke of their doings as something awful. "Well," I said, "I suppose they feel very confident this will be a slave state now Buchanan is elected?" "No," he said, "they talk as if they thought it would be a free state." Capt. [Henry T.] Titus, a notorious and very prominent leader of the Southern bandits, was at Kansas City, with 50 other Southerners, bound for Gen. Walker's army in Nicaragua. This Titus is reported to have said in passing through Lawrence, that he had spent his money and time to make Kansas a slave state, but he could not do it, nor any other man under God's heavens. There is more confidence here now than at any time since the burning of Osawatomie although we do not any of us know what a day or a week may bring forth. Another store is starting here this week—i. e. one that was burnt out starting anew. They have put a small pair of stones into their steam mill here so that they grind corn now. Some of Mr. Cutter's friends from near Palmyra were here a short time ago and said they were very busy making improvements there in their neighborhood. If we could have sufficient emigration from the North next spring, this will be a free state yet. The next claim West of us was taken this week by a Wesleyan minister. He sold his previous claim, a very good one before the election for the value of the improvements, to take effect in case Buchanan was elected, thinking there would then be no use for us to try to do anything. But his confidence has returned, he has hired a man to work on his new claim all winter I believe, and he is going on to make large improvements.

There seems still to be a great deal of injustice practiced in the territory, but not so openly and with such a high hand as when Shannon was Governor.

We have had some pretty cold weather the last week—one morning the mercury stood at 2° above zero. There is no snow and the ground does not seem to be frozen permanently yet.

Our health is pretty good. Geo. Cutter is improving quite slowly, he is kept back by frequent chills. We are looking for a remittance from Lawrence on his account this week.

If you feel that we are not acting wisely or doing quite right in staying here, when the prospect of our making a permanent home is so uncertain, remember that the free state folks feel not only that there is an opportunity for bettering their condition if things turn favorably, but they feel that they are standing in the breach for freedom, and to leave while there is hope is to desert their colors and give strength to the enemy.

Your affectionate son John Everett

Osawatomie, Dec. 19, '56.

Dear Father,

Wednesday was a "white day" for us in Kansas Territory. In the first place Rev. Geo. Lewis and J. H. Thomas of Lawrence called to see us. Mr Thomas was formerly of Brooklyn; you know him as Mr. Thomas the tobacco man. They came this way to look at the country. We had an exceedingly pleasant and encouraging interview with them. Mr Thomas has been in the state (Missouri) lately. He says they seem discouraged about making this a slave state. He said it was perfectly safe to travel there, and to express your sentiments. On the other hand the free state men about Lawrence and indeed through the territory are full of hope, and sanguine of final success. Mr. Roberts, an intelligent neighbor (a Welshman) has been in the state and he got the same impression. He says it has cost the people of Western Missouri one million dollars for their villainous raids on Kansas. They now feel that they have been foiled. They calculated to drive us all out as they did the Leavenworth people, but found us too hard to drive.

But the event of the day was the call of Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, President of the National Kansas Committee. He is now in the territory for the purpose of visiting every neighborhood to see that justice is done to the sufferers— His visits are of a "flying" character but he transacts business with dispatch— We had

never received any thing yet from the Lawrence committee on George's account but before he had been in the house 10 minutes he had settled the matter by having us make out our bill for the whole time (16 weeks) and himself writing on it an order for its immediate payment— He then made a little inquiry about the treatment George was having and recommended us to use water, and handed out \$20 to get better tubs and other appliances for that purpose— He gave George \$10 for an old wallet that contained 75 cts that was in his pocket when he was shot and which caught one of the bullets that was aimed at him and which saved his hip joint from being fractured and undoubtedly saved his life— He was very indignant that the Lawrence Committee had not paid Mr. Cutter's bill before this time.— John is going to town this morning to get a bath tub made and engage lumber to ceil the house so that it will be warm enough for a bath room &c &c.

. . . Since we wrote before we have received from the fund 50 lbs flour 7 lbs sugar 6 lbs rice 2 lbs coffee $\frac{1}{2}$ lb tea and an old pelisse which I find very comfortable to slip on in this old room or to wear when I go out on horseback to do errands— We do not expect to get any thing more from the fund if they pay us.— John commenced but the morning was wearing away and he had wood to chop and thought he would hardly have time and so I was obliged though reluctantly to spoil his letter. Therefore with many regrets I am,

Sarah

O-e, Dec. 26, 1856.

Dear Father

Two gentlemen who were in Osawatomie this week, came in through Missouri. They reported the border ruffians they met or heard of as universally discouraged. One man who was in the army that burned Osawatomie said they were promised before they started \$1.50 a day, and 160 acres of land. "Well, did you get your \$1.50 a day?" "No, by — we did not." "Did you get your 160 acres of land?" "No, by — we didn't." "Are you going there again?" "No! Kansas may go to hell!" (That is true border ruffian dialect.)

We are very thankful to you and the generous donor for the \$5 enclosed in your last. We hope now that another year we may be left in peace so may earn our own living, and soon return to other needy the help we need and are kindly furnished. This help the North is now sending, in my judgment, assures the freedom of Kansas.

We received \$60 this week from Lawrence, (from Mr Army³⁸) on George Cutter's account. Our health is usually good as a family. . . . Yesterday we had company to a Christmas dinner—a Methodist (Wes.) preacher, wife and child. A pleasant visit. I wish Mother could make a visit to Kansas for a resting spell. We have had a cold December. The two last days were very mild. Today foggy. This week got Dec. Cen. They get them in Lawrence about the 10th or 12th.

With much love

John.

Osawatomie Jan 1, 1857.

Dear Father.

Do any of the Welsh people talk of coming to Kansas in the spring? Any one who could come out with means enough to go right to making cheese with 20 to 40 cows could almost make their fortune in one season. Cheese retails here at 25 cents a pound. Last winter the same. I wish I had means to go into it. The pasture is unlimited and most excellent. Milch cows and all stock get as fat as butter in the summer. Good cows were worth here last spring from \$25 to \$35.

Corn is worth here 40 to 50 cts, Flour brings \$4.50, Butter, 25 cts; turnips 25 cts; potatoes, none to sell; pork 5 cts a pound.

Our health is good. We expect to take Mr. Cutter to Lawrence as soon as we get a few days of mild weather. He gets along slowly since cold weather.

John

P. S.

Look out for mail failures now! The season of snow drifts, and swollen creeks approaches. There is three or four inches of snow on the ground to day which fell yesterday morning. Every week in December brought first rain, then wind, south, west, and north, cold, cutting, frosty, then a clear sky, one or two beautiful spring like days, the last day wind East, then clouds, then rain would complete the circle and begin a new round.

Osawatomie, Jan 15, '57.

Dear Father,

Evening

We received yours of Jan 1st this week. (Excuse my pencil marks. My ink is frozen & pale.) The \$7 came safely. Franky and Sarah are very much obliged to the children and mother for the donation. Will you please get Sarah a paper of good needles

38. William F. M. Army was a representative of the National Kansas Committee organized July 9, 1856, to send aid to the settlers of the territory.

and send in your next letter, sharps 5^s-10^s. All her needles bought here cut in the eye. You remember those we brought with us were lost in the bandbox. . . .

We are much more comfortable this winter than last. Our house is cold, but not nearly so cold as that we were in last winter. We are having a cold winter again. I'll give you a statement of how the thermometer has stood at sunrise since Jan 2.

Jan 2	+2°	Jan 6	-6°	Jan 10	+14°	Jan 14	+14°
3	-7°	7	+7°	11	0°	15	-9°
4	+3°	8	+9°	12	-6°	16	+12°
5	-3°	9	+14°	13	0°		

The prevailing winds have been westerly.— The free State Legislature met last week according to adjournment. They adjourned to June. Some of the members were arrested. I am not surprised with this. The *Symbols* of power are with our adversaries. The marshal or deputy told one of our members from this section that he had a writ for him, but it was a farce, and he would not execute it. (The member had called on business.) But one feels indignant that the representatives of nine tenths of the people should be arrested as if for crime, and that in the abused name of democracy.

Franky is very healthy, and lively as ever. Sarah and myself are in usual health. We get about four quarts of milk a day. I bought a good second-hand saddle the other day for \$3.50. Before we have had to borrow or do without. Mr Cutter is with us yet. We are on the whole pretty comfortable, when the thermometer does not stand at zero, with a stiff breeze. Our coldest weather is pretty still.

[John R. Everett]

Os-e, Jan 21, 1857.

Dear Father

Our usual letter failed this week.

We are in usual health. Nothing particular to write. Therefore please excuse brevity. Last Sunday morning the mercury fell to 26° below zero. Saturday was very cold. The only day yet this winter when the mercury remained below zero all day. Wind N. N. W. A hurricane of snow blowing all day. The night before the snow sifted through our roof like meal from mother's sieve. I had to get up and suspend a sheet to keep the snow from our heads and pillows. You must be having a severe winter there. It is not as cold nearly here as in the N. W. part of the Territory as I see by an account of a surveying party's expedition Dec 10 ult. published in The N. Y. Tribune

Your aff son John

Osawatomie, Jan. 28, 1857.

Dear Father

We rec'd yours of Jan. 9th yesterday, with \$6.00 enclosed. Thank Wm Roberts and J. W. Roberts and yourself very kindly for us. We hope we will be able some time to return it to some one who needs it as much. The prospect before us this summer is brighter than it has been yet in Kansas. Our health is better. The look for peace and confidence is yet good. The prospects of an overwhelming preponderance of free state settlers here are not at all desperate but highly encouraging. I hear on all sides noise of anticipated improvements the coming season. There is to be a saw mill and store put up 3 or 4 miles west of Osawatomie, the nucleus of a prospective town there—about the same distance from us as the present village. Our claim is in the centre of the township. Who knows but we may have a four corners, a store, blacksmith shop, &c here some time? There is considerable talk of building in Osawatomie. They have recently been getting subscriptions to erect a small building for school and meeting purposes—nearly enough already subscribed. My neighbor Mr Finch and I intend to fence together 20 acres each, making a field of 40 acres for corn. There is little fencing timber on my claim. Most of the rails I will have to buy. We intend to purchase a prairie plow between us and do the plowing mostly ourselves. Now do you think you could lend or borrow for me \$50 or \$30 to get fencing with? I can fence the half of a square piece $\frac{1}{4}$ mile on a side with the same rails it would take to fence 10 acres separately. The surveyed lines come so that it will be much more convenient to make a field so, than to enlarge my old field. Mr Finch, you have heard me mention before, is a Wesleyan missionary of the Am. Miss. Association. If I can do this fencing and make my mare and my labor pay for my part of the plowing of the field, it will be a great lift for us and with a fair season bring us in enough so that next fall we will be quite independent. Next spring I intend to put out a few fruit trees to begin to make an orchard. I will have to buy some potatoes for seed. Those currant slips Lewis sent me I hope will grow next summer. They have been in the ground all winter. I wish some one was coming out here from your part in the spring, so that I could get a variety of small fruits &c. . . . How many of my apple trees lived through the summer? If you have not earthed them up, the first thaw let any one who has time tramp the snow around them. This will shut out the mice from

gnawing the bark under the snow. I am sending the Herald of Freedom to you once in a while. There is a good deal of *gas* in this paper along with a good deal of substantial truth. I suppose you have seen our Gov. Geary's message.³⁹ It is a strange mixture of excellent recommendations with miserable political philosophy. His practical suggestions are good, but his political theories are detestable, untrue, and inhuman. I doubt if Gov. Geary does not soon find himself, in spite of himself, *with* the freedom loving *people* of Kansas, and at loggerheads with the border ruffian legislators thereof—like Reeder, with this difference, then the people were a handful, now comparatively a multitude, and every month becoming stronger. The few grains of common sense hidden under the bushel of error in the doctrine of squatter sovereignty will compel this. The violent proslavery papers here already berate Geary. They say the show of moderation to the free state people before the presidential election was a political necessity, to carry Pennsylvania and Indiana; but now he should throw off the mask and openly show the proslavery colors. But I feel thankful, that it is getting more and more impossible for mere politicians to mould the institutions of Kansas at their will. The people here are getting too strong. It is a curious commentary on the doctrine of squatter sovereignty that where it is first applied, in the territory to govern which the doctrine and sounding phrase were invented, here the people have actually less political power than in any civilized government on earth. Our Legislature is elected by the wild and half civilized Missouri borderers. All our Executive officers from Governor to constable are appointed either by the President or by the Legislature; so with all the judiciary from Supreme Judge to the most ignorant Squire hardly able to write his name; all county officers. But the people are awake.

"Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." And sooner or later the people will triumph. They tried to subdue us last summer with the whole power of the U. S. Government and army on their side. They failed. Now I think they may try governmental forms and formulas. But they will equally fail. The people at last will triumph. If any thing were wanting to insure this, the munificent donations for Kansas in the free states have done it. The South have done nothing comparatively to encourage and keep their sons here.

39. Governor Geary's message to the legislative assembly of Kansas territory, January 12, 1857.—See *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 676-687.

The weather has softened. We have had three mild days, thawing the snow a little. I think the hardest of our winter is over

With much love Your affectionate Son John.

Osawatomie Feb 3, '57.

Dear Father

We received yours of Jan 19 this morning. I hasten to write a few words in reply. The snow is thawing and going off very fast. Today is the warmest day since November—the thermometer now (about 2 P.M.) indicates 60°. The past has been a very mild pleasant week. My health seems to be better as spring approaches than it has been for many years. I am fleshier than I remember myself since I was a boy. My clothes that I wore two years ago are all too small. . . . Sarah and Franky are both well. We are hoping the back of this winter is broken. The Indians think there will be no more very cold weather this winter. Friend Mendenhall has been on a tour through Lawrence and North of the Kansas river. He found people hopeful. There is a good deal of a speculating spirit among a great many where he has been. Lots in Lawrence on Massachusetts street (the main Street) are rated some of them as high as \$150 per foot front. Tomorrow the Pottawatomie may [be] too high to be fordable so I hasten this brief letter to the office. We thank you for the stamps in your last.

Your affectionate son and daughter
John & Sarah

Osawatomie Feb 19, 1857

Dear Father and Mother

We received yours and Lewises of Jan 28th this week. This is the first mail to come in for two weeks. We had a heavy rain and a flood. The Pottawatomie was away over its banks and every other stream I suppose. Of course the mail could neither go out or come in. The prairie was all frozen so that all the water ran down into the natural channels as from the roof of the house into an eaves trough. Some lost cattle and hogs. I found our cows up to their bellies in water, with the water still rising, a bitter cold day. It was one of their usual haunts, when they happen to wander, about 1¼ miles from home. The water surrounded them, and they had not the courage to break for the land, partly I suppose because it had turned so cold, and they would have stayed there till they were floated off or had been frozen if I had not found them. I went home

and got my mare and drove them out. A neighbor below found his cattle on a little island of perhaps half an acre. On the island with the cattle were frightened representatives of the denizens of the forest—wolves and rabbits, pigs, deer and turkeys. The cattle were driven off, the pigs refused to budge and were left to their fate with the wolves deer and rabbits. The weather has been very mild generally, this month. A number of days the thermometer has been from 60° to 68° at the warmest. For three days now the wind has been North with rain and heavy fog blowing down and freezing as it falls. Not very cold—mercury ranging from 23° to 34°. But it seems much colder after the mild beautiful weather of the few days preceding. We have had no mail from Lawrence for three weeks. We hear privately that the Bogus Legislature has repealed the test oath law,⁴⁰ and part of the statutes infringing liberty of speech.⁴¹ It is remembered that this Legislature was chosen by the slaveholding party in Kansas *without let or hindrance*, and that free state men by their convictions and conscience were precluded from voting. This is an indication that the substantial victory is ours. By the time this reaches you, Buchanan's inaugural will be on your table, and the names of his cabinet under your eye. I hope to live to see the time when a President of the United States may be chosen who believes in the Declaration of Independence and in the free doctrines of the Holy Bible, and who will administer the Constitution in the spirit of its preamble. Too many of our *Democrats* (and is not Buchanan their chief?) seem to believe in nothing but in flattering those who have votes. Buchanan comes in without the moral support of the North, and I do not despair of seeing among his "glittering generalities" some decided admission or appreciation of the fact that there is a North. D. Webster on the 7th of March 1850 forgot that, and was forgotten in consequence.

40. Section 11 of the act to regulate elections, passed by the territorial legislature of 1855, provided that no one convicted of violation of the fugitive slave law should be entitled to vote or hold office in the territory; further, that if any person offering to vote should be challenged and required to take an oath to support the acts of congress pertaining to same, as well as the Kansas-Nebraska act, and should refuse, the vote of such person should be rejected.—*Statutes of the Territory of Kansas, 1855, "An Act to Regulate Elections,"* Section 11.

By an act of the legislature of 1857, that part of Section 11 of the act to regulate elections, providing that any person challenged as a voter should be required to take an oath to sustain the specified acts of congress, was repealed.—*Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1857, "An Act Prescribing Oaths . . .,"* Section 1.

41. Section 12 of the act to punish offences against slave property, *Statutes of 1855*, provided: "If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this territory, or shall introduce into this territory, print, publish, write, circulate or cause to be introduced into this territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years." This section of the act was repealed by the legislature of 1857.

You see I have nothing to write about, and I close. Sarah intends to write a few lines to Jenny if she has time before we can send this. Do not expect our letters regularly now for a few weeks. To take this to mail, I will either have to wade the Pottawotamie or go down three miles below and cross in a canoe. The banks are so miry that it is not safe for me to try to cross with my blind mare.— We have 3 or 4 hens laying. Do you get any eggs? How many quires do you wet now for Cenhadwr? Do you or Lewis or Jenny know of a cheap edition of Macaulay's last volumes of the History of England. Harper published the two first vols in paper covers for 25 cts per vol. If the last two volumes are so published you would do me a very great kindness by getting and sending them to me by mail. I have not seen a new book since I came here, above an Almanac. If you want to get a very interesting and useful little farmers book, you will find one in the "*Illustrated Annual Register of Rural Affairs and Cultivator Almanac*" for 1857. It is beautifully printed and illustrated, and cannot be read by any one with a square rod of ground without profit.

With much love

Your son

John

Osawatomie Mar. 5, '57.

Dear Father

We are well. Have only had one mail for nearly three weeks, and no letter or paper in that. The rivers have been high, and now the waters have subsided. The banks are so miry no wagon can pass. These are some of the inconveniences of a new country. In a few years we hope to have good roads and bridges. Emigration has commenced in good earnest. Every boat we hear of comes up loaded with emigrants. Several claims have been taken near us this week. Mr. R Hughes of Lawrence, whose name is on your Cenhadwr book, spent Sabbath with us. He is out here looking at the country, with a probability of moving here. I do not see but that we are likely to have a Welsh settlement at Osawatomie. At least there seems to be a number of Cymry who talk of coming here. They all like the country around here well.

A proslavery man named Sherman, generally known over the territory, as "Dutch Henry," was shot Monday evening four miles above on the Pottawotomie. He was a violent proslavery man, active in the troubles last summer, and this is one of the bad fruits of that miserable slavery extending crusade. He had been a resi-

dent of the territory for 10 years before the Kansas bill was passed, first as hired man to a half breed Indian head man, and then as stock raiser having for his pasture the illimitable prairies. Before the troubles he had large herds of 200 or 300 cattle, but "when there was no king in Israel" guerrilla parties found means to find wings for his cattle, and now he is probably dead. This act is greatly regretted here, but perhaps not to be wondered at. Today is cold. The weather has been spring like. Our pie plants have started. We get some eggs. John

Osawatomic, Mar. 11, '57.

Dear Father,

We received yours of Feb 18 this week. It contained a draft of \$29.55. This will be of great service to us. I am disappointed in the way of making my field and plowing as I wrote. The man who took the claim West of me proved quite changeable in his plans, gave up the claim and bought a timber claim elsewhere. Still I expect to make a field of 10 to 15 acres in addition to what I have now under cultivation, and think I can do it and get it plowed with this assistance. I fear it will cramp you to take this from your own means. I wish you could have borrowed it.

George Cutter has left us. He had a chance to go and went the beginning of the week. He had got so as to sit up nearly all day, and to walk around some. We miss him much. His disposition was kind, very peacable, and unvengeful. One of the last persons who would seek a quarrel. The Committee owe us yet \$30 for taking care of him, which I think we will get in time to be of service for our spring expenses. I have besides between \$20 & \$30 in my pocket. We get 7 or 8 eggs a day. Now we are alone we expect to sell most of what we get. They are worth 20 cts. a dozen now. We have some 1st September chickens laying now, and some May and July ones not laying. The winters here are much more favorable to poultry as indeed to all stock than with you. The difference in latitude between us and you makes a more marked difference in temperature in Spring than in fall. We shall not need to fodder much more this spring. We have had a very cold turn of weather these last few days, but the sun has got so high it cannot last long. There has been a good deal of discussion about the Convention called by the bogus Legislature. The general feeling is in favor of voting if we could expect fairness but this bill was so unfair Gov. Geary vetoed it, and I think Free State men will not recognize this more than any

other law of the bogus Legislature.⁴² There is a delegate Convention⁴³ this week at Topeka, to consult and devise a wise plan of united action. It was with the delegates from Osawatomie to this Convention that George went up to Lawrence. . . .

From your son

John

N.B. Tell any body who knows how to make cheese that they cannot miss it in coming to Kansas. Cheese has retailed here this winter at 25 cents. Butter, 25 cents. Pasture don't cost any thing.

Osawatomie, Mar. 18, 1857.

Dear Father

We received two letters from home this week one of Feb 10 and Feb 23. The latter contained the draft of \$21. The draft of \$29.55, we received last week. We hope to be able to repay you before very long. Our great anxiety now about it is, lest you have cramped yourself by sparing it out of your own resources. . . .

. . . We heard that George Cutter arrived safely in Lawrence, after leaving us. The last two winters have been the coldest (they say) known or remembered in Kansas, by the oldest inhabitants. March is still cold. Not much spring for us yet. We do not have to feed cows much however. We have one cow that gives us a little milk yet. Get 6 to 8 eggs a day. Our pigs that I boasted so much of last fall, went one day in the beginning of winter (as all the swinish multitude here were wont to do) into the creek timber, and never returned! Some one "*pressed*" them I suppose. So we suffered, because "there was no king in" Kansas. And we are only too happy because it was not a thousand times worse with us, as it has been with some. We hope never to see such times here again as we saw last year.

I close with much love to all.

Your Son

John

42. The territorial legislature passed an act on February 19, 1857, providing for the election of a convention to frame a state constitution. Delegates to the convention were to be apportioned on the basis of a census ordered for April 1. Governor Geary vetoed the bill because it failed to make provision to submit the constitution, when framed, to the consideration of the people for ratification or rejection. The bill was passed over his veto.

43. A Free-State convention met at Topeka on March 10.

Longwood, Mar. 26, 1857.

Dear Father

We received yours from Utica, (March 5) this week. . . . The last few days have been beautiful spring days. Last Sunday the mercury rose to 84°. To day it is between 70° and 80°. This week we heard that Gov. Geary is dead.⁴⁴ If so, it will be a great loss to Kansas. He will be sincerely and truly mourned in many a humble log cabin. With all his errors of logic in his messages, in his administration he was the true friend of the actual settler. He stood between free state men and those who would devour them. He restored peace, and maintained it by refusing to employ the military in enforcing the barbarous territorial laws. We shall hardly get a better Governor, and may easily get a worse. A son of John Pierce of Big Rock and one of Thomas Pierce of Aurora, fine young men, have taken claims near us. They stopt with us one night.

. . . I must close in haste. Your son

John.

Friday morning.—I was interrupted in writing this by a prairie fire driving down straight into our timber. We both worked hard to keep it back for about 8 hours. Did not get to bed till midnight. We finally succeeded. It reminded me of the effort of the slave power to spread its devastating flame over our beautiful prairies. We had to work hard, watch constantly, when one plan failed to try another, and it finally only blackened one little corner of the timber. I have a chance to send this, and must close.

Longwood, Apl 2 1857.

Dear Father

Yours of Mar. 10 (from Utica) recd last mail. I thank you for sending the heads of your sermon on secret prayer. Hope it may do us good.

Rev. Geo. Lewis and Mr. Thomas of Racine stopped with us last Sunday. Had a pleasant interview with them. You will have seen 'ere this the account of our Topeka Convention. They resolved not to vote at the coming constitutional Convention. This vote I think was unanimous. There has been a good deal of difference of opinion as to the wisdom of such a resolve, and is yet. Many were in favor of going to the polls, and if necessary with rifles in their hands. I

⁴⁴. Governor Geary left the territory secretly on March 10. He had addressed his resignation to President Buchanan on March 4, to take effect on March 20. His death did not occur until 1873.

think the wisest course is that adopted by the Convention. We can wait and watch. Let them form their slave Constitution. There is no provision in the law for a submission to the people. Will Congress receive this Constitution formed by a small fraction with such submission? I think not. If submitted to the people, we shall be much stronger next fall than now and if we could get the control now could easily vote them down then. If not presented to the people we can send a *remonstrance* signed by three times as many *voters* as they will be likely to muster to vote for their constitutional candidates *without opposition*. Our policy is now a "masterly inactivity." Wait for those who are coming. The advocates of voting want to go to the polls and expect they would have to vindicate their rights there with blood. But our policy is peace. We wish to do nothing to provoke collision, at least till we are strong enough to awe and look down all opposition. Even if our state is slave in form and name, it will be a slave state with the great majority actively hostile to slavery. I predict that when Kansas becomes a state, the greater the effort to make it slave in reality, the more determined and explosive will be the opposition to slavery in fact. If a slave state at all, it will be a slave state without slaves. Mark that.

This morning was the first frost in a week. The gooseberries in the timber are leaving out a little. The prairies are yet brown with green patches here and there. Grass grows in the timber and wet places, and the buffalo grass and the wild barley make quite a bite on the prairies. Yesterday our hens laid 13 eggs. With which interesting information I close with much love from your grandson, daughter and son John.

Commercial Ink

10 gallons clean rain water, 2½ lbs Extract Logwood (*not the chips but a solid, comes in lumps*). Boil slightly 15 minutes in a clean iron kettle and stir well.

Then add one half pound bichromate potash, dissolved in a little hot water, stir it till a deep black, take off. Let settle, strain or pour off.— This is a valuable receipt. Friend Mendenhall has been a druggist, and paid \$10. for the above. This is the ink. Costs, dear as drugs are here, 20 cts a gallon. He sold me a pint for 5 cents. If you had known it, you would not have sent the powder. It stands the test when tried with chemicals better than any other ink.

Mr. G. Lewis gave us \$11.25 from the Welsh Relief Fund, which was unexpected but very acceptable. Mr. Adair had a box come

lately. He sent word over and Sarah went and got a pair of shirts for me, two pair of woollen stockings for herself, a pair of pants, apron & mittens for Frank, 12 yards of calico, 1 pair of pillow cases. . . .

Longwood, Apr. 8, 1857.

Dear Father

We received two letters from home this week Mar. 16 and 24 with . . . that little ball of yarn. Please excuse me writing a letter this time, as I am very busy with my spring work. I am splitting rails now. My health is better this spring than I remember it since I left school. Sarah and Franky are both well. The Spring is quite backward. Sunday was a very cold day—a regular return of winter. Monday morning the mercury fell to 10°. How was it with you about then? It has stopped freezing nights now except once in a while. We were sorry to hear Gov. Geary has resigned. We have not heard who is the new appointee. It was a great joy to us to read of the triumphant result of the New Hampshire elections. A few short years back and N. H. was where Penn. & Ind. are now. The world moves and will continue to move. We feel cheerful, and confident of the final triumph of the right. . . .

Your affectionate son

John

Osawatomie, Apr. 16, 1857.

Dear Father

The mail seems to have become rather irregular on the advent of a new administration. We got no letter this week. (But now I remember we got two last week.) The Feb. Cenhadwr only came to hand last week. We have had no *N. Y. Tribune* for two weeks now. We are having a cold April—colder than anything we have seen in April before— North winds now two days out of three. Some have made garden and planted potatoes, but they are doing no good. Last years crops were poor, except wheat, and the emigration is large; so provisions are quite high. It is a good omen for us that we hear of very little Southern emigration. Ask any one just come in, if the boat he came on was full? "Crowded," will be the answer. "Were there most free state or slave state?" "O, Free State, a great deal," or "Nearly all Free State," will be the reply. Still, the most of those going on to the Indian lands, or *claiming* there are Proslavery Missourians. It is said there are 2800 names registered on the

squatter's claim book in Westport of Missourians who have made claims on the Shawnee lands. It is said the Census taker went to that *Claim Book*, and took all those names on his list. If he had gone on to the land he could not find a tenth part of them, I presume. But this is a part of the fraud that is to be practiced at the Bogus election this summer.

The removal of Gov. Geary is a sad blow to us. Well, Walker cannot well be worse than Shannon was. And then we are far stronger in the territory, and our enemies far weaker in Missouri than last year. If Walker wants to save the Democratic party, he will give no occasion for a renewal of strife in Kansas. I must close now.

Your son

John

Osawatomie May 1, '57.

Dear Father

Your regular letter came this week. I have been quite busy planting and making garden this week. April has been *very* cold and dry. We have now had a few days warm weather. But to day is cold again, the wind North. Sarah is well excepting a cold. Frank is pretty smart again but complains still of a cold. My health is quite good.

In haste

John.

Longwood May 7, 1857

Dear Father—

Yours of Apr. 23 came to hand this week— John is very busy now with his Spring's work and can hardly find time to write— He is getting on very well—has done his own plowing (on the old land) and got it mostly planted. Will finish this afternoon all except a small patch for a few more garden seeds.

The spring is so late that there has not been any sod broken yet in these parts— John has split most of his rails so far this spring to fence in his new breaking and expects to be able to finish what he will need before his crop will be liable to injury— His health is better than it has been before since I knew him— We are both amply repaid for all the privations, persecutions and horrors we have suffered in the Territory, by the better health we enjoy and in seeing Frank changed into a robust, vigorous stout boy.

We do not learn that the resignation of Gov. Geary and the appointment of Walker affects the emigration into the Ter. or that it

depresses the Free State people already here— They are pretty strongly determined not to submit to the same grievances they did last summer—and not to recognize the right of their oppressors to tax them— You will see by the *Herald of Freedom* John will send with this how the Lawrence people met the taxation question when acting Gov. Stanton expressed his views on it—and that is an echo of the whole free state population⁴⁵— We have heard this week from one of its agents (Genl. Pomeroy) that the Em. Aid Soc. has bought out half of the town of Atchison—including in their purchase *String-fellow's* paper *The Squatter Sovereign*, as violent a proslavery sheet last summer as could be found, and are going to turn it into a free-state paper.⁴⁶ Gen. P. says that the proslavery men are “backing down” throughout the Ter.— It is not believed by any one that there is the least probability that the outrages of last summer will be re-enacted or even attempted again—

Little Franky went with us to “fight fire” till dark when I took him to the house and put him to bed and returned again as one alone could accomplish nothing.

There was nothing particularly dangerous if we were careful— My dress or any of our clothes *might* have taken fire if we had not had our minds on ourselves as well as on what we wished to burn—but we escaped unharmed with the exception of extreme weariness and severe colds.

Our nearest neighbor is three fourths of a mile distant. We had no time to take Frank there—besides children here have to learn self reliance and independence as well as their parents— That night Frank went to bed with his clothes on and without his supper without crying— But he cried for his breakfast before we could hardly get our eyes open next morning.

One thing I should have mentioned in regard to our bogus officials—which is that they do not attempt to enforce the *barbarous* “laws of Kansas” against opposition as they formerly did, even when justice calls for punishment. One striking example of this occurred not long since in Osawatimie— A young man at a boarding house

45. A portion of Acting Governor Stanton's speech to the people of Lawrence is quoted in an editorial appearing in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, May 2, 1857. “You wish to know my position in regard to the Territorial laws. Congress has recognized them as binding. . . . The President has recognized them as valid and they must be received as such. (*Never!* from the multitude.) You must obey them, and pay the taxes. (*Never, no never.*) There is where I am at war with you. (Then let there be war.) It shall be to the knife, and knife to the hilt. I say it without excitement, and wish you to receive it as such; the taxes must be collected, and it becomes the duty of my administration to see that they are collected. (Then you bring the government into collision with the people.)”

46. See Samuel A. Johnson, “The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 436, 437; and Russell Hickman, “Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Co.,” *ibid.*, v. IV, p. 253, for statements regarding the interests of the company in Atchison.

in the place ran away one night with a span of horses and wagon belonging to another individual \$80 in cash belonging to another, and a coat, pistols gun &c belonging to others— He was pursued, taken, and lodged in jail in Lecompton. Not long after, the sheriff and a posse of ten I believe brought him down to Osawatomie for trial before our bogus justice but no one would testify against him, the blacksmith who boarded at the same place with this fellow was subpoenaed but he told them if Williams (the Bogus justice) wanted him he would have to come where he was— Williams talked pretty loud about *making* him testify and others also, but it all ended in talk, and we have heard nothing since— So it is in other parts as well as here— The free state party are conscious of superior strength and are not moved or daunted as heretofore.

We are having a very dry spring and have had also a very cold one. During April the wind was strong and steady and cold—the weather here was well described by the Tribune in speaking of the weather in N. Y. that it was “unseasonably, unreasonably, uncomfortably and unnecessarily cold.” It was that here once more also—I close with love to all from—

Your children
Sarah & John & Franky

Osawatomie May 14, 1857.

Dear Father

Your regular letter received this week. . . . I am very busy with my work now. I am fencing for my new breaking. Expect to get about 10 acres new prairie plowed or perhaps a little over. Will have to pay \$4.00 an acre at least. Around Lawrence they charge \$5.00 and \$5.50. Have saved \$40.00 of the fifty I borrowed of you for that. My rails (excepting 250) I split myself. Have got enough split to answer till my corn is planted. Yesterday and the day before was hauling rails. Have got about half done. Expect to get it planted week after next. The spring is very late and cold. Flour is \$7.00 a hundred. Bacon 15 to 20 cts. Corn for meal and seed \$2.00 a bushel. Butter is 25 cts. Cheese 25 cents a pound. I wish somebody would lend me \$100 to buy cows. I would willingly pay 10 per cent, and could afford to pay 20. It would be the same as rent with you. Are there none of your money loving Oneida men who would like to get rent for some of the Western prairies? Thousands of tons of good prairie grass will be *burnt* this fall within two miles of our house. When I was in Steuben men would pay \$12 rent for a cow and a place to keep her, when butter was worth no more than 15 to

18 cents and cheese 6 to 7. So we go. I have done more work with less fatigue this spring than in four times the time last. There is no more danger of Kansas being a slave state (except by fraud and in mere form) than Iowa. Not half as much as that Pennsylvania will revert to slavery. Much more likely that Missouri will become a free state. We feel quite safe on *that* head. Proslavery men are backing down and backing out, and free state men marching in by thousands to fill their places. *Thank God*, in this country the President is not absolute. His power is very limited. The Governmental power is in the *people* by universal theory and general practice. In the end, the *people* here will triumph against the slave power and all its hosts, including President, cabinet, and their long tail of office holders and seekers. In Europe the sovereignty is with the prince, and in the long run he generally succeeds in his objects as against the people. Here the sovereignty is universally acknowledged and felt to be in the people, and in a contest between President and people, the *people* will come out winners. All that is needed is firmness, wisdom, and faith. The most significant fact of late is that the Squatter Sovereign, the head and front of slavery propagandism has become a free state paper. "Is Saul among the prophets?" Has persecuting Saul, who sat at the feet of Ananias, and held the clothes of those who stoned Stephen, become the Christian Apostle Paul? This is like James Buchanan trying to make Kansas a free state, or the Washington Union becoming a Black Republican paper.

I must close. We are all quite well.

Your affectionate son

John.

N. B. The land is now open for pre-emption— That is, we can pay for our claims as soon as we can get money. Excuse haste and blunders. We have no milk yet.

(To be continued in August Quarterly)

Research Projects in Kansas History

THIS compilation of projects in Kansas history is based for the most part upon questionnaires submitted to history department heads of Kansas colleges granting advanced degrees. Of course the list, compiled at the request of historians wishing to be informed concerning completed studies or research and writing in progress, is not complete. Only a start has been made. If the information is of sufficient interest other lists will be published, perhaps annually. Suggestions and coöperation from graduate students and faculties of Kansas colleges are solicited.

Listing is alphabetical by authors. When known, all studies being made in fulfillment of masters' or doctors' degree requirements have been so designated. Progress or completion of projects is indicated by the following abbreviations: Prog. (in progress), Fin. (finished). A definite date of completion replaces "Fin." in many cases. If known, information on printing is included. Some faculty projects are listed. Names of universities and colleges, with which faculty members and graduates are associated, are shortened and printed in italics. For more extensive lists of papers in education see the *Bibliography of Research Studies in Education*, prepared annually by the Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior.

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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, biography and allied subjects which are classified under general.

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, 1937, to September 30, 1938. 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

CATHOLIC FIRST THINGS IN KANSAS

The following paragraphs are from an article, "Catholic First Things in the United States," by Gilbert J. Garraghan in the April, 1939, number of *Mid-America*, historical magazine of Loyola University, Chicago. Mr. Garraghan is a leading American Catholic historian and has recently published a three-volume history, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*.

FIRST PRIEST.—Whether or not Fray Juan de Padilla, O. F. M., who is generally supposed to have accompanied Coronado's famous expedition of 1541 to Quivira, was the first priest in Kansas depends on the location of that region. (A. F. Bandelier, outstanding authority on the Coronado problem, held it, not as certain, but only as "probable" [558] or "not unlikely" [562] that Padilla was with Coronado in the Quivira expedition of 1541. But all authorities agree that the missionary was in Quivira at least the following year, 1542, and lost his life there. See Bandelier's excellent study, "Fray Juan de Padilla, First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas" in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XVI, 551 ff.) If Quivira was within the limits of what is now Kansas, as maintained by most students of the problem, including Winship, Hodge, Bandelier, and Bolton, then the distinction of being Kansas' first priest goes to Fray de Padilla (G. P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, 397; F. W. Hodge, ed., "The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado by Pedro de Castañeda" in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 337, 364). If Quivira lay within the limits of Texas, in the Panhandle region, as maintained by the Texas scholars, David Donoghue and Carlos E. Castañeda, then the claim made for Father Fray de Padilla that he was the first priest in Kansas falls to the ground. (See David Donoghue "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII, 181 ff.; *Id.*, "Coronado, Oñate, Quivira," *Mid-America*, XVIII, 88-95; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, I, 105 ff.) It may be noted here that the weight of scholarly opinion on the subject at the present moment is decidedly in favor of the Kansas route. The committee in charge of the Coronado Quarto Centennial, 1940, has accepted the Kansas route after taking account of the testimony of fifty historical experts on the point at issue. The latest church historian to touch on the subject claims de Padilla for Kansas. "His [Padilla's] presence as a missionary in the territory which is now Kansas can hardly be questioned" (Moeder, *Early Catholicity in Kansas and History of the Diocese of Wichita*, 1). The late Msgr. Michael Shine, of the Lincoln diocese, student of the Coronado route, also brought the expedition into Kansas, but only to bring it farther, into Nebraska. "Nebraska's fertile plains were baptized with the life blood of America's first Christian martyr" (*Catholic Historical Review*, II [1916], 18). L. Houck (*History of Missouri*, I, 132 ff.) places Quivira in southwestern Missouri, while the recently published scholarly study, Father Pich-

ardo's *Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (tr. and ed. by Charles W. Hackett, Austin, Tex., 1934, II) places it in east Texas, between the Trinity and Sabine rivers.

The same interpretation which locates Quivira, not in Kansas, but in the Texas Panhandle, also excludes from the former state Fray Francisco de Velasco, O. F. M., of Oñate's Quivira expedition of 1601 (Castañeda, I, 194). It would therefore appear, in view of divided scholarly opinion on the location of Quivira, that no priest can be definitely traced in Kansas during the Spanish period, though the case for Fray de Padilla's presence there is solidly probable and, if preponderating weight of expert opinion is to decide the issue, almost certain. Villasur's expedition of 1720 into Nebraska, which had an accompanying chaplain, the Franciscan, Minguez, does not seem to have passed through Kansas, while Bourgmont, commandant at Fort Orleans on the Missouri, who led an expedition, 1724, across the Kansas prairies in search of the Padoucas, had no priest with him, the chaplain at the fort, Father Mercier, having remained behind. The possibility that Father Marquette may have been in Kansas (Moeder, *op. cit.*, 1) must be ruled out as in flat contradiction with the documents.

The first priest to reach Kansas during the American period was Father Charles De La Croix, pastor at Florissant, Missouri, who in August of 1822 visited the Osage of Neosho (G. J. Garraghan, S. J., *St. Ferdinand de Florissant*, 182; *Id.*, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, 26). In view of the conflicting interpretations of the Coronado and Oñate routes no priest can be *definitely* said to have set foot in Kansas before Father De La Croix. First *resident* priest was Father Joseph Anthony Lutz, of the St. Louis diocese, who in 1828 began a short-lived mission among the Kaw Indians on the north bank of the Kansas river not far from the site of Lawrence (J. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 452-460).

FIRST MASS.—If Fray de Padilla (1541), and later Fray de Velasco (1601) reached Kansas they may be presumed to have said mass there (*supra*, first priest). The first verifiable mass in Kansas was said by Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., August 25, 1827, on or near the site of St. Paul in Neosho county. "On the feast of St. Louis, August 25, I had the happiness of saying the first mass ever said in this country" (*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, III, 513).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—It is at least likely that baptisms were administered during the Spanish period, but no record of them survives. The following is the first certified baptism: "A neosho chez Mr. Liguete Chouteau," August 27, 1827, Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne baptized Henri Mongrain, "son of Noel père and of Tonpapai, age two years, sponsor Mr. Liguete P. Chouteau" (baptismal register, St. Ferdinand's church, Florissant, Missouri. There is no evidence that Father De La Croix baptized on his visit to Kansas in 1822).

HAZARDS OF STAGE-COACH TRAVELING

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, January 19, 1860.

FUNNY ACCIDENT.—Our young friend, Morris Fraley, recently started on a visit to his friends in New York, whom he had not seen for four or five years. But by some accident he got in the wrong coach, and found himself in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he chanced to meet a young female acquaintance, Miss Jenny Mewhinney, formerly of this place. While enjoying a good time in her company, a certain preacher up there, with "malice prepense," took occasion to call in, and before they knew what he was up to, he had them married! Here was a predicament; but like a true philosopher, Morris determined to make the best of it. To-day he arrived in town with his bride, and we learn they intend to let it stay so, "bein' as how" it has gone so far. We certainly wish them abundant happiness, even if it was an accident!

From *The Big Blue Union*, Marysville, July 18, 1863.

CUTE.—One of our citizens, a passenger on the stage coach to Atchison one day last week, relates that on board was a couple from California who kept the "machine a-goin" by pouring on to the brake of the coach, at the top of every hill which it was about to descend, melted butter, a can of which they had along with them. The driver would put on the brake but the wheels *would* slip on the rubber, and the coach go with a rush to the bottom of the hill, much to the astonishment of driver and the amusement of the passengers. The party was anxious to make time to connect with a certain train of cars at Atchison, hence this "cute" arrangement to hurry up things—all of which was but anticipating a pleasant ride on the Pacific R. R. Under full head of horse-power—breaks are up—it's not enough! How *fast* the people are getting!

FIRST TRIAL OF AN INDIAN IN MARSHALL COUNTY COURTS

From *The Big Blue Union*, Marysville, October 18, 1862.

On Monday last a novel trial came off before His Honor, Judge Newell, upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by His Honor, in the case of the *State vs. Medicine Horse*, an Otoe Indian chief, charged with being an accessory of Moses Betine, for the shooting of V. C. Poor. It appeared that the Big Chief was arrested on suspicion, and lodged in jail without any warrant of commitment, and was brought before Judge Newell for a hearing. There was no evidence to connect him with the shooting affair, or that he was present at the time, and was therefore released. After the argument of the council, Magill for the state, Brumbaugh and Thompson for the prisoner, the court announced the decision, informing Medicine Horse he was free. The Big Chief, thinking it was his time to address the court, made a short speech in his native tongue, which was anything but intelligible to the court, lawyers and bystanders; the meaning of which, was that he had always been friendly to the whites and was thankful to the court for his discharge. After his release there was a delegation of Otoes in town to receive him, where there was a general hand-shaking. Thus ended the first trial of an Indian in Marshall county, before our courts.

LUCY STONE AND HUSBAND

A resolution which would strike out the word "male" from "male citizens" in the Kansas constitution was adopted by the legislature in 1867. Under the leadership of S. N. Wood, of Chase county, a woman suffrage convention was held in Topeka on April 2, and for several months following speakers for and against the amendment canvassed the state before it was defeated in the fall election. Among these were Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, her husband. That the woman suffragist traveled in a hostile world is evident from a sampling of suffrage papers at the Historical Society.

Following is a brief note addressed by Mr. Wood to Jacob Stotler, editor of the *Emporia News*, and Stotler's reply scribbled on the same paper:

[Cottonwood] Falls Apr. 11 [1867]

Jake [Stotler]

I am provoked almost to death, about those notices I ordered. Why did they not come today So I could send them out? S. N. Wood.

Sam:

We pried a whole page of type and could not stop to print bills for Lucy Stone "or any other man." We have been busy day and night for the past week cleaning up the "pi" resetting the ads. and getting out the paper.

Jake.

Planning Miss Stone's itinerary, Mr. Wood asked S. M. Strickler to co-sponsor her lecture in Junction City but Mr. Strickler answered:

Junction City, Kans., Apr. 7, 1867.

Hon. S. N. Wood

Dr. Sir—

I have yours of the 5th Inst addressed to myself & Capt Stover, advising us that Lucy Stone and her "poodle" will be at this place on the 20th Inst and enlighten our "benighted denizens" on the beauties and advantages of "Female Suffrage," and imploring us to give her a cordial reception and to bear particularly in mind that she "must be at no expense &c. &c."

I am not authorized to speak for Capt Stover, but as for myself will say that I fear you are not obeying the sensible injunction of your wife: "Sam, dont make a fool of yourself &c."

I have no sympathy whatever in your foolish and impractical proposition and can not in any way carry out your wishes. If Mrs. Lucy Stone visits our town I shall most certainly hear her lecture, but shall not in any way "give her further aid and comfort."

I am very Respectfully

Your Obt. Sevt.

S. M. Strickler.

Lucy Stone kept her engagement at Junction City, and the Junction City *Weekly Union's* account of the meeting was published April 27, 1867.

LUCY STONE.—This distinguished lady lectured in this place on Saturday evening, on the subject of impartial suffrage, followed by her husband, Doctor Blackwell. While we are exceedingly indifferent on the subject of woman suffrage, we are by no means disposed to criticise Lucy's labors among us from the standpoint of her personal oddities and vagaries. That she possesses many of these we cannot dispute; most unfounded and pernicious of all which are her views and practice of marriage. And while it may be true that the character and practices of the champions of a particular faith operate against their efforts in almost any direction, yet we consider the subject of female suffrage before the people of Kansas in so grave a shape as to warrant the candid consideration of what may be said, pro or con, stripped of the prejudices engendered by the character from whom it emanates.

From the strong-minded character which preceded Lucy, her appearance disappointed many. Instead of bloomers and a stove-pipe hat, all witnessed a plain, modestly dressed woman—without one of those lice-breeding chignons tacked on to the back of her head—her style indicating more sense than the generality of women done up in milliner shops. It is from this fact doubtless originates the idea prevalent among the opposers of female suffrage, that women are not fit to vote—an admission in their favor which Lucy neglected to make.

The lecture abounded with much unanswerable logic, telling sarcasm and ridicule, all of which was spoken in a pleasant, lady-like manner. Her points were mainly the inequality of woman before the law in the control of property and of her own children. It is not generally known that laws so iniquitous and unjust regarding women prevailed over a greater portion of the country, as was recited by her. Kansas is further in advance than any other state, on the question of the civil rights of women. The objection urged that women would be contaminated by going to the polls was richly answered by the query of how many of our drunkard's wives are contaminated by living continually in such associations. We have in every neighborhood men who in character and language are not much above the brutes, living with respectable women, who seem not to be affected by it personally, or their standing in society, either. We regard the question of labor as the weightiest argument in behalf of the proposition to extend suffrage. The untold suffering and misery of women resulting from the senseless inequality of wages has always been a matter of concern to us, and however lightly parties may treat the ballot, or deride its extension to women, there is a power behind it, which, if properly used, will speedily redress all grievances.

The prevailing objection to female suffrage seems to be its effect on home affairs. Upon this there can be nothing but speculation. Lucy made some good points on this view of the matter, but they were not so convincing as others. There exists plenty of time, however between now and election to consider this matter in all its various aspects.

A NIGHT AND DAY IN ABILENE

From the Topeka *Kansas State Record*, August 5, 1871.

If you take the "noon train" west from Topeka, and no accident befalls said train, you will reach Abilene shortly after six o'clock, in time for supper, either at the "Drover's Cottage," where the bland and childlike Gross is the "Secretary," or at the Gulf House, whereof Messrs. Putnam & Stevens are the "head men."

Before dark you will have an opportunity to notice that Abilene is divided by the railroad into two sections, very different in appearance. The north side is literary, religious and commercial, and possesses our friend Wilson's *Chronicle*, the churches, the banks, and several large stores of various description; the south side of the road is the Abilene of "story and song," and possesses the large hotels, the saloons, and the places where the "dealers in card board, bone and ivory" most do congregate. When you are on the north side of the track you are in Kansas, and hear sober and profitable conversation on the subject of the weather, the price of land and the crops; when you cross to the south side you are in Texas, and talk about cattle, varied by occasional remarks on "beeves" and "stock." Nine out of ten men you meet are directly or indirectly interested in the cattle trade; five at least out of every ten, are Texans. As at Newton, Texas names are prominent on the fronts of saloons and other "business houses," mingled with sign board allusions to the cattle business. A clothing dealer implores you to buy your "outfit" at the sign of the "Long Horns"; the leading gambling house is of course the "Alamo," and "Lone Stars" shine in every direction.

At night everything is "full up." The "Alamo" especially being a center of attraction. Here, in a well lighted room opening on the street, the "boys" gather in crowds round the tables, to play or to watch others; a bartender, with a countenance like a youthful divinity student, fabricates wonderful drinks, while the music of a piano and a violin from a raised recess, enlivens the scene, and "soothes the savage breasts" of those who retire torn and lacerated from an unfortunate combat with the "tiger." The games most affected are faro and monte, the latter being greatly patronized by the Mexicans of Abilene, who sit with perfectly unmoved countenances and play for hours at a stretch, for your Mexican loses with entire indifference two things somewhat valued by other men, viz: his money and his life.

The observer who believes that, after all, a man is about the most interesting study in this world can find much to interest him by standing in any frequented place in Abilene. Barring the bow legs produced by incessant horseback riding, it is impossible to find finer forms than those of many of the "herders," and it is said that a partial compensation for the injury done the legs, is partially atoned by the reduced size of the feet. The reader of Bret Harte's stories and John Hays' poems, can see plenty of faces that might have been used as studies by B. H. and J. H. We saw "Jim Bludsoe" who had somehow come up from the drowned wreck of the "Prairie Belle," and encountered "Tennessee" and his "Partner" frequently. We saw "Little Breeches," at the "Novelty"—Abilene's only theatre—he was "pearl and chipper and sassy," sat on a front bench with his arm around his "girl's" neck, and in reply

to a tap on the shoulder from a neighbor remarked, "Look a yer. You'd better lemme alone. I've eat up more men than ever Wild Bill did."

It may be inferred from the foregoing that the Texan cattle driver is somewhat prone to "run free" as far as morals are concerned, but on the contrary, vice in one of its forms, is sternly driven forth from the city limits for the space of at least a quarter of a mile, where its "local habitation" is courteously and modestly, but rather indefinitely designated as the "Beer Garden." Here all that class of females who "went through" the Prodigal Son, and eventually drove that young gentleman into the hog business, are compelled to reside. In the amusements we have referred to does the "jolly drover" while the night away in Abilene.

Day in Abilene is very different. The town seems quite deserted, the "herders" go out to their herd or disappear in some direction, and thus the town relapses into the ordinary appearance of towns in general. It is during the day, that, seated on the piazzas of the hotels, may be seen a class of men peculiar to Texas and possessing many marked traits of character. We allude to the stock raisers and owners, who count their acres by thousands and their cattle by tens of thousands. It was the good fortune of the writer to meet several of these gentlemen, and it has rarely been his fortune to meet men more unassuming and more willing to communicate information.

As the life and experience of one large stock raiser is much like that of another, the history of Col. Thomas O'Conner will perhaps present as favorable an illustration as another.

Col. O'Conner is an Irishman by birth, and came to Texas when a boy of fifteen. He took part in the war for Texas independence, and was present at the battle of San Jacinto, where being the only boy in an army of men, he became known to everybody. His fortune at the close of the war consisted of a horse and a Spanish quarter dollar, of which the "pillars" were nearly obliterated. He "turned his hand" to various avocations and "got a start" in cattle by doing some work for the government and receiving \$3 per day, taking his pay in cattle at \$10 per head. By the natural increase of his cattle he is now the owner of 30,000 head, though of course this is a mere estimate, the Texas cattle raiser being literally so rich that he does not know how much he is worth. Col. O'Conner is of the opinion, and his own experience seems to verify its truth, that a young man possessing no capital save industry and honesty can do better in Texas than elsewhere on earth. The life of a stock man as described by Col. O'Conner is anything but a life of ease. It is literally "working the stock." To prosecute the business successfully requires a small army of men and horses. The work of collecting and branding the cattle demands incessant travel nearly all the year, and of course much exposure to the weather and hard fare, yet the business has a fascination about it which leads a man who engages in it to follow it the remainder of his life. One of the pleasant features of the business is the feeling of friendship prevailing among stock men of the same section, and their occasional meetings at the "branding pens" break agreeably into a life otherwise monotonous. In their dealings these men rely solely on each other's honesty, and Col. O'Conner remarked, with evident pride, on the rarity of a dishonest action among them.

The growth of the cattle trade in Texas is far more recent than most people imagine. When Col. O'Conner went to Texas there were comparatively few

cattle on the prairies, although there were thousands of wild horses. The large herds belonging to the early missions had been destroyed by the Indians or otherwise scattered, and all the cattle now in Texas descended from the stock taken into the state by settlers or purchased subsequent to the revolution in Mexico. With this fact the increase is truly wonderful. In spite of the enormous exportation and the fact that many thousands of them have been killed for their hides alone, the amount of cattle now in Texas and owned by single individuals, is enormous. Capt. R. King, now at Abilene, owns the Gertrudios ranch, fifty miles from Corpus Christi, and owns 50,000 head of cattle, besides being largely engaged in raising mules, having this year imported thirty thoroughbred jacks from Kentucky. Capt. Kennedy owns a ranche twenty-five miles from Corpus Christi, and has enclosed 150,000 acres. This enclosure is formed by building a single "string" of fence thirty-six miles long across a peninsula. The fence is said to have cost \$36,000. All of the "heavy men" we have mentioned drive to Abilene, but the cattle driven north do not represent the extent of the cattle trade in Texas. V. P. Poole and S. W. Allen, of Galveston, ship largely to New Orleans, and own sixty or seventy thousand head.

These figures give a faint idea of the magnitude of the Texas cattle trade, and it may well be imagined that to carry it on requires rare business qualifications and much special knowledge. To drive the cattle, as some of them are driven, eleven hundred miles to Abilene, is a great undertaking. The force required is about one man to each one hundred and fifty head, and each man must have at least three head of horses. Great care has to be taken in the management of the cattle, and stormy nights the cattle driver must remain in the saddle all the time. Often in bad weather the drover does not dismount, except to mount a fresh horse, in forty-eight hours. Occasionally the cattle stampede and on one occasion during the present season sixteen thousand head ran together on the Upper Canadian and many days labor were required to separate the different herds. The element of danger also enters into this pursuit; should the drover's horse fall with him in one of these rushes of frightened cattle, horse and rider would be trampled to fragments. The life of a drover resembles very strongly that of a cavalry soldier, and in fact most of the quiet middle-aged men who sit so placidly on the hotel steps in Abilene have in their day seen service in the front of battle; several that we met had held high rank in the confederate service, and yet we suppose that political and military discussions are nowhere rarer than at Abilene.

In this long digression we have said more about Texas than Abilene, and must return to the latter locality. Abilene, then, is still the great cattle market of this country. It is a great distributing depot from which cattle are sent in every direction. Colonel Myers recently sent a large drove to Salt Lake City; thousands are taken to Portland, Ore., fourteen months being expected to elapse before the cattle reach their destination. More cattle than ever before are being bought by ranchmen to be wintered in Kansas; other thousands are being shipped east over the Kansas Pacific railroad, which last named road has completely outgeneraled the Union Pacific, in its efforts to divert the business. It is impossible to estimate the number of cattle in the vicinity of Abilene, from the fact owing to the settlement of the country, cattle do

not approach as near as formerly. The buyers and sellers, however, are to be found and here the transfers are made. The man who would get hold of the ins and outs of the cattle trade cannot get around Abilene.

What the future of the trade may be it is impossible to state. The Kansas Pacific railroad will for a long time be a means of transport along a greater or less portion of its length, as it offers every needed facility at every point. With the completion of the railroad system of Texas and the settlement of the country, it is possible that an entire change of system may take place there, but at present we are not making prophecies. All we have to say now is, that if a man wishes to see how a vast and important business is conducted; if he wishes to see the men who transact that business, and wishes in addition to see something entirely unique in the line of human beings, his best plan is to spend a night and day in Abilene.

HAY FOR FUEL

From the *Kinsley Graphic*, September 27, 1879.

Wednesday morning we visited the Anchor mills, to witness the first steam gotten up with hay for fuel. The mills along the valley from Newton west, have nearly all adopted the use of hay for fuel, and we are glad that Mr. Fulton this early not only benefits himself financially, but assists the farmers by using hay in his mill. It is the general impression that great preparations first have to be made before hay can take the place of coal or wood, to get up steam. This is a mistake. The only preparation or expense is of two sheet iron receivers, made to fit up close to the furnace doors. They are about three feet long, and considerably larger at the opening than the furnace doors. In these are sheet-iron doors that raise as the hay is pushed through them, and fall closed as soon as the hay passes. Firing with hay requires more labor and closer attention, but the saving in the expense well repays for additional help. The Anchor mills in busy times use from sixty to seventy dollars worth of coal a month. They can run the same length of time with the same power for thirty dollars by using hay. In using coal the money is sent out of the county; by using hay it is kept at home, and furnishes employment to home industry.

THE SANTA FE RAILROAD IN ITS INFANCY

From the *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 29, 1880.

It is rather interesting, in view of the present colossal proportions of the Santa Fe road, to sit down and talk with M. L. Sargent, now of the Central Branch and Missouri Pacific, and speak of the days when he first came west and joined Col. T. J. Peter, at Topeka, in the administration of the A., T. & S. F. At the time of the arrival of Mr. Sargent the only furniture in the "general offices" was a pine table and two splint-bottom chairs; there were no books except a section boss' time book, and Mr. Sargent brought with him the first regular set of books kept for the company. The financial manage-

ment was, however, very easy for a long time. The road never had any income till it reached Carbondale, when it commenced to haul coal at \$10 a car. Mr. Sargent, by stepping to the door and counting the coal cars brought in by the road's only daily train, could tell what were the total receipts of the company for the day.

IMMUNITY OF THE PRESS

From the *Wellsford Register*, August 1, 1885.

We have often been tempted to hint to a few of our dear old dames in this vicinity that when their husbands come home to them with a breath smelling of beer and whisky strong enough to drive a dog out of a tan yard, that they don't get their perfumery at this office, and we want it distinctly understood that we keep no whisky or beer ranch, and neither are we a Croesus, that would enable us to buy the vile stuff for our neighbors, and don't forget to put it down in your Auto that we are no "bar fly," either, and when your drunken husbands come home to you and endeavor to convince you that they are not (hic) drunk, that they had just ran across the "editor" and he had urged them to take a little beer (which, by the way, ladies, costs forty cents per bottle, unless they "sign up" for a whole case at one time), you may safely hazard your last hair pin that they lie like sheol; and the first piece of calico that dare crook its finger in this direction we will sue for slander, and state that it can't be settled for no "two hundred dollars," either, and another thing you want to impress upon your minds is this: the first married man that is prone to drink who attempts to cross our threshold, without a written permit from his wife, is liable to be handled roughly!

"NOT ON YOUR TINTYPE!"

From the *Grant County Register*, Ulysses, August 18, 1885.

A young Indian chief was so delighted by a tintype of himself taken by a wandering artist at the agency that he wanted a picture of his squaw, who was placed in position before the camera. Just as everything was ready the chief wanted to see how his better half would look. He put his head under the cloth, and, to his horror, saw she was standing on her head. He instantly jerked his head out from under the curtain, but saw her standing on her feet. Thinking he might have been mistaken, the Indian took another peep and she was again standing on her head. He remonstrated with her, saying she could not expect a picture to look like her if she persisted in standing on her head. The squaw denied such acrobatic performance. Upon taking one more look Mr. Indian flew into a rage, grabbed his squaw by the shoulders, shook her violently, and dragged her out of the place, saying she was bewitched and should not have a picture until she learned to stand on her feet.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles on Ellsworth county history printed in the county's newspapers in past months include: "A Glimpse of Ellsworth in the Days of Dirt Streets, Board Walks, Frame Shacks and Little Red School House," *Ellsworth Messenger*, January 9, 1936; "History of the Excelsior Evangelical English Lutheran Church," by Mrs. Charles R. Bowers, *Wilson World*, November 11; "A Cow Town Theatre," by F. B. Streeter, *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 14, 1937; "The Indian Raid of 1869—Some Sidelights," by J. C. Ruppenthal, *World*, June 16; "The History of M. Schwarz," by Michael Schwarz, *World*, July 28-September 1; "History of Fort Harker," compiled by Mrs. Raymond Shoaf, *Reporter*, January 27-February 24, 1938; "Ellsworth's Early History," *Messenger*, June 2; sketch of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran congregation, compiled by the Rev. A. H. Schroeder, *Messenger and Reporter*, September 22; "Wild Bill Hickok, Colorful Figure of Pioneer Days, Once Resident Here," *Reporter*, November 17; "Advance-Guards of Civilization, a Story of the Establishment of Fort Ellsworth and Fort Harker—the Outposts for the Protection of the Pioneers of West-Central Kansas," by Alice Hummel, *Messenger*, December 29, 1938-January 12, 1939; "Early Day Stories," reminiscences of Vit Dolecek, *World*, February 8-March 8; "Mother Bickerdyke's Life Story Reads Like a Novel," *World*, March 1; "A Chapter in Ellsworth's History [1867-1879]," *Reporter*, March 23; "City Officials of Holyrood From Time of Incorporation in 1901 to 1939," *Holyrood Gazette*, May 10.

Under the title *Early Northwest Kansas History*, the *Selden Advocate* recently issued a 38-page pamphlet featuring its collection of pioneer reminiscences published from time to time in regular editions of the *Advocate*.

A series of weekly stories, under the title "Some Vagrant Memories," was contributed by David D. Leahy in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* beginning April 3, 1938.

"History of Old Quindaro Recalled as School Plans Eightieth Anniversary Fete," was the title of a feature article in the *Kansas City Kansan*, May 8, 1938. The town, now a part of Kansas City, was named for Mrs. Quindaro Guthrie, a Wyandot Indian.

A history of the Towanda *Western Butler County Times*, which celebrated its tenth anniversary in June, 1938, was printed in the June 2 issue.

Historical articles featured in recent issues of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* include: "Wichitan [Ed. A. Calvert] Tells of Adventure With Capt. David L. Payne," by Lovina Lindberg, July 3, 1938; "[Thomas Masterson] Wichita Brother Tells of Colorful Life of Bat Masterson," by Arch O'Bryant, July 24; "Legal History of Oil and Gas Conservation Statutes in Kansas," by Innis D. Harris, July 31, August 7, 14, 21; "Dodge City to Celebrate Academy's Silver Jubilee," by David Leahy, "Mennonite College [Bethel] Completes Fifty Years of Service," by Lovina Lindberg, August 14; "[J. D. Simmons] Pioneer Recalls Walk of 250 Miles to File on Claim," by Lovina Lindberg, August 28; "Wichita Celebrated at Friends U. Opening 40 Years Ago," by G. H. Wood, "*Eagle* Files Give Vivid Picture of Strip Opening," by Lovina Lindberg, September 4; "Wichita's Church of the Brethren to Observe [Sixtieth] Anniversary," by Lester F. Kimmel, "Wichita Business Men Recall Old Street Car Company," by Lovina Lindberg, "Old Letter Tells Little Known Facts About Early Kansas," by David D. Leahy, September 18; "Why the Quakers Came to Kansas to Make Their Homes," by Dr. Henry C. Fellows, October 9; "Rare Old Photographs Show Beauty of Wichita 49 Years Ago," by Arch M. O'Bryant, October 23; "Education in Wichita Makes Great Strides in 25 Years," by F. S. Vassar, November 6; "[Arthur E. Hertzler] Halstead Physician Becomes Kansas' Outstanding Author," by Lester F. Kimmel, December 11, and "Oil Industry of Kansas Continues to Advance During 1938," by Kenneth F. Sauer, December 25.

Articles of Kansas historical interest in issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* during the last half of 1938 include: "A Tense 4th of July in Kansas [1856] When Free-State Legislature Met," by Cecil Howes, July 4, 1938; "Reds Change Policy and Manner Under Earl Browder of Kansas," by Paul I. Wellman, July 19; "How Kansas Treated Pardee Butler, Free-Soil Preacher From Illinois," by Cecil Howes, July 21; "A Pioneer [H. B. (Ham) Bell] Retires to His Memories of Sixty-four Years of Dodge City," by Cecil Howes, August 18; "Cattle Country History Preserved in 280-Page Edition of Newspaper [Gene Howe's Amarillo (Tex.) *Globe-News*]," August 20; "Kansans Again Take Sides in Row Over Name of One of Their Rivers [Marais des Cygnes]," by Cecil Howes, August 27; "A Kansas Editor, Oscar S. Stauffer, Puts the Chain System to Work," September 6; "Spellbinding Now Is Too Refined For an Old Populist of Kansas," by Cecil Howes, November 7; "When Kansas Watched Progress of Its 'Fighting Twentieth,'" November 8; sim-

plified system of reading used in Kansas 105 years ago by Dr. Johnston Lykins and Jotham Meeker at the Shawnee Baptist mission is now forgotten, wrote Paul I. Wellman, November 12, and "U. S. Owes Thanks to a Scientist From Kansas [David Fairchild, Plant Specialist] for a Richer Harvest," by Dwight Pennington, November 22.

Included among the articles of historical interest recently published in the Kansas City (Mo) *Times* were the following: "One Debate With 'Sockless Jerry' [Simpson] Was One Too Many for 'Prince Hal' [James R. Hallowell]," by Cecil Howes, July 8, 1938; "The Battle of Wilson's Creek Kept Missouri Out of the Confederacy," July 22; "A Visit to Victoria, Community of 637 Persons, Is Like Stepping Into a Bavarian Village—Life Centers About the Large Catholic Church and Schools Founded by German Settlers Who Had Failed to Find Freedom and Peace in Russia," July 25; "Historic Lane Trail to Kansas Carried Fighters for Freedom," by Cecil Howes, July 28; "Ed Howe's Ice Cream and Singing Won a Friend Who Never Forgot," August 1; "Professor [R. D.] O'Leary's Name Will Live in Books He Read to K. U. Students," August 5; "The Kansas System in Lawmaking Becomes a Model for Legislatures," by Cecil Howes, August 30; "Kansas Oil Was Used by Pioneers Long Before Wells Were Drilled," by Cecil Howes, October 13; "Historic Old Fort Laramie to Be Rebuilt as a National Monument," by Paul I. Wellman, October 18; "[Robert Taft] A University of Kansas Professor Surveys History of Photography," October 19; "K. U.'s Birth 75 Years Ago Ended Long Run of Failures and Fights," by Theodore Morgan O'Leary, November 2; "Kansas Did Its Bit to Satisfy Sentiment for All Kinds of Law," by Cecil Howes, December 2, and "Topeka's Founders Lost Their Way on Townsite Eighty-four Years Ago," December 5.

Victor Murdock's articles of historical interest in his front-page column in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* include: "Bringing Natural Gas to the Wichita Area Was Opening of An Era," August 2, 1938; "Facts of Jesse Chisholm Are Few But Most of Them Are Well-Established," August 12; "Where Matter of Inches in Measurement of Land Proved of No Great Concern," August 19; "[1889] Year of the Record Yield for Corn in This Region and Excitement It Caused," August 22; "Corn Production Contrast Between Yesterday and Today As Seen Around Wichita," August 24; "Part Taken by Wichitans in the Opening of Outlet Now Forty-five Years Ago," September 15; "Killing of Mr. John R. Hill in the Cherokee Outlet

Run Forty-five Years Ago Today," September 16; "Connection of Kansas With the War of 1812 and Blackhawk Campaign," September 20; "Memory of Atchison Bridge Still Vivid to Wichitan [Mrs. Curtis Munger] . . .," September 22; "One Night in a Kansas Home When Chance Guests Were Jesse James and Frank James," September 28; "Maize Academy Memories Are Among the Treasures of Many Pioneers Here," October 12; "Some Who Were Present When John R. Hill, Runner at the Opening, Was Killed," October 29; "Will Ayres' Recollection of Members of Faculty of Garfield University [Predecessor of Friends]," November 3; "Wichita Seventy Years Ago With the Echo of a Tragedy From the Prairies Southwest," November 10; "Tragedy of Young Doctor [Squire] Who Gave Life for Others on the Kansas Prairies," victim of cholera, November 11; "Discovery of Skeleton Brought Back the Story of Cholera Scourge Here," November 15; "Evidence of Populations Living Here in Deep Past Cited by [J. R. Mead] Wichita Pioneer," November 16; "Last of the Scalpings Carried Out by Indians in the Wichita Region," November 17; "Some Old Thanksgivings as Observed in Wichita in Three Ten-Year Periods," November 24; "Carrying Comfort and Cure to Suffering Pioneers of Prairie Countryside," Dr. Luther Ames' recollections of early medical practice, November 30; "Before Petroleum Appeared Over in Butler County and After It Had Arrived," December 9; "Earlier Ghosts of Kansas Which Walk On Occasion at Old Shawnee Mission," December 12, and "Part the French Played in the Early Development of This Prairie State," December 16.

St. Francis held a three-day jubilee August 18, 19 and 20, 1938, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city. Phases of the city's early history were recalled in articles in the *St. Francis Herald*, August 11 and 18.

"Alf Landon's Own Story of His Fight for Presidency" appeared in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, and other newspapers, August 21-24, 1938.

Kansas is believed to have been the first state to set aside the first Monday in September for the observance of Labor day, wrote Cecil Howes in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, September 4, 1938. The proclamation was issued by Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey on August 13, 1890. Moreover, the late R. W. Price of Weir City, a coal miner, is credited with giving the day its name. The occasion was a labor demonstration in New York. Price, who attended, was escorted into the receiving stand to witness the parade. He is re-

ported to have climbed upon a chair and shouted: "This is a great day to show the strength and power of labor. I proclaim it Labor day."

A history of Mariadahl's Swedish Lutheran Church, founded October 14, 1863, was reviewed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 9, 1938.

On December 11, 1938, Topeka's Central Congregational Church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, first minister, was the featured speaker. Brief histories of the church were published contemporaneously by the Topeka *Capital* and *State Journal*. "Dr. Sheldon and Topeka Mark Half a Century *In His Steps*," was the title of an article by Cecil Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, December 12. In 1888 Doctor Sheldon was selected to head the new Central Congregational Church, comprising fifty-seven charter members. Today, fifty years later, it has a membership of more than 1,500. Doctor Sheldon retired from the pastorate some years ago to devote his time to writing. His book, *In His Steps*, made him world renown. More than twenty-five million copies have been published. Doctor Sheldon has thirty-two separate translations of the book.

A thirty-eight page seventy-fifth anniversary edition of *The Courier-Tribune*, Seneca, appeared December 15, 1938. *The Nemaha County Courier* was first issued by John P. Cone on November 14, 1863. Histories of Seneca and its churches, schools, railroads, newspapers and clubs were printed. Other pages contain Nemaha county history, pictures and biographical sketches of many of the county's pioneers, and brief historical sketches of communities adjoining Seneca. Feature articles include: "He [Green Campbell] Was Nemaha County's First and Last Millionaire," and "Red Riflemen," by John T. Bristow; "Civil War Veterans Waited 17 Years Before Organizing"; "George Graham Won Honor Both in War and in Peace"; "A Roster of Graduates of Seneca High School"; "Walt [Mason] Spins a Tale of the Long, Long Ago," and "W. F. Thompson Tells Story of Buried Gold at Richmond."

Early Kansas history received mention in *The Platte County Gazette's* special historical edition of December 16, 1938, marking the centennial of Parkville, Mo. Parkville, on the Missouri river, was founded by Col. George S. Park.

The National Bank of Topeka recently observed the seventieth anniversary of its founding. Its history was reviewed in the Topeka *State Journal*, December 30, 1938.

Wichita Magazine, publication of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, issued its *1938 Yearbook* recently. The magazine, of eighty-four pages, provides a splendid pictorial record of business, educational and industrial life in Kansas' second city.

A special historical issue of the *University Life*, student publication of Friends University, Wichita, was printed March 3, 1939. The *Life* is now in its fortieth year. Blanche Longstreth was the first editor.

Ira H. Clark, of Great Bend, who founded the *Hoisington Dispatch* March 7, 1889, was guest editor of the fiftieth anniversary edition issued March 9, 1939. Several pages of pictures and historical feature articles were prepared for the edition by Mr. Clark and Roy Cornelius, present editor. Great Bend vicinity in 1877 was briefly discussed by C. J. Mackenroth in a letter written June 17, 1877, and published in the *Dispatch*, March 30.

William A. Carter's experiences while en route from Atchison to Fort Bridger (Wyoming) with Col. Albert Sidney Johnston's forces in 1857, were printed in diary form in the *Annals of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, April, 1939.

Old Oklahoma was opened for white settlement April 22, 1889. Sooner and Plains history was featured in several Oklahoma newspapers in fiftieth anniversary editions celebrating the event. Largest issue received by the Kansas State Historical Society for filing was the 292-page Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman* dated April 23, 1939.

St. Ann's Catholic Church at Olmitz observed the golden anniversary of its founding, May 9, 1939. A history of the parish was briefly sketched in the *Hoisington Dispatch*, May 4.

Tribute to Mary Day Brown, wife of John Brown, was paid by Jennie Small Owen in an article in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 11, 1939. While much has been written concerning her famous husband, very little has been recorded of Mrs. Brown's courage and sacrifice that "the cause" might live, wrote Miss Owen.

A history of the Troy *Kansas Chief*, now entering its eighty-third year of continuous publication, was printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 14, 1939.

The history of Topeka cemetery, "oldest organized cemetery in Kansas," was reviewed in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 29, 1939. The cemetery association was chartered by the territorial legislature on February 2, 1859.

Kansas Historical Notes

Organization of a Hays historical society was discussed at a meeting of a chamber of commerce committee April 3, 1939. Dr. Claire Wilson was elected permanent chairman and W. D. Philip, secretary. Others on the committee are: Roy Miller, George Philip, Frank Motz, Dr. C. D. Blake and R. S. Markwell.

The Kansas History Teachers Association met in rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, April 15, 1939, for its thirteenth annual meeting. Papers presented at the morning session were: "The Spirit of Canadian-American Relations," by Harold E. Conrad, Ottawa University, and "The Lima Conference," by Rob Roy MacGregor, Southwestern College. On the afternoon program, problems of state government were discussed by F. H. Guild, director of the research bureau of the legislative council. Kirke Mechem followed with an outline of the resources of the Kansas State Historical Society. He was assisted by Helen M. McFarland, for the library, and Nyle H. Miller, for the newspaper division. Newly elected officers of the association are: Harold E. Conrad, Ottawa University, president; Raymond L. Welty, Fort Hays Kansas State College, vice-president, and Della A. Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer. Others on the executive committee besides the above-named officers are: James C. Malin, of the University of Kansas, retiring president; Arley Riggs, Parsons Junior College; Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, and Iden Reese, Kansas City Junior College.

Portraits and records of John C. Mack, Newton, Harold T. Chase, Topeka, and Thomas E. Thompson, Howard, who, during their lifetimes, were outstanding Kansas newspapermen, were added recently to the Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame in the University of Kansas journalism building at Lawrence.

A marker commemorating Ben Blanchard's discovery of Hutchinson's salt vein in 1887 was unveiled on Kansas highway 17, south of South Hutchinson, May 6, 1939, by Uvedale chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

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Contributors

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CORA DOLBEE is a member of the department of English at the University of Kansas.

Brief biographical sketches of members of the Everett family were published on page 3 (February, 1939, *Quarterly*).

F. H. Hodder's "Stephen A. Douglas"

Editorial Introduction by JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION

THREE years ago when an article by the writer in memory of Frank Heywood Hodder¹ appeared in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, the work of necessity was done in greater haste than would have been wished, and, as no bibliography of his historical writings had been compiled, one important item was overlooked. As the most significant phase of Hodder's contribution as a historian centered on the career of the "Little Giant," senator from Illinois, it is particularly important to have included in its proper sequence his first formal article on Stephen A. Douglas.²

In this article Douglas was identified with the railroad question as a major focus of his interest and it was pointed out that securing the land grant for the Illinois Central railroad would have established his claim to remembrance if he had done nothing more. Hodder credited Douglas with the compromise of 1850, pointing out that he was the author of three of the bills and that the bills which constituted the compromise finally passed singly after Clay's attempt at combining them had failed. Organization of the Western territories was designated as the controlling interest in Douglas' career, and the Kansas-Nebraska act was the outgrowth of long-standing attempts to organize the territory west of the Missouri river as "an indispensable necessity to the development of the country." It was the hope of Douglas that it could be done without reviving the slavery question, but that unhappy issue was injected into the situation by others.

There are two points essential to Hodder's later development of the Douglas theme that are not explicitly stated in this article of 1899, otherwise it contains the kernel of all the rest of his thirty-five years of work on that subject. He did not show how Douglas identified himself with the city of Chicago by making it not only his residence, but by investing in Chicago real estate, thereby tying his personal fortunes with the rise of that city as the commercial and

1. *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V (May, 1936), pp. 115-121.

2. F. H. Hodder, "Stephen A. Douglas," *The Chautauquan*, v. XXIX (August, 1899), pp. 432-437. The article was reprinted in a pamphlet (N. p., n. d.) with an additional paragraph by way of introduction and with a few verbal changes. It is reproduced here in the revised form.

transportation center of the West. Secondly, Hodder had not yet shown how Douglas conceived the plan of making Chicago the eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad, how he was preparing the way for that great enterprise by his attempts after 1845 to organize the territory which later became known as Kansas and Nebraska, and how he was endeavoring, without alienating the South, to checkmate its sectional program for a Pacific railroad by a Southern route with a Southern city as its eastern terminus.

II. THE REVISED HODDER REPRINT

Mr. Lecky advises students of history, in order to arrive at an impartial judgment of any great question, to place themselves by an effort of the imagination alternately upon each side of the controversy, to try to realize the point of view of the leaders upon each side, and finally to draw up on paper the strongest possible statement of the arguments of each. The adoption of this advice would revolutionize the reading and writing of history. Most people study history to support preconceived opinions in regard to particular men or particular parties. Their spirit is that of the German justice of the peace who settled a suit saying: "You owe the man money. He is my friend and you pay him right away. Nobody wants to hear the other side."

After the lapse of more than a century historians are for the first time treating our American revolution with some degree of impartiality. It is perhaps too early to expect them to extend the same degree of impartiality to the struggle that preceded and culminated in our great Civil War. Most of the books about it are the work of participants on one side or the other who seek to vindicate themselves. A few attempts have been made to set forth impartially the point of view of each side, but there is still little charity for the men of either side who sympathized in any degree with the other, for the Northern men with Southern principles or the Southern men with Northern principles. Both are summarily disposed of as selfishly seeking their own political advantage at the expense of their own sections.

Of the great leaders during the period preceding the Civil War, no one has fallen from such a height as Stephen A. Douglas. No reputation has suffered so total an eclipse as his. His name is naturally associated with that of his great opponent. Lincoln's fame, comparatively slight in his own day, has grown steadily brighter and brighter since his death, while Douglas' name, powerful during his

life, has dwindled almost to nothingness. "Stephen Arnold Douglas, with the accent on the Arnold," writes von Holst, the great German authority upon our history, and his judgment is accepted as final by a large number of American readers. Is it fair, is it just?—that is the question.

Let us first briefly review the principal events of Douglas' life. He was born in 1813 at Brandon, Rutland county, Vermont. The death of his father threw the boy upon his own resources. His early years were spent on a farm. At fifteen he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker and worked two years at that trade. After this he spent four years in study in the old time academy, first in his native town and later at Canandaigua, N. Y., the latter part of this time reading law in a local office. According to accounts he was a brilliant student and early developed a talent for public speaking and political controversy. In the summer of 1833, when just past twenty, Douglas decided to seek his fortune in the West. A serious illness at Cleveland nearly exhausted his resources. Leaving Cleveland, he made his way to Jacksonville, Ill., where he arrived with thirty-seven cents in his pocket. Fortunately securing a three months' school at Winchester, sixteen miles distant, he was able to support himself until he could finish his preparation for the bar. Returning to Jacksonville in March, 1834, Douglas was admitted to the practice of law and opened an office, being then not quite twenty-one years of age.

Douglas certainly went up like a rocket, however, his reputation may have come down like a stick. Devoting himself to politics, he gained instant prominence as the champion of Jackson and his policy. In less than a year after his admission to the bar, he was elected to the legislature, and in 1837 he was appointed register of the land office at Springfield. Immediately thereafter Douglas was nominated for congress, though not yet of the required age. In the election that followed he was defeated in a vote of 36,000 by a majority of only fourteen, on account, it is claimed, of the illegal rejection of ballots because of mistakes in writing his name. In January, 1841, he was appointed secretary of state, and a month later was elected by the legislature a judge of the supreme court. In 1843 he was elected to congress, and was reëlected in 1844 and 1846. Before taking his seat for a third term in the house, Douglas was chosen United States senator by the legislature, was reëlected in 1853, and again in 1859. Thus from February, 1835, until his death in June of 1861, a period of over twenty-six years, Douglas was con-

stantly in public life. Eighteen of these years were spent in congress, four in the house and fourteen in the senate. During the same period Lincoln served three terms in the state legislature and one in congress.

The issue of internal improvements was an important one at the time that Douglas entered public life. In the West especially it amounted almost to a mania, and the advocacy of extravagant undertakings was an easy way to popular favor. The session of the state legislature of which Douglas was a member adopted an elaborate system of improvements which completely failed and hopelessly involved the state in debt. After the collapse of the system, attention was directed toward congress. From the time Douglas entered that body an attempt was made to secure a land grant to a private corporation in aid of the construction of the Illinois Central railroad. A bill for that purpose was introduced at every session and as often failed of passage. Douglas opposed it upon the ground that the land grant ought to be made directly to the state. Soon after his transfer to the senate, he introduced a bill for that purpose, and in spite of strong opposition secured its passage in 1850. Douglas afterward said: "If ever a man passed a bill, I did that one. I did the whole work and was devoted to it for two entire years." This was the first railroad act that bore actual fruit, and it initiated the system of land grants for railroads that prevailed until the Pacific railway legislation of 1862. Under this act the state of Illinois incorporated the Illinois Central Railroad Company and transferred to it the lands ceded to the state in return for an annual payment of seven percent of the gross receipts of the company. This has ever since proved an important source of income to the state. The amount paid by the company during the last fiscal year (ending October 31, 1899), was \$664,625 and in all the state has received over seventeen and a half million dollars. If Douglas had done nothing else, this act alone would entitle him to the grateful remembrance of the people of Illinois.

In foreign politics Douglas was aggressively American, or what in modern political phrase would be termed "jingo." He warmly supported the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the claim to all of Oregon, and at a later day defended attacks upon Cuba and aggressions in Central America. As early as 1848 a campaign caricature represented him as exclaiming, "Young America wants progress. I am for the annexation of Cuba, Canada, Mexico and Japan." It is unfair to say, as the Whigs did then and Whig his-

torians do now, that territorial expansion was exclusively the result of a desire for extension of slavery. This was undoubtedly a prime motive, but other considerations moved large numbers of people. And even though we may not approve the mode and the motive of some of our territorial acquisitions, we must admit that our splendid territory and unprecedented national development are the result of the policy of which Douglas was the ardent supporter. We cannot accept the doctrine that evil may be done that good may come, but candor compels us to recognize the fact that good has come.

The acquisition of foreign territory precipitated the controversy over slavery. The first territory acquired by the United States was Louisiana. The status of slavery in that territory was settled in 1820 by the Missouri compromise. By the terms of the compromise, slavery was prohibited in all of Louisiana north of the parallel of 36° 30', except Missouri, and was permitted in Missouri and by implication in that part of the territory south of Missouri. The next acquisition of territory was Texas. In that case the slavery question was settled by an extension of the line of the Missouri compromise. The Mexican war resulted in another increase of territory, which again raised the question of slavery. Northern men generally desired to prohibit slavery in all of the newly acquired territory and attempted to do so by the Wilmot proviso. Southern men desired to allow slavery in all of the territory or at least to divide it by an extension of the Missouri line. The rapid settlement of California and its organization as a free state presented an obstacle to the adoption of the latter policy.

Douglas was chairman of the committee on territories almost from the time that he entered congress. In that position it became his duty to frame and report the bills for the organization of the new territory. He therefore introduced in the senate bills for the organization of Utah and New Mexico. These bills provided for the admission of California as a free state and for the organization of Utah and New Mexico without any provision as to slavery, leaving it to the people of each territory to admit or exclude it as they should see fit. Clay now proposed a comprehensive plan for adjusting all questions relating to slavery that were disturbing the peace of the union, by a series of measures. Douglas' bills were referred to his committee and by him reported with slight changes to the senate. These changes were subsequently struck out and the bills were passed in the exact form in which they were originally proposed. Douglas may therefore be properly regarded as the author of all that part of

the great compromise of 1850 that related to the organization of the new territory. It was based upon what he considered the great principle of allowing the people of a territory to regulate their own affairs in their own way. It had the additional advantage of quieting the country by removing the settlement of the slavery question from congress.

"The issues of all human action are uncertain. No man can undertake to predict positively that even virtue will meet with its full reward in this world; but this much may be said with entire certainty that he who succeeds in marrying his name to a great principle achieves a fame as imperishable as truth itself." With these words in eulogy of Douglas, Senator Hunter closed his speech upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill. What could more strikingly illustrate the fallibility of human judgment. The service which Douglas undoubtedly expected would win for him the highest prize in the gift of the people and a permanent place in the galaxy of American statesmen has cast the shadow that obscures his reputation. From the time that he entered congress, Douglas annually introduced bills for the organization of some part of the vast tract of territory between Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, which was then known as "the Indian country." The admission of California rendered the organization of this territory both more important and more difficult. It was more important because it was necessary to connect the new state with the remainder of the country; it was more difficult because in California the North gained an extra state. The South was at a loss for a slave state with which to restore the equilibrium. Slavery would not flourish upon the barren soil of Utah and New Mexico. The North would not permit the organization of a slave territory in that part of the Louisiana purchase consecrated to freedom by the compromise of 1820. The South would not permit the organization of a free territory there, as it would develop into a free state and still further increase the advantage of the North. Still the organization of this territory was an indispensable necessity to the development of the country.

Douglas sought to cut the Gordian knot by applying the principle of the compromise of 1850, which had apparently brought peace to a distracted people. The act for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska provided in the exact words of the Utah and New Mexico acts, that these territories should be admitted into the union as states, with or without slavery, as their constitutions at the time of their admission should prescribe. Thus Douglas hoped to organize

the territories and at the same time maintain the peace of the union by excluding the question of slavery from congress. It was an application of the principle that the people of every community have a right to govern themselves—the principle upon which the revolution was fought and won—the principle which Douglas now christened "popular sovereignty." The idea was not original with him, but he made it his own by his championship.

The adoption of the principle of popular sovereignty involved the repeal of the Missouri compromise and brought down a storm of reproach upon its author. Douglas said that he could ride from Boston to Chicago by the light of his burning effigy by night and in sight of his hanging effigy by day. For the first time in his life he was unable to pacify the mob that greeted him upon his return to Chicago. He was confronted by three principal charges: first, that he had wantonly destroyed the peace that the compromise of 1850 had brought; second, that the repeal of the Missouri compromise was a violation of a solemn compact between the sections and a gross breach of faith; and third, that his object was to secure the support of the South and by means of it win for himself the presidency. Douglas replied that the organization of the territories was a necessity and that the only means of effecting it was to refer the question of slavery to the people of the territories, that the Missouri compromise was subject to repeal like any other act of congress, and that the North had violated its letter by resisting the admission of Missouri in 1821 and had repudiated its spirit by refusing to extend the compromise line to the Pacific.

That Douglas expected his measure to win favor in the South is probable, but it was legitimate to create the issue, if he honestly believed it to be right. A man's motive is his secret and it is presumed to be innocent until proved to be guilty. There is not a particle of evidence to show that Douglas did not himself believe that the application of the principle of popular sovereignty to the territories was for the best interest of the country. It was entirely possible to believe that the experiment would succeed as it had apparently succeeded in 1850. Lincoln and Seward created the issue that "this government could not permanently endure half slave and half free," "that the United States must sooner or later become entirely a slaveholding or entirely a free-labor nation." This issue was not less likely than Douglas' to provoke sectional strife. It proved to be right and its authors are lauded as statesmen. Douglas proved to be wrong and is denounced as a demagogue.

In the heat of political controversy, each side charges the other with insincerity. A later generation finds that one was right and the other wrong, or more often that each was partly right and partly wrong, but that both were equally sincere. Hamilton and Jefferson furnish a good illustration. Each distrusted the other and each believed that the other's influence threatened the very existence of the government. We now see that both were sincere, that in some respects both were mistaken, but that both contributed elements essential to the development of the republic. May not a later generation find that Lincoln and Douglas were at least equally sincere?

The parallel between Webster and Douglas is a striking one. Most men who profoundly influence their times are dominated by single ideas. The keynote of Webster's career, from his reply to Hayne to his 7th of March speech, was devotion to the constitution and the union. When he supported the Fugitive Slave bill he supported a right that no one ever denied that the constitution guaranteed to the South. He was immediately denounced as a traitor to his section, charged with seeking by corrupt means to secure the presidency, and overwhelmed with abuse that embittered his life and still dims his memory. Only within a few years are historians beginning to see that his course was consistent with his record. Douglas' career was controlled by faith in the right of the people to govern themselves and by devotion to the interests of the West. Both ideas determined his course in the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. If they bore evil fruit, they also bore good fruit. The West would not be what it is today, had he not opened it to settlement. The act that enabled the South to carry slavery into Kansas, enabled the North to save her to freedom. What the result of leaving California permanently severed from the union would have been cannot be told.

Douglas' course, like Webster's, was consistent with his record. Both men were behind the best thought of their day on the subject of slavery. In the pursuit of certain great purposes they neglected others. That they did so was unfortunate, but it does not condemn them to infamy. Political progress in this country has resulted from the efforts of a succession of statesmen, each striving for particular ends. Washington and Hamilton stood for the establishment of efficient government, Jefferson and Douglas stood for democracy and territorial development, Webster and Clay stood for the constitution and the preservation of the union, Lincoln and Seward stood for the restriction of slavery by every constitutional means. Let all receive credit for what they did or tried to do. Let us not disparage any.

The Kansas-Nebraska act was a turning point in the life of Douglas and in the history of the United States. It brought on the Kansas struggle; that issue enabled the Republican party to secure control of the government, and that event precipitated the war. The first stage of the Kansas conflict consisted of the struggle to secure control of the territorial government, the second stage was marked by the attempt to compel the adoption of a pro-slavery constitution. As soon as the administration tried to force upon Kansas a constitution to which the majority of her people were opposed, Douglas courageously revolted. Buchanan warned him that "no Democrat had ever opposed his party without being crushed," but Douglas was undaunted. He had pledged his honor to allow the people of Kansas to regulate their domestic affairs in their own way and he kept his promise. His course secured the applause of the Republicans, but divided his own party, leaving him at the head of the Northern wing.

Douglas' name was coupled with the presidency almost from the beginning of his political career. As early as 1848 he was recommended for that office by the Democracy of Illinois. In 1852 the contest lay between Cass, Buchanan, Marcy and Douglas. Cass, Buchanan and Marcy were "old war horses" and Douglas was put forward in opposition to them as the candidate of "Young America." The convention, being unable to agree upon any of the prominent leaders of the party, nominated a "dark horse" in the person of General Pierce. In 1856 the contest narrowed down to Buchanan and Douglas. Buchanan was considered by the politicians the more available candidate as he had been absent from the country and was therefore not involved in the exciting controversies that had recently taken place. On the sixteenth ballot the vote stood 168 for Buchanan to 122 for Douglas. Buchanan having received a majority, Douglas patriotically withdrew in order to give him the necessary two-thirds vote and the nomination. The Illinois state campaign of 1858 was the prelude to the national campaign of 1860. Lincoln, nominated by the Republicans to contest Douglas' reelection to the senate, challenged him to a series of joint debates. Douglas accepted the challenge with reluctance. He was himself the most conspicuous man in public life, while Lincoln was comparatively unknown. He had nothing to gain by meeting Lincoln and everything to lose, while Lincoln had everything to gain and nothing to lose. The contest was the most remarkable one of the kind that has ever taken place. Both sides claimed the victory. The logic of events has given it to Lincoln. Douglas won the immediate prize, while

two years later Lincoln secured the Republican nomination for the presidency as the result of his canvass.

Of Douglas' loyalty to the union there was never any question. During the presidential campaign he boldly told the people of the South that they had no right to secede. At Lincoln's inauguration he occupied a prominent place on the platform near the president. Immediately after the attack on Sumter he called on Lincoln and pledged his support of any measures necessary for the defense of the government. No appeal made in that great crisis was finer than the address he delivered a few days later before the legislature of Illinois.

Whenever our government is assailed, when hostile armies are marching under rude and odious banners against the government of our country, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war. The greater the unanimity the less blood will be shed. The more prompt and energetic the movement and the more important it is in numbers, the shorter will be the struggle.

In his last public speech, made on the first of May in Chicago, Douglas said: "There are only two sides to this question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots and traitors."

Worn out by labor and disappointment of the campaign, Douglas sank rapidly under the attack of an acute disease and died on the third of June, 1861, when but little past his forty-eighth year. His last words framed a message to his absent sons. "Tell them," he said, "to obey the laws and to support the constitution of the United States." Everywhere in the North his death was regarded as a national calamity. Had he lived he might have kept his party from wavering in the crisis of the war.

All in all, Douglas must be accorded an important place in our history. In the controversies preceding the Civil War he played a larger part than any other statesman. That he was a politician cannot be denied. Every man who has gained prominence in American politics has done so by dint of able political management. The ideal state of society in which the office seeks the man rather than the man the office has never yet been realized. That he attained the highest rank of statesmanship cannot be claimed. He was too much given to shrewd management and sharp parliamentary practice. Winning in person and powerful in debate, he was the idol of friends and the terror of enemies. His ability has never been questioned, his honesty and patriotism have never been disproved. The history of today is

too much colored by the partisan invective of yesterday. The generation that has given to Abraham Lincoln, so little appreciated during his life, the full measure of praise that is so justly his due, has underrated the honesty, the ability and the patriotism of Stephen A. Douglas.

The Third Book on Kansas

An Interpretation of J. Butler Chapman's "History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide"

CORA DOLBEE

THE third book on Kansas was the offering of J. Butler Chapman, from Indiana. It bore the two-fold title, *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*. An elaborate subtitle added component elements of geographical and political appeal:

A Description Geographical and Topographical—Also, Climate, Soil, Productions and Comparative Value With Other States and Territories, Including Its Political History, Officers—Candidates—Emigrant Colonies—Election, Abolition, Squatter and Pro-Slavery Contentions and Inquisitions, With the Prospects of the Territory for Freedom or Slavery. All Compiled From a Three Month's Travel Through the Territory in 1854. By . . . a Resident Since Its Settlement. Vol. I. With a Map Drawn From Observation and Official Sources. (Map and Book Sold Separately or Together.)

Copyrighted in 1854,¹ the book was published in Akron, Ohio, January 31, 1855.² Teesdale, Elkins & Co. were the printers. The title-page names no publisher. Exactly which months constituted the "Three Month's Travel" the author does not say. Reference in the text to the California road west of Lawrence as a "thronged thoroughfare of wagons, human beings, and stock" from June 1, 1854, to December 15,³ indicates he had been in the territory for at least six months. In the summer he passed along the Kaw, noting its shallow channel without a canoe upon it.⁴ Other records than his own tell definitely of his presence in the territory from the middle of October through November.

For this study the writer has found but one copy of the book. It is in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. The book was a gift to the Society from Eugene M. Cole, of Indianola, whose name in long-hand appears across pages 1 and 5.⁵ Descendants of the author appear to have no copy of the book.⁶

1. Chapman, J. Butler, *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* (Teesdale, Elkins, & Co., Akron, Ohio, 1855).

2. Wilder, D. W., *Annals of Kansas* (Geo. W. Martin, Kansas Publishing House, 1875), p. 43.

3. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

5. D. W. Wilder in his *Annals*, p. 43, alludes evidently to this copy when he says, "Mr. Eugene M. Cole, of Indianola, Shawnee county, a very intelligent printer, owns a well-worn copy of this peculiar book."

6. Chapman, John W., letter, December 14, 1935, and card, January 31, 1936, from North Manchester, Ind., to writer of this article. John W. Chapman is a grandson of J. Butler Chapman.

The Library of Congress has no record of the publication.⁷ Sabin does not list it.⁸ A rare book dealer, unable to find a copy to offer for sale, describes it, nevertheless, as a four hundred dollar item.

Only for its scarcity, however, does the thin little 116-page Volume I, on age-browned, frail newsprint, have especial monetary value. Apparently no Volume II was ever written; one allusion in the text to "the next volume" which is to include "a reliable history of the prairies" as soon as the author can obtain it from "their former owners"⁹—the Kansas tribe of Indians—is the only reference to a second volume. The one copy of Volume I is now in board covers, but they are an additional protection of some caretaker to the original paper back. The map described on the title page is not preserved in this copy.

For the student of the early literature on Kansas, J. Butler Chapman's book has two interests: It is a good reflection of the author's own character and fitful participation in territorial affairs; and it presents with professed and fairly apparent sincerity both Proslavery and Antislavery prospects, the author's own sympathies being primarily "Free Soil." The title of the book, *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*, is really a misnomer. It is not a history at all; what of it is narrative is the story of the author's observation of settlement and his own participation in it. Record of his travels in the territory and assertion of his prophecies for its future are, with the exception of eight pages, about all the directions he gives to guide emigrants.

"Like author, like book," describes J. Butler Chapman and this third book on Kansas well. Widely traveled, variously occupied, addicted to politics and petty quarreling, and prejudiced in favor of town-founding, Mr. Chapman was quite in his element in Kansas territory. Born in Harrison county, Virginia, December 24, 1797,¹⁰ he was an experienced person before emigrating to Kansas. As a youth he had had little education. At fifteen he began working in his father's fulling, oil, and grist mills in Clarksburg. When eighteen he was a hotel clerk in Winchester and Baltimore. In 1816 his father gave him a horse and clothing and advice to "go west." The nineteen-year-old youth, known then as John B. Chapman, traveled through southern Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. At Vin-

7. Memorandum, Library of Congress, June 14, 1935, supplied by Jessica L. Farnum, secretary.

8. Joseph Sabin, *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (N. Y., 1867).

9. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

10. *Historical Atlas of Kosciusko County* (Kingman Brothers, 1879). Typewritten copy used.

cennes he engaged as pilot to take a boat up the Red river into Texas. In 1817 he returned to Virginia, where for two years he read medicine with practicing physicians. His father then gave him an outfit of books and medicine and sent him to Tyler county to practice. He followed the profession of medicine in Sistersville, Va., Burlington, Iowa, and Guyandotte, Va., until 1827. Then having read law as an apprentice and received a license to practice, he located in Crawfordsville, Ind. Here, in 1829, he took up fruit-farming as an additional occupation. In 1831 he moved to Logansport.¹¹ In 1832 he preëmpted a claim on Turkey creek prairie near Leesburg.¹² Here he farmed, practiced his two professions, medicine and law, and became actively interested in politics.

Office-holding and town-founding soon grew into definite avocations, if not actual additional occupations, for John B. Chapman. In 1834 the Turkey Creek post office was established in Mr. Chapman's cabin and he was the first postmaster. President Van Buren appointed him local agent of the Indian reservations.¹³ Next he became prosecuting attorney for the northern circuit of Indiana and representative in the Indiana legislature. In the latter capacity he secured the establishment of Kosciusko county, and himself chose the names both for the county and for the county seat, Warsaw. As representative he also secured the charter for the railroad through Elkhart county to Goshen.¹⁴ Mr. Chapman had part in the founding of three Indiana towns; in Leesburg, 1835, he was one of the first twelve settlers;¹⁵ of Liverpool, 1836, he was one of three proprietors;¹⁶ in October, 1836, he "transferred his fealty to Warsaw,"¹⁷ becoming one of its founders.

His public activities led John B. Chapman into many personal difficulties. His biographers call him a "persistent meddler in politics."¹⁸ He was a Jackson Democrat who had voted first for "Old Hickory" in 1823. He knew Jackson and Van Buren personally; politically he emulated their ways. Of uneasy disposition and quick

11. Royse, L. W., *A Standard History of Kosciusko County, Indiana* (Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1919), v. I, pp. 86-87. Typewritten copy used.

12. *Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana* (Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago, 1887), pp. 644-645.

13. Royse, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

14. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, August 2, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, Warsaw, Ind., August 28, 1856. Type-script of letters from J. B. Chapman, printed in the *Northern Indianian*, supplied by George A. Nye, of Warsaw, Ind., who owns the file.

15. *Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana*, p. 644.

16. Ball, Rev. T. H., *Lake County, Indiana, From 1834 to 1872* (J. W. Goodspeed, printer and publisher, Chicago, 1872), p. 284.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 156. Also, *Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana*, p. 689.

18. Royse, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87. Also, *Historical Atlas of Kosciusko County*.

temper, he was himself "an all-around eccentric" who craved continuous action and change. Withal he was determined and usually accomplished his purpose, though to do so he had sometimes to carry his case to the higher powers in Washington. This he did to substantiate the title to his land on Little Turkey creek prairie.¹⁹ Patent to the Indian float for Liverpool he procured in his own name.²⁰ When he obtained the charter for the Goshen railroad without a petition and without any support of his constituency, he appointed commissioners and "made them meet whether or no, and organize the company, and hold the right of way through Indiana."²¹

When in 1849 "partial deafness compelled him to relinquish practice"²² of law, John B. Chapman joined the gold rush to California. "He wanted to sell all of the world that he could."²³ Thereafter he made "flying trips to California, Washington, Oregon and Alaska, when to reach the Pacific slope meant many discomforts and not a few actual hardships."²⁴ He laid out three towns on the Pacific coast.²⁵ He lived in Oregon for three years.²⁶ Knowledge of the Western states and territories gained in these travels and sojourns served the author variously in writing his book upon Kansas in 1854. Particularly did he draw upon his long acquaintance with Kansas territory itself.²⁷

"Poverty and the fate of circumstances brought" Mr. Chapman to Kansas as a pioneer emigrant.²⁸ He had been in Washington, D. C., when the Kansas-Nebraska question came before congress. Through the intervention of friends in Indiana he had been promised political appointment in Washington territory, now denied him by Gov. I. I. Stevens because he admitted he was "decidedly in favor of free territories."²⁹ In company with his wife Mr. Chapman had taken his grievance to President Pierce, the two of them resolving

19. *Ibid.*

20. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

21. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, August 2, 1856.

22. *Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana*, p. 672.

23. *Historical Atlas of Kosciusko County*.

24. Royse, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

25. Chapman, J. B., letter to editor of *Northern Indianian*, August 12, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, September 4, 1856. (The writer of this article has been unable to learn the location of these towns.)

26. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 51-53, 76-77.

28. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, August 2, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, August 28, 1856.

29. Isaac Ingalls Stevens, a retired army officer and conspicuous Democrat, was appointed governor of Washington territory in 1853 by President Pierce. He served until 1857. Joseph Schafer, in his biographical sketch, in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (Scribner, 1935), v. XVII, pp. 612-614, says Stevens called himself a "Democratic Abolitionist." For probable explanation of J. B. Chapman's disfavor in his eyes, see p. 266 of this study.

openly on the way that they would not renounce Antislavery principles for the best office he had to give. The visit resulted in nothing but ill will for Pierce, to be nourished by subsequent events in Kansas. In "setting his stakes in this territory," however, Mr. Chapman determined to identify himself with the people and "labor to promote their interest."³⁰

The varied background of John B. Chapman colors the whole *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*, though here it is J. Butler Chapman who writes the book. Use of the new signature even is in keeping with the owner's restless love of change. He lists every conceivable town and settlement in the new territory; he names the proprietors, where known. He criticizes the hospitality proffered in public places. He revives old friendships begun in other states of earlier residence. Everywhere he notes political sympathies; unhesitatingly he prophesies. He scents quarrels and he participates in them. He runs for office. He founds a town, to which all roads lead and to describe which critics accuse him of having written his book. He secures railroads, and favorably, usually favorably, he compares the new territory with all the other states and territories he has seen.

The introduction to *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* repeats the declared purpose of the subtitle. Twice the author asserts his account will be impartial. To guard the emigrant against false allurements, he will picture the territory as he sees it, not as the "paradise" most writers here described it.³¹ In chapter X he explains again his motive of enabling pioneers "to traverse the country knowingly," and "not stop and return home as thousands have done" before.³² Twice in chapter XIX he says he has written merely to record the truth.³³ By learning what has been done in the first election, the reader may know what can be done.³⁴ He opens his discussion in chapter I with regret that "the excitement in the congress of the United States, in 1854, gave greater consequence to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska than they deserved."³⁵ Politically, he admits, they have been and are of great importance; "but as to their capacity to confer a great amount of human happiness, they have no advantages greatly superior, and have some great

30. Report of address of J. B. Chapman, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854, in *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854.

31. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Cf., also, pp. 15, 112-113.

disadvantages to many other states and territories, as will be shown in this work." In his writing Mr. Chapman often forgets this determination to be factual and himself indulges in such exaggeration as he here condemns.

The general plan of the book is more logical than its development. Nineteen chapters and an appendix constitute Volume I. Chapter I bounds Kansas territory—Nebraska territory appears only in occasional allusion—and lists desirable road and river entries to the different sections of Kansas. Chapters II to XIII sketch the preëminent geographical features of some of the regions visited by Mr. Chapman. Chapter XIV discusses climate, soil, water supply, timber, resources, adaptability to farming, and desirable crops and stock raising. Chapter XV consists of reprints of published information for settlers. Chapters XVI to XIX are records of outstanding territorial happenings in the autumn of 1854. The appendix presents "the prospects of Kansas for freedom or slavery," from Mr. Chapman's viewpoint. Each of these six general sections treats of its chosen theme, but it also treats of more. Anywhere, the author talks of subjects of personal interest to himself. These added topics, too, are likely to appear more than once with the same or with new treatment. The effect is of considerable overlapping. In the beginning, moreover, Mr. Chapman asserts that the political relations of the territories have been so much discussed that he has nothing new to submit on that subject,³⁶ yet virtually every chapter is full of political bias peculiarly his own.

Usual access to Kansas territory, the writer points out, is from the east side; the principal avenue of approach is the Missouri river. According to the emigrant's intended destination he will choose his crossing at Kansas City, Leavenworth, Weston, Williamsport, Atchison, Doniphan City, St. Joseph, James R. Whitehead's ferry, Smithfield, or Iowa Point.³⁷ Desirable roads leading from the river towns toward the interior of the territory are the Parkersville road, the California and Oregon trail, the Santa Fé road, and the fort to fort road between Leavenworth and Riley.³⁸

Although Mr. Chapman gives Kansas the recognized boundaries of 1854, he limits his sketch of geographical features to the eastern portion. He fixes "the terminus of the territory proper," two hundred miles west of the eastern line. The inhabitable part of Kansas, he says, is "from latitude 37d. 30m. north, to 40d. 10m.; longitude

36. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9-11.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 11, 13.

west from Missouri state line 94d. 30m.; 97d. longitude west from Washington—making a square of two hundred miles east and west, and two hundred and forty north and south.”³⁹

Chapters II-VI and XI-XII record, in scattered way, the author's impressions of the portion of this “square” north of the Kaw river. Passing back and forth across the region at least twice, he seems to have jotted down ideas about it as they occurred and not assembled them for orderly, unified portrayal. From widely separated entries, however, the reader learns of the changing soil, the lowering timber line, and the decreasing development of the region from east to west.

The first journey follows the Kansas river westward. The best land is near the confluence of the Grasshopper with the Kaw.⁴⁰ “One of the most central and commanding situations in the territory,” is the site of Whitfield City, on the Conda river.⁴¹ Along the California road, west of the Vermillion crossing, is rolling prairie. Coal and timber in the ravines are inducements to settlement along Ten Mile creek.⁴² Fort Riley has a beautiful setting. On the frontier beyond, good locations are few and all endangered by Indian depredation.⁴³

Varying in soil and vegetation, the section has made different appeal to settlers. The Delaware trust land, though legally closed to emigrants, is nearly all occupied by substantial farmers.⁴⁴ Elsewhere settlements are sparse. On the Grasshopper the author locates “Osaukee,” laid out by Indian traders named “Dyres.”⁴⁵ On the Pottawatomie land he finds the Catholic mission and a lodging kept by “Mrs. Bertrands, an old acquaintance from Michigan.”⁴⁶ Germantown on the Vermillion is a promising locality.⁴⁷ At Marysville is an Indian trading post.⁴⁸

The settlement of settlements in this region north of the Kaw is, for J. Butler Chapman, his own town, Whitfield City. In three chapters he elaborates upon its superiorities. To it and from it,

39. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

45. This town is Osawkie, laid out by W. F. and G. M. Dyer in 1854.—A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (1883), v. I, p. 523.

46. “Mrs. Bertrands” was probably Mrs. Bertrand at St. Mary's mission twenty-five miles above Topeka, on the north side of the Kansas river. “She has fine stables, sets an excellent table, and is in every way qualified for entertaining the travelling public.”—*Herald of Freedom*, March 1, 1856.

47. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

literally, all roads lead, both wagon and rail.⁴⁹ The site is one of the most commanding and valuable in the territory.⁵⁰ Surrounded by large forests, rich lands, and a stone quarry, it itself has beautiful groves of young trees, large limpid springs, an excellent coal bank, and unusual mill power.⁵¹ Shooting off to the northwest winds the serpentine Conda river "like the great hydra for which it was named."⁵²

The great advantages of setting and resources make Whitfield suitable for business, for the seat of government, and for public institutions of learning.⁵³ Mr. Chapman and his "partners in the location," Jas. A. Gray and F. Swice, have laid out the town at right angles, with public squares for schools and churches. They have immediately set about the erection of a schoolhouse, Mr. Chapman returning "to the states to procure teachers, designing at the earliest possible period to establish a protestant institution of learning."⁵⁴ In the appendix the author also describes a manual labor college, "about being established at Whitfield City,"⁵⁵ to be open to Indians and white folk; "neither race nor sex will be debarred from its advantages."

The second exploration north of the Kaw extends from Fort Leavenworth along the Missouri river to 40d. latitude. This is the portion of Kansas territory Mr. Chapman has known longest, having crossed it first in 1849. To him it is most attractive, both in natural features and in qualities for development. He notes settlements along the way; he rejoices especially in acorn-fed turkey and venison of Wallace B. Moore, "sportsman-proprietor of Arbana."⁵⁶ His pictures of lowland and highland are graphic. The bottoms of the Missouri are "all alluvial and as mutable as the falling snow."⁵⁷ The bluffs around Doniphan and Atchison are brushy, inaccessible, and forbidding.⁵⁸ The high open prairie beyond Smithfield, "the

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21-24.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23. An article entitled "A Relic of the '50's," in the twenty-fifth anniversary edition of the *Topeka Mail and Kansas Breeze*, May 22, 1896, locates Whitfield City on "the southeast quarter of section 7, township 11, range 16," Soldier township, Shawnee county.

51. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114. The New York *Daily Tribune*, March 31 and April 4, 1855, announced that "an association under the title of 'The Indiana Kansas Industrial and Literary Association' has been formed at Dublin, Ind." to secure, among other desirable features for its emigrants, "a manual labor school, acceptable to all, where students can pay their expenses by their daily labor." Five hundred emigrants were expected to remove to Kansas territory under auspices of this company at an early date.

56. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

most uneven and knobby land in Kansas . . . is like a meadow set full of haystacks.”⁵⁹ Though the country is luxuriant, two hindrances make it undesirable for preëmption: adjacency to Missouri has made Easterners avoid it unless they have some predilection for politics;⁶⁰ absence of an election district has been an obstacle to pioneers wanting representation in the territorial government.⁶¹

In two other separated sections, chapters VII-X and chapter XIII, Mr. Chapman crosses to south of the Kaw, proposing to give “a full statement of all the important localities, towns and cities, prospective and in *essee*, describing only the tributaries of the Kansas.”⁶² Here, too, he appears to have traveled twice through the section. In accounts of both journeys, however, he gives little heed to natural features of the region, but lists the settlements along his routes and notes the relative advantages of the lands set aside for the different Indian tribes.

On the first trip he passes through the Shawnee reserve, the land of the Pottawatomies, and the land of the Kaws around Council Grove.⁶³ He visits the five missions maintained in these lands by three religious denominations—two Methodist, two Baptist, and one Quaker—and writes somewhat critically of their intents.⁶⁴ The towns along the Kaw, the Wakarusa, and Rock creek he twice asserts are dense or thick.⁶⁵ The ones he names, however, are relatively few, often insignificant, and usually far apart. The places include the public house of Blue Jacket at the Wakarusa crossing of the same name;⁶⁶ Franklin, laid out by old acquaintances of the author, L. B. Wallace of Indiana and Jerry Church of Virginia;⁶⁷ Bloomington, with hundreds of selections of rich, well-timbered, well-watered land still available;⁶⁸ Lawrence city, deserving “a page in history,” from “the notoriety of the founders,” but here receiving four pages for its twenty to thirty mile view from Capitol Hill, called “hog back ridge,” and for its rude habitations—tents, log cabins, hay roofs, and sod houses;⁶⁹ Douglas city, surpassing in location, but

59. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34, 44.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.

inaccessible for business;⁷⁰ Tecumseh, in want of timber and population but possessed of the hospitality of Mrs. Thomas Stinson who cooks better victuals than anyone the author knows in Chicago or New York;⁷¹ and Uniontown, a trading post conducted uneconomically on Pottawatomie land.⁷²

The second journey on the south side of the Kaw covers a region still farther south and extends farther west. From the Missouri border westward along the Santa Fé road the author describes the lands of the different tribes, their extent, the tribal reserves according to the treaty of Washington, 1854, and the terms for settlement by whites. Proximity to the Osage river or its headwaters determines his ranking of the lands. He notes few settlements. Along the Santa Fé trail he finds good situations principally claimed by Missourians, preparatory to election.⁷³

Chapter XIV, entitled "Climate," embraces information about soil, water supplies, natural growths, and native animal life. It describes the earth as hard, smooth clay, the hardness being easily removed by irrigation. The water supply is variable.⁷⁴ Traveled roads are "smooth in dry weather, never dusty, . . . of the consistency of hard soap"; rains, however, turn those on slopes into gulleys, and new tracks have to be made. The soil, a black loam, will produce every variety of vegetable, cotton, hemp, corn, sweet potatoes, "every luxury . . . desired for culinary purposes." The whole face of the country is a meadow.

Resources include stone, wood, native fruits, and game. A substratum of limestone underlies the whole country. Wood, or timber, is good and splits well, but is short-bodied.⁷⁵ In overflowed lowlands is cottonwood; farther away from streams are white oak, elm, walnut, cherry, white ash, hickory, honey locust, sycamore, and blackberry.⁷⁶ Among the native products are walnuts, hickory nuts, hazel nuts, pecans, acorns, crab apples, plums, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapes, and wild honey.⁷⁷ Wild game includes turkeys, prairie chickens, quail, and gray squirrels; deer is scarce; bears are rare. Of the destructive animals wolves, of all colors and sizes, are most common; raccoons appear frequently.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 61. In the text "Missourians" is "Missionaries," evidently a misprint.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

76. "Blackberry" would seem to be a misprinting of "hackberry."

77. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

Occasionally one sees a badger, a beautiful dapple-grey, but slow and stupid.

Comparing Kansas territory with all other territories and states known to him, Mr. Chapman believes none excel it in soil; only in fertility, however, is the soil superior.⁷⁸ With this exception California and Missouri surpass Kansas in everything. Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio all fall behind in one or many ways. In climate, the Kansas winters are colder and the summers warmer than in other states in the same latitude.⁷⁹ The air seems more serene and placid than in the East; objects are discernible at greater distances. "Heavy winds prevail, . . . constant, . . . dense almost as water, and seemingly sufficient to tear a common piece of sheeting to tatters." Thunderstorms are common and appear more severe than in the states, owing possibly to the openness of the country.

Two pages of practical advice to emigrants conclude this chapter. Three or four farmers should invest in four or five yoke of oxen and a large prairie plow together. From 10 to 20 acres of prairie, costing about \$3 per acre for breaking, should support a family of five for the first season.⁸⁰ For economy and efficiency neighbors should join fences. Three types of fences are in use; the timber fence, made of stakes 4-5 feet long, and two inches square, "drove in the ground 8 inches, and a slat nailed on to keep them steady"; the Osage orange hedge with a ditch on the outside to serve as a barrier while the orange, sowed the first year, is maturing; and the fence of rock, a sufficient supply of which nearly every farm has for at least its main fences. One further page of directions in the appendix supplements this advice.⁸¹ Emigrants should bring all kinds of seed, especially Osage orange seed. One gallon will grow plants enough to enclose eighty acres; methods of planting in a nursery and of resetting in echelons "about the new moon in March" follow. For home market farmers should grow corn, oats, rye, potatoes, and various esculents; for foreign market they should produce horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, flour, hemp, and cotton.⁸²

In five pages chapter XV reviews the official directions to emigrants. Reprint of an abstract of the preëmption laws, by R. R. Andrews, Esq., of Fort Leavenworth, published in a Kansas City paper, tells of the lands subject to preëmption, of the amount, not

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

exceeding 160 acres, to a person, of the qualifications of the preëmtor, and of ways to protect the right.⁸³ This is but an abridgement of the preëmption law of September 4, 1841.⁸⁴ A letter from the commissioner of the land office, October 13, 1854, gives information for settlers.⁸⁵ Rules of a local squatter association for adjustment of discrepancies between claims and the lines of the government survey close the directions.⁸⁶

The only portion of the *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* that presumes to be history, in the technical sense of being a record of public events, is what composes chapters XVI-XIX; and that is really an ill-ordered journalistic account from the politically-prejudiced pen of an active participant in the events themselves. The interpretations are as lengthy as the narratives. Chapter XVI explains the "notoriety" of Lawrence, by the story of its founding.⁸⁷

When the Yankees arrived August 1, 1854, they found all the good land on the river already taken by "the Missourians." For one quarter section on the river, or the good will of the settlers, the Easterners agreed to give \$1,000. Not getting the good will of one Baldwin, who had a most eligible claim adjoining this quarter on the east, they planned to get possession of it under the provisions of the preëmption law, which says, "No man shall preëmt any town or incorporated city." Their construction of the act was that if they could lay out a town upon any settler's claim, "it would prevent him from holding a preëmption." To reassure themselves in interpretation of this act they sent an agent, Mr. Blood, to Washington "to ascertain from the commissioner of the land office, the legal effect of the preëmption law."⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Mr. Baldwin, still residing upon his claim, formed a company with three other settlers to lay out the "City of Excelsior" on his land before the Eastern association commenced its town. A Yankee then pitched his tent on a portion, an act "looked upon by the Excelsior company with some suspicion of a 'Grecian horse.'"⁸⁹

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

84. This law appears in v. V, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, pp. 453-458.

85. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-89.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 84. This was James Blood who in the fall of 1854 went to Washington, D. C., at the request of Amos A. Lawrence, "to study up about Kansas land matters."—Biographical sketch of James Blood, by Ida Blood Hasselman. Also letter of introduction of Col. James Blood to I. S. Mason, commissioner of patents, Washington, D. C., written in Kansas, Mo., September 13, 1854, by Edman Chapman. Also letter of Thos. H. Webb, Boston, Mass., November 6, 1854, to Dr. Chas. Robinson, Lawrence, in "Letter Book No. 1" in papers of New England Emigrant Aid Company. All in manuscript division of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

89. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

When Baldwin undertook to remove the intruder, "the whole Yankee corps assembled under the direction of their chief, Doctor Robinson, armed to the teeth with fuses, revolvers, and dirks, to resist the removal of the tent." The quarrel continued, through a series of episodes, for several days. The Excelsior company rallied 25 settlers to try to oppose force by force; when the Yankees paraded to the number of 125, took shelter in a log cabin, and declined a challenge to a fair fight, the Excelsior company sent runners to Missouri to procure aid in maintenance of its legal rights.⁹⁰ It set October 14 as the day for relieving the Baldwin claim of the Yankee tent. Each side prepared for a severe contest.

The Chapman account then states that both parties attempted to settle their differences by word instead of by force, inviting J. B. Chapman to address them. He assented, provided they would come to the ground unarmed. They accepted his condition and he addressed a large assembly "on the political interest of Kansas, and the necessity of peace and harmony." His own comment, they "all appeared well pleased that the matter at issue was disposed of so quietly,"⁹¹ implies that he settled the matter. Later, however, he writes that the Yankees would no doubt have fought had the Missourians not failed to respond to the call of the settlers.⁹² The runners had exaggerated "frightful stories of the Yankee weapons" and the approaching battle, and the stories proved "a *dampener* upon the *spirits* of the ally." About this time Mr. Blood brought word from Washington that the Emigrant Aid Society might take what land it desired for its city; immediately the Easterners spread out their town of Lawrence over the site of Excelsior.⁹³ "Might" had given them "right."⁹⁴

Mr. Chapman's purpose in lengthy relation of this story appears to have been exposure of the Easterners' unfair treatment of Mr. Baldwin and other surrounding settlers in taking into the site of Lawrence the site of Excelsior City.⁹⁵ The account itself seems an unbiased one, treating both sides fairly. He uses it, nevertheless, as evidence of the "proscriptive spirit of some members, but more particularly of the leaders" of the Emigrant Aid Society that drove from the Antislavery ranks great numbers of noncommittal citi-

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

94. Articles in the *Herald of Freedom*, in the spring of 1855, show that the townsites quarrel continued with other participants.

95. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

zens.⁹⁶ Two other episodes of Yankee outlawry he also cites to support this contention.⁹⁷ Then, to balance the charge, he reviews again the impudence of Missourians at the border in inquiring into the political proclivities of indifferent emigrants and so prejudicing them against slavery, before they set foot on Kansas soil.⁹⁸

More colorful than the townsite quarrel in Lawrence is the story of the arrival of Gov. Andrew H. Reeder and his tour through Kansas territory. To it the author devotes chapter XVII. Throughout the book he has made continual critical, or satirical, remarks about Governor Reeder's land speculation; comment in that vein shares treatment here with doubt of the governor's political sincerity.⁹⁹

Pomp and pageantry marked the reception of the governor at Fort Leavenworth¹⁰⁰ "about October 6."¹⁰¹ In the territory "a sycophantic adulation was paid him, which misled both governor and subjects."¹⁰² In Leavenworth city, however, his immediate investment in lots opened the eyes of his devotees somewhat.¹⁰³ So did his confusion of executive and judiciary powers in settling a squatter fight for a claim of land.¹⁰⁴

About October 24, Governor Reeder set out on his tour of the territory, preparatory to its organization.¹⁰⁵ A procession more than a mile long accompanied him. It included governor, suite, attachés, public officers of the territory, numerous carriages, horsemen, and attendants. The author likens it to a funeral procession, but at Franklin, when the parade halted, symptoms of intoxication made a less solemn impression upon the residents.

Arrival of "the cavalcade" at Lawrence city gives Mr. Chapman occasion to impugn once more "the Yankee town," which he now says consisted of "one cabin, . . . two long hay-rick tents, and a dozen camp tents."¹⁰⁶ "The grand reception" of the people was

96. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 88-89.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21, 41-42, 47, 90-95. Governor Reeder drew much adverse criticism upon himself for his land investments. He also had some approval. The *Herald of Freedom*, July 21, 1855, published a defense, citing the opinion of the *New York Evening Post*: "There is no law preventing any territorial governor from purchasing lands, and Governor Reeder has violated no law." Why should he be made an exception to the whole class of actual residents? All governors and other officers in newly organized territories have done the same thing.

100. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

101. A. H. Reeder received his commission as governor of Kansas territory June 29, 1854, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth October 7, 1854.—Roy F. Nichols, in *Franklin Pierce* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 407-408.

102. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

but a deep-laid scheme of the two major political parties, each acting for underground speculation. S. C. Pomeroy, who delivered the address of welcome "made to order a week previous,"¹⁰⁷ hoped to procure the seat of government and the capital; and the replying governor, before whose eyes floated visions of Indian lands, parried remarks with him upon free institutions and free schools.

In the suite of "his Excellency" was a rival candidate for delegate to congress. This was Robert P. Flenniken, "a Nebraska Democrat," who was to remain "neutral and *mum* on politics," and who in Lawrence did not utter "a sentiment in public on any topic whatever."¹⁰⁸ Both this candidacy and the secrecy of it annoyed Mr. Chapman, for he was himself openly a candidate for delegate to congress, as was also Judge John A. Wakefield of this district. That Flenniken on this visit to Lawrence met neither of them "on the stump," irked Chapman especially.

From Lawrence the governor journeyed westward to Council Grove. To atone for the Abolitionism just displayed he took a town share in Douglas City at \$250, though he would no doubt "as soon think of building a city on a crocodile's back."¹⁰⁹ The third day out he bought one section of Kansas half-breed land. The fourth day, at Council Grove, he purchased five or six sections from the Kansas Indians. About November 10 the governor returned to Leavenworth, where without proclamation of territorial organization, and without taking a census, he now ordered an election for delegate to congress.¹¹⁰

The next two chapters are a confused record of that election. Events do not have chronological account. Opinion constantly supplements statement of fact. Repetitions lack consistency. The composition, however, is vivid. From the disorder the reader can easily re-create the colorful picture.

With the November 10 proclamation for the election on November 29, Governor Reeder announced the places for polls¹¹¹ and issued specific instructions to the judges of election.¹¹² His public mes-

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 106-109.

sengers also carried along "the tickets of Fleneken, and imposing handbills setting forth who he was."¹¹³

The other candidates already in the field were without official favor. Judge John A. Wakefield, representing the Yankees at Lawrence, was an Abolitionist.¹¹⁴ J. Butler Chapman had announced his own candidacy in addressing the rival city founders in Lawrence, October 13.¹¹⁵ In his book, he now describes himself as "a Democrat from Indiana, who, although in favor of a free state, sustained the institution"¹¹⁶ where the law and the constitution fixed it, . . . was strongly opposed to Abolitionism, and was supported in his pretensions as a candidate by the Proslavery men and the Free-Soilers."¹¹⁷ During his campaign Mr. Chapman advanced a plan of his own for limited preëmption of land;¹¹⁸ he proposed that to each actual settler a quarter section be donated, and that to him alone be granted the privilege of buying forty acres of first-rate timber. In discussion in his book of the ruinous effect of selling the public domain in a new country, he says that to bona fide or actual settlers on quarter sections of prairie land, and to them only, forty acres of timber land should be allowed gratis.¹¹⁹ The appendix, written after the campaign was over, repeats the idea that not a foot of land should be sold except to bona fide residents and to no one more than a quarter section, making the chance equal for poor and rich; and it commends the new treaty with the Delawares providing for the settlement of their territory by preëmption.¹²⁰ By

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100. The contemporary press dwelt upon the former public services of Robert P. Fleniken as minister plenipotentiary to Denmark and wealthy lawyer of Pennsylvania. The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, from November 10 through November 24, 1854, printed the following advertisement: "We are authorized to announce Hon. Robert P. Fleniken, of the sixteenth election district (embracing Leavenworth and Salt Creek) as a candidate for delegate to congress for Kansas territory, at the approaching election on the 29th inst."

114. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

115. *Vide ante*, p. 250. Also, correspondence from "T," October 23, 1854, to "My dear Cousin" and printed in the *Philadelphia Sun*, November 10, 1854, says "each one desirous of going to Washington as a delegate must appoint himself and mount the stump." On October 13, when speaking to the rival city founders in Lawrence, J. Butler Chapman announced his candidacy.—*Boston Atlas*, November 1, 3, 8, 1854; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, November 4, 1854; *Philadelphia Sun*, November 10, 1854; *Springfield Republican*, November 18, 1854; *Boston Courier*, November 25, 1854; Keene (N. H.) *Sentinel*, December 15, 1854.—In "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 10, 1, 2, 7, 4, 10, 15, 22, and 4 respectively. The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, from October 20 through November 17, 1854, printed the following advertisement: "We are authorized to announce J. B. Chapman as a candidate for delegate in congress from Kansas territory."

116. "The institution" is, of course, slavery.

117. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 110. This treaty was ratified July 11, 1854, and proclaimed by Franklin Pierce, July 17, 1854. It provided for sale of surveyed lands at public sales; lands not so sold to be subject to private entry; after three years of such offering to private entry, they may by act of congress be graduated and reduced in price until all lands are sold.—*Revision of Indian Treaties, A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1873), pp. 340-345.

such apportionment, the author contends, "a large amount of the prairies could have been occupied."¹²¹

On November 10, the day of the governor's proclamation, J. Butler Chapman was in Leavenworth where he addressed "a respectable number of the sovereigns." He said there that he was in favor of the homestead bill, of the giving to every actual settler of 160 acres of land, of a liberal policy of internal improvements, of slack water navigation on the Kansas river, of railroads through the territory, both north and south, and east and west, of letting the people settle the slavery question, of advocating the principles of the Kansas bill, of preserving the union at all hazards, of supporting the constitution, of maintaining inviolate the laws of the country, and of protecting every man in his property including slaves.¹²²

The governor, Mr. Chapman believes, expected to carry the territory for his favorite by the patronage of his office. "By political distinguishment" on his recent tour he had paid court to every slaveholder in the territory. Official announcement now of the candidacy of Flenniken stirred the rumor that the governor had formed an intrigue with the Abolition faction at Lawrence for 1,000 Yankee votes. The report "ran over the country like wildfire."¹²³ To offset such coalition the Proslavery men now looked about for an opponent to represent their interests.

The day of the governor's proclamation a call of unknown origin was raised in Leavenworth city for a mass meeting November 12 to "nominate" a candidate for delegate.¹²⁴ Because of the short notice the handbills could not circulate over the territory. Mr. Chapman believes they were never intended to go beyond Leavenworth fort and town and were meant for "a gull upon the people." Five hundred Missourians responded to the call, but the convention did not organize.¹²⁵ Gen. John W. Whitfield, once a resident of the terri-

121. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

122. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854.

123. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98. This charge against Flenniken had publicity in a circular on Whitfield, says *The Kansas Pioneer*, Kickapoo, K. T., quoted in an editorial, "From Kansas—The Struggle," in the *New York Daily Tribune*, December 4, 1854.

124. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854, says, "A convention has been called by somebody, we don't know who, to be held at this place on Wednesday next, to nominate a candidate for delegate to congress. We would like to see a concentration made upon some good and reliable man, but this call comes in a very suspicious way, and we apprehend, it will be 'Love's labor lost.'"

125. The *Herald*, November 17, 1854, says the convention proved to be as predicted, "Love's labor lost,—an abortion—no one being willing to father the call, or acknowledge having anything to do with it." The meeting resolved that the call for the convention was premature, and adjourned without nominating a candidate. "The day of the convention was . . . big with the fate of many an aspirant for congressional honors—several of whom gave way for another. What the result will be no one now can tell. General Whitfield, Judge Flenniken, and J. B. Chapman are the most prominent, one of whom, will doubtless be elected."

tory, but now an Indian agent at Fort Laramie, was present, mounted the rostrum, and made a speech. Mr. Chapman says the Proslavery men sought out Whitfield "as the most efficient candidate to meet the emergency and beat the governor's man," but the Leavenworth *Herald* reported Whitfield as saying he became a candidate "upon his own hook."¹²⁶ Flenniken refused to address the meeting. As a result of the call, however, he and Whitfield became the leading rival candidates. Proslavery folk maneuvered to keep Wakefield on the track so as to dwindle Abolition votes. Chapman, in his own words, "from the necessity of the occasion, had to decline."¹²⁷ He did not, however, withdraw his name.¹²⁸

All candidates and their constituencies played politics. Distribution of the polls was the first reflection of it. Lawrence and Douglas, but eight miles apart, were chosen to avoid party criticism.¹²⁹ Marysville, the seat of the eleventh district, contained but five votes.¹³⁰ The Sacs Indian agency, appointed polls for the region of the Nemaha, was wholly inaccessible, being eighty miles away.¹³¹ Only at Lawrence did the governor take counsel in choice of election judges, and there his appointments were "ultra Antislavery."¹³² At Leavenworth he named Abolition men, too, but in both places "they were as helpless as children." At every other poll officials were "ultra Proslavery men." For not a single appointment did the governor consult a Free-Soil candidate or friend.¹³³

To lure voters two or three Proslavery towns set lot sales one week before election. Political talks accompanied the sales. At Douglas City both Mr. Chapman and General Whitfield spoke on the patron of the town.¹³⁴ As election day drew near strange individuals floated over the country without even land hunting for excuse. On being asked whether they would vote, they would reply,

126. The *Herald*, November 17, 1854, reported that General Whitfield addressed "quite a large assemblage . . . from the stump. . . . [He] said in becoming a candidate he [had] done so upon his own hook, without the urgent solicitation of friends, or the aid and authority of a convention. . . . He said he was a free man, and should submit only to the will of the majority of the people as expressed at the ballot box. He declared himself the firm and unwavering friend of the squatter, and in favor of extending to every settler on the public lands, a preemption. . . . He was before the sovereigns." He admitted having encouraged settlers to go on the Delaware lands; said he was "a railroad man" but did not hope to secure a road for Kansas territory at the short session of congress; professed to believe the people *alone* should settle the question of slavery; and disclaimed all knowledge of the mysterious call for the convention.

127. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

128. *Vide post*, Footnote 137.

129. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 95, 100. This agency of the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas was thirty miles from St. Joseph, "quite out of the way for settlers" around the Nemaha.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

133. *Ibid.*

134. *Ibid.*, p. 99, footnote.

"O, certainly." For the openness of their intent Mr. Chapman praises them. "It was no fraud, . . . for there was no pretence of right held out." At some of the polls elections were peaceable; at others voters threatened judges with revolvers and dirks. At some polls the inhabitants and the foreigners all voted the same way; at others residents were denied the vote and "Missourians" from various states allowed it. "At Fort Leavenworth, where the military ought to have interfered to protect the sanctity of the ballot box, they were with impunity the most obtrusive and reckless."¹³⁵ At the Nemaha polls, where there could be no election by the residents, 400 Proslavery votes were cast by the Missourians.¹³⁶ Many a Free-Soiler unable to brave the insults and to endure the after-revenge left the territory that day rather than vote.

The election returns Mr. Chapman quotes do not include the votes cast for himself. The complete report, taken from the affidavits of the judges of the election, reveals that John B. Chapman received a total of sixteen votes. The table below shows the districts registering his name with the number of votes cast for him. The nine districts not included here did not even list him as a candidate.

District	John B. Chapman
1	9 votes
2	0 votes
3	1 votes
4	0 votes
11	5 votes
12	1 votes
Total	16 votes ¹³⁷

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 100. The affidavits of election for District 14, embracing Doniphan, Nemaha, and Brown, show 153 votes.

137. Affidavits of Judges of Election, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. The report of this election in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 41, names only Whitfield, Wakefield, and Flenniken as candidates, and accounts for all votes cast for other persons under the heading "Scattering." Among the contemporary records the *St. Louis Republican* of November 30, and the *Boston Atlas* of December 5, said the contest had narrowed down to Whitfield and Flenniken. In citing returns, however, the *St. Louis Republican*, December 1, the *New York Tribune*, the *Boston Evening Telegraph*, and the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 6, 1854, gave the votes cast for Whitfield, Flenniken, and Wakefield. The *New York Tribune*, December 11 and 12, and the *Boston Evening Telegraph*, December 13, listed the votes cast in Lawrence for a Mr. Chapman, a Proslavery candidate. The *Worcester Daily Spy*, December 14 and 20, the *New York Tribune*, December 14, and the *West Chester (Pa.) Register and Examiner*, December 16, did the same but referred to J. B. Chapman as "Dr. Chapman," an election judge with whom the candidate was confused. *The National Era*, December 21, credited Chapman with but ten votes. The *Boston Atlas*, December 27, the *New York Tribune*, January 2, 1855, and the *Worcester Spy*, January 3, credited him with sixteen, the two latter papers adding full accounts of the election. The *Detroit Evening Tribune*, December 29, credited John B. Chapman with sixteen votes. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 30, and *The Commercial*, Wilmington, N. C., December 20, carried long editorials with quotations from the *Baltimore Sun* on fraudulent election methods used in Kansas. In a communication to *The Sentinel*, a Southern publication (place not given), B. F. Stringfellow gave election returns for Whitfield, Flenniken, and Wakefield, only, with items to interest people of the South.—"Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 29, 31, 33, 34, 36-38, 43, 53, 56, 62, 80, 94, 110, 125-127, 132, 133, 143-144.

District 1, which gave him nine votes, included Lawrence. District 12, embracing Whitfield City, had forty-one voters and forty-one votes, one of which was for John B. Chapman. Evidently Mr. Chapman did not vote in this election himself; his name, at least, is not among the forty-one voting in his district, nor do any of the other fourteen affidavits include it. The records were, of course, immediately recognized as fraudulent, and may misrepresent him. The reader wonders, however, whether he may not himself have left the territory that day along with the Free-Soil voters he says feared "to deposite" votes because of the probable after-revenge.¹³⁸ The "Executive Minutes," recorded December 4, 1854, in the governor's office during the administration of Andrew H. Reeder, also accord John B. Chapman sixteen votes in the election returns by districts.¹³⁹ On December 5, the governor declared Whitfield elected.¹⁴⁰

Mr. Chapman regards the election returns as just rebuke to the governor for his land speculation. Had he not stooped to low means, the Missourians would not have crossed the border in such numbers to vote.¹⁴¹ The governor's instructions to the judges of elections were specific.¹⁴² Everywhere, however, they received Proslavery interpretation to fit the Proslavery needs of the hour.¹⁴³ The election proclamation had outlined principles for disputing the election; when put to the test they failed of every requisite to meet the exigency of the occasion.¹⁴⁴ Certainty of Flenniken's success had thrown the governor off guard. On the fifth day after the election two or three polls contested the results, but futilely. Wakefield and Flenniken both appeared before the governor in protest. Flenniken discovered the mistake; but Wakefield supposed that if one poll was found corrupt, it would invalidate the election. Whitfield received so great a majority at all polls that the governor could

138. *Vide ante*, pp. 255-256.

139. *Kansas Historical Collections* (1881-1884), v. III, p. 240.

140. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 41.

141. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 100.

142. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109. These instructions as quoted by Mr. Chapman vary from the original in ways that are probably only typographical. His copy in line 4 omits "true" and in the first sentence of the third paragraph from the end substitutes "it" for "of." Other variations are in the use of capital letters. Copy of the original of these instructions, in the "Executive Minutes," recorded in the governor's office during the administration of Gov. Andrew Reeder, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 234-235.

143. *The Herald of Freedom*, January 6, 1855, called the election an outrage, the candidate having been elected by Missourians. "Governor Reeder did all in his power to secure us from this outrage." He provided an oath to be administered to voters not known to judges, but judges were bound by force of circumstances; in some districts they were perhaps favorable to proceedings.

144. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

not successfully enter a caveat at any. "His Excellency was caught in his own net."¹⁴⁵

J. Butler Chapman's account of political events in Kansas territory no doubt reflects his own somewhat changing political outlook. In the text proper he says there were two organized parties in the territory in 1854, the Proslavery and the Abolition.¹⁴⁶ They were equally intolerant, but his preference was for the former because of the agreeable hospitality of slaveholders as neighbors. Both Proslavery and Antislavery leaders had, by their proscriptive spirit, however, prejudiced many independent freemen against both parties. These individuals constituted a third class that regarded "the oligarchy of abolitionism quite as oppressive and repulsive . . . as the oligarchy of slaveholders."¹⁴⁷ Emanating from the widely separated regions of New England, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana, these settlers had as yet no organization and no name.¹⁴⁸ In identifying them in spirit with the Free-Soilers and in saying that they might "yet rally under the independent standard of American liberty,"¹⁴⁹ Mr. Chapman named two other parties, already represented in the territory. "The American party," he even says, "may yet decide the fate of Kansas."¹⁵⁰ A fifth party, the Free State, under banner of which he had offered himself as candidate for delegate to congress, he merely alludes to in discussion of possible new alignments.¹⁵¹ The hospitable nature of the Southerners would normally lead the Free-State party to unite with the slaveholders; but election disappointments, leading unsuccessful parties to join against the successful, may bring Free-Soilers into line with the Abolitionists.¹⁵² The Free-Soilers he admires exceedingly as fine "stalwart fellows, who think and act for themselves"; very tenacious of their politics, "the old line they do not regard."¹⁵³

In the appendix, written presumably later than the text, the author says there were three parties in Kansas, the Proslavery, the

145. *Ibid.*, p. 106. Filed with the affidavit of election in the third district, held at Stinson's house at Tecumseh, is a petition to set aside this election, presented by men of Lawrence and Topeka. It bears 77 signatures.

146. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 105. In an article entitled "Dead-Dead," quoted from the Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, the *Herald of Freedom*, September 29, 1855, said there had been a complete fusion of the Free-Soilers and the Abolitionists in Kansas territory.

153. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

Abolition, and the Free State;¹⁵⁴ and then, in subsequent discussion, as in the text, he alludes to the Free Soil and the American, or Know Nothing, as also there.¹⁵⁵ In distinguishing the first three, he says the Proslavery party looked upon every man who would not vote for slavery as an enemy; the Abolition party advocated "universal emancipation and equality of the African race"; the Free-State party was "for leaving the slaves where the Constitution found them, and a government free of foreign officers and of slavery." The Free-Soil party was most numerous in the territory, but the election experience had shown that not one half of them had "either the freedom or the independence to vote according to their convictions." They had come to regard the slave power as an infringement upon the rights of free men, yet the Abolitionists had as little sympathy for them as Proslavery men had for Free-State men. With which group the Know Nothings were affiliated no one could tell; their creed forbade their uniting with either the fanatic Abolitionist or the slavery propagandist, but the Abolitionists might unite with the Know Nothings. "Should the American cause once raise its standard in Kansas, a new era will commence there."¹⁵⁶

The appendix notes three other informative items of significance. A college was contemplated for Lawrence city.¹⁵⁷ Lawrence already had two printing presses; a press was also preparing for Whitfield City.¹⁵⁸ Under the caption of "Rail Roads" the author tells only of his own road to Whitfield City, "for which he has had a bill to pass congress, by the energy and perseverance of Gen. Whitfield, to procure the right of way from the Indians through their several territories." The road will run from the Missouri along the north side of the Kaw to Pawnee town; beyond that point the route will probably follow the valley of the Big Blue. As soon as the company is incorporated, work will begin. It will give employment to one or two thousand laborers. The recent privileges granted by congress render the investment safe for capitalists and the prosecution of the work certain.¹⁵⁹

154. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

155. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

157. This college was the proposed university.

158. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 115. Entries in the *Congressional Globe, Second Session of the Thirty-third Congress* (John C. Rives, Washington, 1855), v. XXIV, pp. 130, 367, 933-934, and 944, show that on December 26, 1854, Mr. Whitfield introduced a bill to aid the territory of Kansas in the construction of a railroad in said territory, and January 23, 1855, another bill "granting the right of way to the Wyandot and Pawnee railroad through the public lands in Kansas territory," both of which were read a first and second time and referred to the committee on public lands; and that on February 24 the latter bill was again considered and returned to the committee for printing and on February 26, passed the house. The *Herald of Freedom*, January 20, 1855, observed that "General Whitfield introduced a bill in congress, on the 26th ult., to aid in the construction of a railroad in Kansas."

Study of J. Butler Chapman's *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* leaves mixed impressions. The idea of illiteracy, suggested at once to the eye by uncertain spellings,¹⁶⁰ odd word usages,¹⁶¹ and occasional faulty sentences, becomes insignificant to the mind in consideration of content. The actual errors are largely typographical, attributable as much to a careless printer no doubt as to the unlettered author. Although Mr. Chapman kept up an extensive correspondence¹⁶² and planned to be a newspaper editor,¹⁶³ he was obviously not an accustomed professional writer. Points of rhetoric were probably beyond his ken; but from his long and varied experience he had gained fair enough mastery of colloquial English to express himself effectively. Often, too, he wrote with strength, especially on matters political. Here and there, naive constructions befit new, individual concepts aptly. A bluff, for instance, is "studded over with copse of young timber";¹⁶⁴ or in the Miami tract the Osage river "passes angling through to the north";¹⁶⁵ or the Santa Fé road is "a great and ancient thoroughfare" leading through the "beautiful . . . wilderness prairie of Kansas territory."¹⁶⁶ The pertinence of phrasing makes more lasting appeal than any wrong word form.

Erroneous statements are few. The Kansas river, the writer says, has "its source in the Black Hills of the Rocky Mountains,"¹⁶⁷ longitude 104°, latitude 44°, whereas its westernmost branches really arise around longitude 101° and latitude 39°. Rock creek, he believes, "heads up with the Osage and Neosho,"¹⁶⁸ but its tributaries have actual origin in the region of the Osage only. The Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts he refers to as "the Emigrant Association of the Aid Society, of Boston."¹⁶⁹ He overstates by one third or one half the number of city lots in Lawrence pledged each

160. These uncertain spellings are not only of proper names, of both persons and places, but also common words like "equiped," "enhansing," "oppinion," "disasterous," "beligerent," and "renouned."—Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 115, 68, 48, 40, and 90.

161. Wrong usages are such as of "lay" for "lie" and "setting" for "sitting"; and of wrong word forms as of "adaptedness" for "adaptability," and "handsome" for "handsomely."—*Ibid.*, pp. 51, 47, 64, and 45.

162. Chapman, J. B., letter to "Dear Will," August 28, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, Warsaw, August 28, 1856, refers to "my numerous letters of some twenty a week."

163. Prospectus for the *Kansas Intelligencer*, in the *Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, November 21, 28, 1855, and January 26, 1856. Also *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 1, 1855.

164. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

166. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

169. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

member of the company.¹⁷⁰ He criticises C. B. Boynton's location of setting for the Indian legend, "Young Eagle and Wolf,"¹⁷¹ in Kansas instead of in the Rocky Mountains,¹⁷² himself forgetting that the actual boundaries of Kansas territory embraced a goodly portion of the Rocky Mountain range. Roads in Kansas territory he describes as "the finest imaginable, rendering carriage traveling the most delightful in the world."¹⁷³ Much used roads he finds "smooth in dry weather" and "never dusty."¹⁷⁴ Across the great plains "the hum and din of civilization now prevails."¹⁷⁵ Most of the misstatements are exaggerations.

The effects of the book upon the reader are otherwise diverse. Sketchy pictures of the territory vie for remembrance with vivid accounts of momentous happenings. Little that is, except Whitfield City, has the author's unqualified approval. Fact and opinion intermingle. Nice observation ends often in fancy or extravagance. Intended impartiality gives way to prejudice; or partiality turns to pertinacity. Long association with infectious politics has predisposed every outlook; but adherence to different platforms has left an odd inheritance of like and contrary principles. In consequence the casual reader cannot be sure whether he is perusing a defense or a denial of even so crucial a question as slavery. If the author meant sincerely to make the book a consideration, not a negation, of the issue, he let his own sympathies and criticisms, notwithstanding, contradict his avowals and acts so often that anything short of analysis leaves even the studious reader confused.

Politically J. Butler Chapman is a medley. Only once in the book does he positively declare any party affiliation. Then he calls himself a Democrat, who, although in favor of a free state, sustains slavery, opposes Abolitionism, and expects support of Proslavery

170. He says the number pledged to each member is 60. Correspondence from residents of Lawrence, printed in Northern and Eastern papers at the time, indicated that one fourth of the 9,000 city lots would be given to persons that would build upon them within the year but differed in the numbers designated for individual members. S. F. Tappan, in *The Atlas*, Boston, November 1, 1854, said that members of the first two parties would receive "about 30 lots"; of the third party, "2 lots." A nameless correspondent, in the same paper, November 3, said that each member of the first two parties would receive "about 40 lots each to speculate upon." E. D. Ladd, in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 6, 1854, wrote that every alternate lot would be drawn by members of the association.—"Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 1-4. Cf., also, Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 315.

171. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas, With Sketches of Nebraska* (Moore, Wiltach, Keys & Co., Cincinnati, 1855), pp. 165-173. Also, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, No. 2, p. 134.

172. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

175. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

men and Free-Soilers.¹⁷⁶ He does not once call himself a Free-Soiler, but consistently he approves or condones all Free-Soil attitudes and acts. He claims to want freedom for Kansas territory, but until November, 1854, he seems to want office more. Freedom for him, however, at this time means not a state devoid of slavery, but a state in which the citizens are free to make their own choice of institution—in which they have the right of popular sovereignty; this definition explains somewhat his expectation of Free-Soil and Proslavery support; it accounts, too, in part for the hatred for Abolitionists who wanted the territory kept free by federal power. After his failure of election he continues to favor the Free-Soiler and to hate the Abolitionist; and the Proslavery man who deserted him at the polls he justifies in motive but condemns in act.¹⁷⁷ Here his own motive baffles the reader somewhat. Is he still courting Proslavery favor? If so, why? If not, why these startling assertions: "a thousand times better for Kansas had congress declared it slave territory";¹⁷⁸ at the time of writing, the pronouncement would be for slavery;¹⁷⁹ and "it will be a more difficult matter for Proslavery men to keep it slavery hereafter than to make it slavery now."¹⁸⁰ Are these presentments of fact, or opinion? or, are they simulation? The possible implications suggest unpleasant criticism. One paper, in election returns, listed him as "on both sides."¹⁸¹ Another, after the campaign, referred to him as "Polliwog (anything, nothing)."¹⁸²

Chronological review of the political career of J. Butler Chapman and of the party platforms to which he had adhered explains some of his apparent inconsistencies and noncompliances politically in Kansas territory. Directly or indirectly, too, it accounts for some of the other insistent prejudices recorded in *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*.

In contrasting himself in 1856, with Buchanan, who "has no opinions of his own," Mr. Chapman writes that "all my political opinions and dogmas are original with myself."¹⁸³ They were his, no doubt, in combination; but individually they had origin outside himself. As a Jackson Democrat who had voted for Old Hickory first in

176. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

177. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-105.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

181. *New York Tribune*, December 12, 1854.

182. *Detroit Evening Tribune*, December 29, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 125.

183. Chapman, J. B., letter to "Mr. Editor," August 12, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, September 4, 1856.

1823,¹⁸⁴ he had early been imbued with the idea that to the victor belong the spoils.¹⁸⁵ To John B. Chapman, however, had come few spoils. In 1834 President Jackson did appoint him local agent of Indian reserves in northern Indiana. Unnamed pretexts took him frequently to Washington where he personally "became acquainted with the potentates of the nation," Jackson and Van Buren,¹⁸⁶ and "had access to their inner chambers."¹⁸⁷ Once at least he was Van Buren's dinner guest. Van Buren's reputed "adroitness in maintaining a noncommittal attitude until it was practically certain which side was to win,"¹⁸⁸ had emulation in J. Butler Chapman's attitude toward slavery in Kansas territory in 1854. The Democratic convention in Baltimore, May 5, 1840, adopted the resolution "that Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, . . . that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, . . . are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, . . . and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union";¹⁸⁹ this stand against federal interference with slavery, readopted by Democratic conventions of May 29, 1844,¹⁹⁰ May 26, 1848,¹⁹¹ and June 6, 1852,¹⁹² was a consistent political profession of Mr. Chapman in the territory in 1854.

From the platform of the Free-Soil Democrats of 1848, who had withdrawn in discontent as "Barnburners" from the general Baltimore convention in May and held their own convention in Buffalo, August 9, Mr. Chapman drew the principle "That the free grant to actual settlers . . . of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy."¹⁹³ From this platform, too, he derived the ideas, and the phrases for expounding them, of the maintenance of "the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power" and of the securing of "free soil for a free people." In his own territorial campaign for delegate to congress, in 1854, Mr. Chapman made modified

184. *Vide ante*, p. 240.

185. Stanwood, Edward, *A History of the Presidency* (Houghton, Boston, 1898), pp. 160-161.

186. *Historical Atlas of Kosciusko County*, 1879.

187. Royse, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

188. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

189. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

190. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

191. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

192. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

193. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241.

use of this principle along with that of Resolution 12 of the 1852 platform, "that public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold, . . . but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers."¹⁹⁴ After his failure of election and his fuller, more open account of political parties in Kansas territory,¹⁹⁵ he endorsed in spirit, if not in verbatim phrase, their Resolution 11 "that all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil. . . ."

From the 1848 platform of the "Barnburners" and from the 1853 platform of the Free-Soilers, he also, no doubt, derived his opinion of the desirability of "the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government",¹⁹⁶ and he, therefore, pauses in his book to criticise all military officers now in such posts.¹⁹⁷

From still another party Mr. Chapman drew still other tenets. This party bore different names, Native American, American, and Know Nothing. With its principle that Americans must rule America, he coincided first in establishing a Protestant institution of learning in Whitfield City,¹⁹⁸ and second in supporting the Free-State advocacy of a government free of foreign officers; after the "Missourian" voting at the territorial polls, November 29, 1854, he added to his insistence upon noninterference by congress in individual state affairs, "nonintervention by each State with the affairs of any other State," and "the recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws."¹⁹⁹ His public utterances also showed his sympathy with Resolution 13 of that platform, opposing "the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration [that of Franklin Pierce] in the general management of our national affairs . . . as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in the vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question."

His doubtful position on the slavery question was probably a re-

194. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-256. *Vide ante*, p. 253.

195. *Vide ante*, p. 258.

196. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 255.

197. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 26-29, 46-47, 49.

198. *Ibid.*, p. 24; *vide ante*, p. 245. This anti-Catholic feeling probably explains his inability to learn anything about the Catholic mission at St. Mary's, merely mentioned in his tour of this region.—Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

199. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-263. These Native American or Know-Nothing principles had expression in the platform of the party, formulated February 19-22, 1856, in Philadelphia.

flection of a movement within the American party in the fall of 1854, after elections were over, to "nationalize" it, "which, in the parlance of the times, was but another name for placing it in the attitude of hostility to freedom, and its demands, or at best making it neutral thereto." Southern members and some Northern members, without antislavery convictions, assumed that "fidelity to the Union . . . required that they should strive to arrest Antislavery movements, defeat Antislavery action, and proscribe Antislavery men."²⁰⁰ This may well have been the Chapman 1854 interpretation of the 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852 Democratic declaration against Abolitionists. In the country at large the Union degree of the Know Nothings, adopted at the Cincinnati convention in November, 1854, "was construed to mean that the North should keep quiet on the subject of slavery." Like the Know-Nothing membership at large, Mr. Chapman did not then sense that the whole "political being of the North depended on unceasing agitation";²⁰¹ the pitiful returns in his favor in the election of 1854 opened his eyes somewhat.

One other rabid prejudice in the Chapman book was probably also political as early as 1854, his opposition to polygamy, but not until the formulation of the Republican platform in 1856 did the prohibition of it become an item in a party platform.²⁰² At the end of his first chapter J. Butler Chapman records a moral fear for the future of Kansas because of her joining Utah on the West.²⁰³

In the campaign he was avowedly a Democrat, seeking office on a Free-State ticket, and expecting Free-Soil and Proslavery support. He liked Southerners and slaveholders for their warm hospitality; he disliked Northerners for their cold and designing ways. In 1854 Free-Soilers drew from both sectional groups; nevertheless, he seemed to suppose that they all believed in popular sovereignty and were indifferent as to whether Kansas was slave or free. Many settlers, he claimed, who had come to the territory to make homes rather than to engage in politics, held the same views. Up to November 10, 1854, Mr. Chapman seemed to presume that through this bond of indifference between Free-Soilers and nonparty settlers, and through the popular sovereignty profession of Free-Soilers and Southerners, he would easily win his seat in congress. He forgot, or ignored, the pledges of the Free-Soil conventions of 1848 and 1852

200. Wilson, Henry, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (James R. Osgood and Company, Boston, 1875), v. II, pp. 420-422.

201. Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850* (Harper, New York, 1893), v. II, pp. 87-88.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 184. Also Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

203. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

to freedom and their resolutions against slavery;²⁰⁴ and he did not inscribe upon his banner "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." His profession was a compromise apparently to carry Southern votes. Free-State settlers were said to have taken "little interest in this election, as they did not consider that the question of free institutions was in any way involved in it."²⁰⁵ From November 10 through November 29, the Free-State candidate and his lukewarm constituency discovered, however, that not only their right of franchise was at stake, but also their right to territorial self-government. They came to suspect Governor Reeder, his policies, and his motives, and they found the pleasing hospitality of the "Missourians" untrustworthy.

Secretive allusion, during the campaign and after it, to the American party, has no explanation in this acknowledged plan. Three times in the book the author named the party, and hinted darkly at its presence and its prospects in the territory.²⁰⁶ It was, he said, the most powerful party in the United States.²⁰⁷ May the American cause not already have carried its standard to Kansas in the non-committal "Free-State" candidate for delegate to congress? And may not the "Free-State" caption, in his case at least, have been but a "Know-Nothing" veil? The middle neutral course he tried to steer, the advocacy of government free of foreign officers, the non-intervention of states in affairs of other states, and the arraignment of the federal administration were all insistences of the American party. In the breaking up of old line parties new party lines overlapped. Free-Soilers were first "barn-burning" Democrats; Native Americans were Democrats, Free-Soilers, or Whigs before they became Know Nothings and later blended with Republicans.²⁰⁸

Not at all odd, with this political inheritance, is the uncertainty of J. Butler Chapman's party membership in 1854-1855. As he wrote, his professed "political opinions and dogmas" were his own. They changed with his needs and hopes. He countenanced slavery when he was relying upon Proslavery support. When that support failed him, he condemned the institution. Not until 1856, however, did he foresee its downfall, even if it cost the severance of the union.²⁰⁹ Freedom was at last worth that price. Marshaled for

204. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-241, 253-256.

205. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Also "Howard Report," 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 8.

206. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 105, 111-112.

207. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

208. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-239, 261.

209. Chapman, J. B., letters to Will, June 12, July 5, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, July 10, July 31, respectively.

the conflict then were two political parties, "one for the liberty of the people," and the other "for the disfranchisement and subjugation of the people." Respectively, these parties were the Republican and the Democratic. Mr. Chapman's sympathies were now with the former. The position was an evolution, resulting from his later experiences in Kansas territory.

The poor organization of Mr. Chapman's book makes its prejudices obvious. With every repeated presentation of subject matter is repeated record of the author's biased mind. Even the discussions of opposing points of view, designed to show both fairly, reveal unmistakably his own preference. His criticisms are no doubt often sincere expressions of honest observation. His use of them, however, makes his motive sometimes seem less open. In most of his comments upon public institutions and policies, for instance, he is directly or indirectly maligning the federal administration and its chief officer. In some he is vindicating personal wrong.²¹⁰ The worth of his opinion is, in consequence, hard to evaluate. Just as anything military stirs adverse comment, and the very name of Governor Reeder is anathema, so everything in the Indian policy is at fault.

His book is full of thrusts at the government,²¹¹ at the Indian agents,²¹² and at the Christian missions for their inadequate provisions for Indians.²¹³ He would lead the Indians to adopt habits of civilized life through precept and example of colonies of white folk placed in each tribe by the government to teach agricultural and mechanical arts; when educated they may better investigate the claims of the Christian religion. In the Rev. Thomas Johnson's having taken his slaves to a territory, then free, Mr. Chapman sees strange comment on the present practice of the Christian missions.²¹⁴ His remarks wax warmest over the Kansas Indians who once owned the whole territory of Kansas "from the Arrow rock to the Nebraska river" but who would now be forgotten except for the territory and the river that perpetuate the name.²¹⁵

210. Both the *Boston Atlas*, November 1, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 1, and the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854, note the same conduct in the campaign for congress.

211. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-47, 56.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 29, 34, 44, 55.

213. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 57.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 33. As delegate to congress before the territory was organized Doctor Johnson, according to Chapman, had used "the plenitude of his power" to have all school funds from the Indian department appropriated to his establishment. He had been nominated at Kickapoo, September 20, 1853, and declared elected November 8.—P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1909), p. 148. Also, Wm. E. Connelley, *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker* (Lincoln, Neb., 1899), p. 38.

215. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

Twice in his book the author pauses to comment upon the custom of paying for political patronage in place names.²¹⁶ To hold himself above reproach Mr. Chapman first named his own town, laid out in August, 1854, "Delaware City."²¹⁷ In petitioning for a post office, he found a "Delaware" post office already existed. He then selected for his town "Whitfield City, a name of ancient remembrance among all Christian denominations."²¹⁸ Evidently he meant to refer to George Whitefield, 1714-1770, the English preacher and founder of Calvinistic Methodists, who had traveled widely in America. His spelling of the name, however, makes the reader wonder whether he was not rather paying tribute to J. W. Whitfield, the successful Proslavery candidate for delegate to congress, who, when elected, got immediate congressional action on the railroad projected by Mr. Chapman, but named by Mr. Chapman, "Kansas and Whitfield railroad." The *Kansas Weekly Herald* did announce that the proprietors named Whitfield City "after the Squatter's friend, Gen. Whitfield, delegate elect."²¹⁹ Whatever the significance of "Whitfield," the Chapman town changed its name twice again. In 1856 it was "Kansapolis," spelled also by its proprietor "Kansapolis" and "Kansasapolis."²²⁰ Soon the town was known, too, as "Rochester."²²¹

Sometime after the publication of his book Mr. Chapman returned to Kansas. He attended the Big Springs convention, October 5, 1855, and witnessed the organization of the Free-State party there.²²² Later in the fall he issued the prospectus of a new paper to be located in Whitfield.²²³ The press which his book had announced was "preparing for Whitfield City"²²⁴ had evidently be-

216. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 63-64.

217. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas*, v. I, p. 534.

218. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

219. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, December 8, 1854.

220. Chapman, J. B., letters to Will, June 12, July 5, August 2, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, July 10, July 31, and August 23, respectively. An article signed "D" in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 3, 1881, says that Indianola, "her more fortunate but dissolute sister," killed Kansapolis. As Rochester, however, the community still prided herself on her "culchah."

221. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, v. I, p. 534. Also J. H. Bennet, "J. Butler Chapman," in *Oskaloosa Independent*, June 1, 1878. Also, "A Relic of the Fifties," in twenty-fifth anniversary edition of the *Topeka Mail and Kansas Breeze*, May 22, 1896. The *Topeka State Journal*, December 5, 1929, says the community was widely advertised as "Rochester" in 1855. Augustus Wattles, in his "History of Kansas," in the *Herald of Freedom*, April 11, 1857, refers to it as "Kansapolis," having then about fifteen inhabitants.

222. Chapman, J. B., letter to editor *Herald of Freedom*, written in Warsaw, January 25, 1857, in *Herald of Freedom*, February 21, 1857. Reports of proceedings of the political conventions in Kansas territory in the fall of 1855 make no mention of J. B. Chapman's participation in them. The *Squatter Sovereign* quoted in the *Herald of Freedom*, September 29, 1855, stated that the "Free-Soil element of the late National Democratic party of Kansas territory, and the Abolitionists—almost to a man, the originators of that scheme, have gone over to Reeder—the sound Proslavery men . . . [turning to] Whitfield."

223. *Herald of Freedom*, December 1, 1855.

224. *Vide ante*, p. 259.

come a reality. The *Herald of Freedom* now referred to him as "J. B. Chapman, Esq.," and seemed in sympathy with his paper to be called the *Kansas Intelligencer*.²²⁵ "It is to advocate an immediate organization of a state government and will be decidedly Anti-Slavery in tone."²²⁶ Four issues of the *Kansas Freeman* in Topeka published the "Prospectus" in its advertising columns.²²⁷ Clarinda P. Chapman was to report meetings of the constitutional convention in session in Topeka in October, 1855, for the *Kansas Intelligencer*.²²⁸ At least one issue of this paper, now frankly labeled "Free Soil," must have appeared, for on June 12, 1856, Mr. Chapman wrote his son, Will, that it had been threatened as soon as issued and he had taken it "75 miles off in the wilderness."²²⁹

Mr. Chapman now divided his interest between the development of his town and the organization of territorial politics. To both enterprises border warfare was an active hindrance.²³⁰ The town company of Kansapolis numbered about thirty—all Abolitionists and Republicans. Buildings included a saw mill and several frame houses. In the election of January 15, 1856, the Chapman house was the appointed place of voting for the Whitfield precinct.²³¹

In June Mr. Chapman became involved in a quarrel with his fellow townsmen over boundary lines and the appropriation of part of one piece of property for a public road and bridge. Probate court proceedings of the county of Calhoun,²³² deposed and recorded in June, and filed October 16 and 17, relate the story. The portrayal is colorful in language and in event. The offender tears down fences and tries to bully the owner off his claim. Failing in this attempt he threatens to drive him off or pull his neck. Then, on June 13 John B. Chapman and others receive recognizance to pay, of their goods and chattels, to the territory of Kansas, \$550, and to

225. The Kansas State Historical Society has no other record of this paper than the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Freeman* notices. Herbert Flint, in his master's thesis (unpublished), "Journalism in Territorial Kansas," Pt. I, p. 123, does not include the *Kansas Intelligencer* in his list of Kansas papers for 1854-1856.

226. *Herald of Freedom*, December 1, 1855.

227. *Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, November 21, December 19, 1855; January 26, February 9, 1856.

228. *Daily Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, October 30, 1855.

229. *Northern Indianian*, July 10, 1856.

230. *Ibid.*

231. Election proclamation of J. H. Lane, chairman of the executive committee of Kansas territory, in the *Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, December 19, 1855; also in *Herald of Freedom*, January 12, 1856.

232. Calhoun county, established by the first territorial legislature held in 1855, embraced the region north of the Kansas river with Riley on the west, Nemaha and Brown on the north, and Jefferson and Atchison on the east. It included Whitfield City. It comprised what is now Jackson county, the eastern part of Pottawatomie and what of Shawnee is north of the Kansas river.—*Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*, 1855, pp. 205-211; *Laws*, 1857, pp. 37-46; *General Laws*, 1860, pp. 83-87. Also Helen G. Gill, "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections* (1903-1904), v. VIII, pp. 449-472.

keep the peace toward the people of the territory.²³³ The quarrel seems to have been a typical Chapman quarrel. Misunderstanding, impulsiveness, and persistence were at the bottom of it.

Affairs of wider significance were more disturbing to Kansapolis and its proprietor through the spring and summer of 1856. Border war prevailed over the whole territory. The town was in an exposed position without means of defense. Continual threats of plunder and robbery hindered business.²³⁴ Mr. Chapman himself lost a good riding horse, "an elegant racker," that had cost him \$150. Southerners robbed wagon loads of provisions en route from Kansas City. On June 11 Kansapolis lost its post office to Indianola, its rival Proslavery neighbor.²³⁵ In August "fifty" of its men were called to Nemaha to aid a band of 250 emigrants detained there by "guerillas of the South." Once the Free-State sympathizers talked of sending J. Butler Chapman "to the states to try to get some arms through by Iowa."

Both openly and secretly, now he gave allegiance to the Free-State cause whatever the name and the duty. Affiliations he formerly evaded or denied, he defended frankly; Free Soil, Free State, Anti-slavery, Abolition, and Republican were all admitted groupings now. In the same spirit and terms that he had condemned Abolitionists during his campaign for delegate to congress in 1854, he now damned the Proslavery men whose favor he then courted. Know Nothings were the only political party of which he now said nothing.

The J. B. Chapman of the private letters in 1856 was as busy politically as had been the J. Butler Chapman of congressional candidacy in 1854. Here, however, he was but a private citizen with only his own suffrage to control; yet as commentator upon affairs, he hoped to mold opinion. In June he believed the United States troops marching all around Kansapolis were endeavoring to stop the war, but actually they only made it worse.²³⁶ After the congressional committee²³⁷ had come to Kansas, the Free-Soilers ceased to defend themselves and the Proslavery party took advantage to prosecute the war the harder.

On July 5 he wrote at length of the failure of the Free-State legis-

233. "Territory of Kansas vs. John B. Chapman," filed October 16-17, 1856, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

234. Chapman, J. B., letters to Will, June 12 and August 2, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, July 10 and August 28, 1856, respectively.

235. In the early spring of 1856, both Whitfield and Indianola had postoffices.—*Herald of Freedom*, January 12 and February 16, 1856. *Vide ante*, Footnotes 220 and 221.

236. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, June 12, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, July 10, 1856.

237. Investigating committee of the house of representatives sent to Kansas territory in April, 1856.—Spring, L. W., *Kansas* (Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1885), p. 108.

lature to meet in Topeka July 4.²³⁸ He was himself a district delegate to the convention meeting July 2 and July 3, to determine a course of action;²³⁹ and he supported the resolution that the legislature should not be deterred from making its code of laws "at any sacrifice less than loss of life." He also claimed that the Free-State organization in Kansas had been got up entirely at his suggestion. Evidently he referred to the professed principles of his own candidacy on the Free-State ticket in 1854.²⁴⁰ He had then had some faith in the Democratic declarations, but events of July 4, 1856, in Topeka, led naturally in his letters to defamation of the President. "Thus it is for the first time in the annals of American history that the military, the tool of tyrants and despots, has been used for the subjugation and oppression of free-born Americans. . . . In the Democratic administration of Franklin Nero is the first despotic abuse of that power."

Other correspondence of J. B. Chapman through the summer and fall continued this old habit of abuse. In long half pages of derogatory epithets he inveighed editors for "severe strictures" upon himself;²⁴¹ and he berated anew their "tyrant-master, Franklin Pierce," "for the woes and miseries he had caused in Kansas." The writer claimed he had no other motive "than the liberty of my country and the freedom of my posterity"; but as guarantee of the immunity he sought he continued to pay political tribute. Disunion which he now advocated was his own recommendation; but vituperation of Pierce and support of Frémont could have reflected Know-Nothing or Republican fealty here, for both parties damned Pierce and both nominated John C. Frémont in 1856.²⁴²

In the early fall of 1856 Mr. Chapman was taken "prisoner of war . . . by the Georgia rangers from Tecumseh," carried like livestock, under the flag of Fort Leavenworth, to Leavenworth city, and there thrown into the dungeon.²⁴³ After Gov. J. W. Geary, speaking from the landing nearby, "thought fifteen of us were not

238. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, July 5, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, July 31, 1856.

239. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 9, 1856, lists J. B. Chapman as one of the members of the committee on organization of the mass convention.

240. *Vide ante*, pp. 252-255. Perhaps he also referred to his support of "an immediate organization of a state government" in the prospectus of the *Kansas Intelligencer*. *Vide ante*, p. 269.

241. Editors of *Goshen Democrat* and *Democratic Platform*, Indianapolis, in letter to Will, August 2, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, August 28, 1856, and in letter to "Mr. Editor," August 12, 1856, *ibid.*, September 4, 1856.

242. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-264, 269-273.

243. Chapman, J. B., correspondence to the *N. Y. Tribune*, written in Guilford, Medina Co., Ohio, October 27, 1856, in *New York Daily Tribune*, November 3, 1856.

worth taking out,"²⁴⁴ Mr. Chapman was removed to the Proslavery barracks where, he said, 200 United States troops came to the succor of the slave troops. Although he despaired of his life, because of the hostility of Missourians to his book, Mr. Chapman finally received a discharge from Col. J. T. Clarkson, but was ordered to leave the territory on the steamer *Tatman*.

Returning to Indiana he made public addresses on Kansas from the stump. Later, in Ohio, he spoke in public meetings on his recent imprisonment. By January, 1857, he was back in Warsaw, writing critically of the "anti-Republican" government of Kansas, and of its corrupt officials;²⁴⁵ Reeder, Geary, Roberts, and Robinson had all been derelicts.²⁴⁶ He himself was to return to Kansas in a few days with "about one hundred substantial farmers . . . from Indiana and Illinois."

In April he was again in the territory, writing now to the Leavenworth *Times* about misrepresentations in the *Herald of Freedom* of the settlement of the Delaware trust lands; and G. W. Brown, in editorial reply, "An Error," accused him of misstatement and blunder.²⁴⁷ When he gave up residence in the town of his founding is not on record; in August, land agents of Topeka and Doniphan advertised Kansapolis shares for sale.²⁴⁸ By fall he was living in Leavenworth city,²⁴⁹ where the press now referred to him as "Dr. John B. Chapman."

In December he became active in organization of a company to construct the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Fort Gibson railroad.²⁵⁰ This was not the projected road to Whitfield City, a route later followed by the Union Pacific, but a new road, crossing the territory in a southerly direction and extending eventually to Galveston, Tex.²⁵¹ The territorial press tells of his intermittent service as president of the company from December 8, 1857, into the summer of

244. Chapman, J. B., letter to editor, *Herald of Freedom*, written in Warsaw, January 25, 1857, in *Herald of Freedom*, February 21, 1857.

245. *Ibid.*

246. He includes Gov. Charles Robinson for his resignation in favor of Territorial Governor Geary in the attempted compromise to get into the union.—*Cf.*, L. W. Spring, *Kansas*, p. 204.

247. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, April 25, 1857.

248. Advertisement of Allen and Stratton, *Lawrence Republican*, August 13, 1857.

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

250. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 19, 1857. Also *Leavenworth Weekly Journal*, January 29, 1858. Also *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, February 6, 1858.

251. *Fourth Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of Kansas* (Kansas Publishing House, Topeka, July 1, 1884). Legislative act of February 24, 1866, changed the name to "Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad." The original charter was granted February 12, 1858.

1859.²⁵² Twice he was representative of the company in securing right of way through Indian lands, once going to Washington to lobby in congress for necessary support.²⁵³ The offices of the company were in Prairie City,²⁵⁴ but "Dr. Chapman" lived successively in Leavenworth, Mandovi, and Garnett.²⁵⁵

In the winter of 1857-1858 Mr. Chapman had fallen into poor personal repute in Kansas territory. Being enamored of "a beautiful and accomplished young lady," Miss E. Flora Little, whom he importuned "greatly to join him in the holy bonds of wedlock,"²⁵⁶ he transferred to her, in checks and notes, about \$9,000. She had required the "bonus on the promise of marriage," because of the great discrepancy in their years; he was 61²⁵⁷ and she, 24.²⁵⁸ On March 1, 1858, she failed to meet him in St. Louis, the appointed place of marriage. On March 2 she wrote him from St. Charles, Ill., that her father thought her too young to marry and was taking her to Canada.²⁵⁹ By the middle of March, however, when J. B. Chapman brought suit in the recorder's court in Leavenworth to recover his property, she pleaded she had learned since his courtship that he was a married man. He had reported in Leavenworth that his wife was dead.²⁶⁰ The case had a second hearing the first week in April. The decision was against J. B. Chapman. A month later his wife, who had all the while been residing in Ohio, wrote a friend in Lawrence "a hard story on the Doctor," who had refused to provide for herself and her year-and-one-half old child.²⁶¹ Most of the

252. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 19, 1857. Also *Leavenworth Weekly Journal*, January 29, 1858. Also *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, February 6, 1858. Also *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, August 12, 1858; *Lawrence Republican*, May 6, 18, 20 and 27, June 6, and October 28, 1858; *The Kansas News*, Emporia, August 28, 1858, June 18 and August 20, 1859. Also, James Y. Campbell, *History of Anderson County* . . . (Garnett Weekly Journal Print), pp. 38-39. Also, W. A. Johnson, *History of Anderson County, Kansas* (Kaufman and Iler, Garnett, 1877), pp. 140-142. *Report of Directors of Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad Company*, presented to the stockholders at the annual meeting, June 5, 1871, and printed by Rounds and Kane, Chicago, does not tell of J. B. Chapman's connection with the company. The *Fourth Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of Kansas* does not note the date of termination of his service.

253. *Leavenworth Weekly Journal*, January 29, 1858. Also *Weekly Kansas Herald*, Leavenworth, January 29, 1859. Also *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 4, 1859.

254. *Lawrence Republican*, October 28, 1858.

255. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 11, 1858, and June 4, 1859. The *New York Daily Tribune*, November 6, 1858, and July 28, 1859, also records progress in the building of the road.

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

257. *Vide ante*, p. 239. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 20, 1858, gave his age as "near 60." The same paper on April 3 gave it as 56. *The Kansas Settler*, Tecumseh, April 7, 1858, gave his age as 58 and hers as 23. It also called him "Dr. J. Bird Chapman," of "Kansasopolis and everywhere else."

258. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 1, 1858.

259. Little, E. F., letter to "Dear Friend," St. Charles, March 2, 1858, in *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, April 3, 1858.

260. "The Wife Still Living," in *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 1, 1858.

261. *Ibid.*

territorial press treated the case lightly, but the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* now concluded critically that Miss Little, who "diddled . . . the scamp" out of his \$9,000, did well to let him shirk for himself, and that it was no fault of Chapman's own that he was not guilty of *bigamy*. "Wonder if the Doctor is a Mormon." The fear, expressed by J. Butler Chapman in his book, of the contiguity of Kansas territory with Utah and her "people charged with doubtful morality,"²⁶² must have had personal as well as political motivation.

After June, 1859, John Butler Chapman does not seem to figure in Kansas events at all. His immediate destination, however, is not known. Both he and his friends wrote of his poverty.²⁶³ At last, though, came spoils, long delayed, for a life of political service—in the form of a clerkship in the treasury department in Washington, which he held until "his advanced age incapacitated him for the labors of that office and he returned to Warsaw, where he died October 20, 1877."²⁶⁴ Sight of Warsaw, one of the results of his early pioneering, ever gratified him, for it enabled him "to look back and see that my time and life was not idly spent in God's heritage. . . . I may have done much in vain, but I was never idle in the vineyard."²⁶⁵

Little is known of the published book of J. Butler Chapman. But one contemporary review has come to light now. It appeared in the form of an editorial in the *Herald of Freedom*, May 19, 1855, almost four months after the issuing of the book. It bore the caption, "A Worthless Publication."

We have just received a work published by J. Butler Chapman, Esq., which claims to be a "History of Kansas and Emigrants' Guide," but every page, as far as we have perused it, abounds with material errors. Its great object seems to have been to give notoriety to "Whitfield City," which is *often* alluded to in the course of the publication, and made prominent on the map, being represented with a railroad running through it, while towns five times as populous are not mentioned in the book or referred to on the map. We consider the work a poor apology as a "History of Kansas," and hope those desiring *reliable* information about the territory, will not be gulled into its purchase.

The book appears to have been got up in Ohio, by the advocates of slavery, to counteract the influence of truthful statements with which the press abounds, in regard to Kansas.

Obviously the writer of that review had not read all of the Chapman book. Its inadequacy as either a history or a guide and its

262. *Vide ante*, p. 265.

263. Chapman, J. B., letter to "Mr. Editor," August 12, 1856, in *Northern Indianian*, September 4, 1856. Also Bennet, J. H., "J. Butler Chapman," in *Oskaloosa Independent*, June 1, 1878.

264. Royse, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

265. *Northern Indianian*, September 4, 1856.

"material errors" are readily apparent. The hastiest sort of survey, however, should have betrayed some profession of impartiality or shown some intolerance of Antislavery and Proslavery men. Every discussion is shot through with assertion of both. The book could not have had the consistent advocacy of the South. The review itself is a "poor apology" for a review.

The editor of the *Herald of Freedom* was himself, of course, a prejudiced reviewer. Probably no one in Lawrence in 1855 could have looked at the Chapman book open-mindedly.²⁶⁶ Abolitionists and Antislavery folk alike there felt both their cause and their practices above reproach; and the persons who had been active in the laying out of Lawrence city believed their success merited only commendation. J. Butler Chapman does not commend their triumph. On the other hand he does not condemn it. He represents himself at the time as a mediator between the projectors of Excelsior and Lawrence and always as a writer without bias; but throughout his account of the occurrences, and thereafter in frequent allusion to the outcome, he betrays his sympathy with the defeated protagonists of Excelsior city.

Early manifestation of this attitude probably prevented the reviewer's full perusal of the book. Anyway he frankly admits he had not read it all. Though Whitfield City does receive too great prominence, what facts the author records about it are truthful enough; only his enthusiasm for it is too unbounded. The information he gives about other places appears now to be as reliable, too, as the "truthful statements with which," according to the Lawrence editor, "the press abounds." Mr. Chapman does say in his introduction that most writers have made Kansas falsely alluring, and in both his book and his letters about it later, he falls into the same trap himself in making the parts he likes a near paradise. Discounting his exaggerations, however, and weighing his records with facts now known about the items he treats, the student of Kansas history must accord him as much dependability as other chance writers of the time.

His intentions seem sincere. His disposition was unfortunate. The tendency to erratic thought and interest manifested early and to petty quarreling noted in his sojourn in Indiana, trailed him

266. On March 10, 1855, this same *Herald of Freedom*, under the caption, "Be on Your Guard," had warned readers to "Look out for Proslavery men, who *pretend* to be Free Soilers, for the purpose of drawing out information to be made use of at the ensuing election. We have positive assurances that there are 'wolves among us in sheep's clothing.' Be cautious that they do no harm."

into Kansas and there found reflection in his book. His political outlook would have annoyed any partisan contemporary of any political party.

That it did has abundant evidence in "the truthful statements" of the contemporary press. Correspondence from Lawrence in October, 1854, to Northern papers shows utter lack of sympathy, especially among Lawrence people, for J. Butler Chapman. S. F. Tappen, writing to the Boston *Atlas*, October 14, called him a "self-appointed candidate," who in his "political harangue in Oread Hall" ²⁶⁷ murdered the English language cruelly, saying "nothing but words; no ideas." ²⁶⁸ Another nameless writer referred to him as making a fool of himself. ²⁶⁹ E. D. Ladd, in the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, gave somewhat different details of the tent episode and talk from J. Butler Chapman's own, adding that in him "we have no confidence whatever." ²⁷⁰ "T," in the Philadelphia *Sun*, called the address "a political harangue by an Indiana politician," after which S. C. Pomeroy, "who could and did make a speech," put "hard hits on the would-be elected delegate. He at once took offense, and said to Washington as a delegate he would go in spite of our crowd." ²⁷¹

These Lawrence correspondents were all out of sympathy with J. Butler Chapman. Governor Reeder's territorial tour and reception in Lawrence had different interpretations, too, from their pens. ²⁷² Their accounts, all doubtless known to the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* in Lawrence, probably seemed to him "truthful statements." They were opinionated, nevertheless, quite as much as J. Butler Chapman's own in his *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*.

That the South doubted him, too, is evident from his own story of being "mobbed in Missouri for having written and circulated a book which they said was dangerous to slavery, because it professed to give a true history on both sides." ²⁷³ This episode led both J. B.

267. "In Oread Hall" is probably a misprint for "on Oread hill."

268. Boston *Atlas*, November 1, 3, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 1-2.

269. Boston *Atlas*, November 8, 1854, in *ibid.*, p. 7.

270. Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*, November 4, 1854.—*Ibid.*, p. 3.

271. The *Sun*, Philadelphia, November 10, 1854, in *ibid.*, p. 10. A. T. Andreas, in *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 315, also doubts the Chapman claim of restoring peace to the troubled town of Lawrence.

272. Milwaukee *Sentinel*, November 6, 1854; Boston *Traveller*, November 9, 1854; Boston *Journal*, November 16, 1854; New York *Independent*, November 16, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 3-4, 9, 12. Also New York *Tribune*. Also *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, October 20, 27, and November 3, 10, 1854. Also Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, pp. 315-316.

273. New York *Daily Tribune*, November 3, 1856. This account does not record the date of the mobbing.

Chapman and his fellow prisoners in Leavenworth in 1856 to believe he had no chance for his life.

In a letter of August 2, 1856, to his son Will, Mr. Chapman made another allusion to his book. Once when he was "extremely dry and hungry," he had sent to T. L. Graves, a former political friend in Indiana, "a bundle of maps and my little history of Kansas, which I had written at much expense, to sell for me. . . . And the book and maps I never heard of."²⁷⁴

On August 12, in reviewing his own achievements for the editor of the *Northern Indianian*, Mr. Chapman says he has written two books;²⁷⁵ one was no doubt his *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*. The second is entirely unknown in Kansas.²⁷⁶

Surveying the early literature on Kansas, in their *Handbook to Kansas Territory* in 1859, James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton listed the Chapman history as the second book on Kansas. They criticized the omnipresence of Whitfield in the volume as a stratum characteristic of the land speculators. The town was still only a log-hut. Its 1859 appellation of Kansasopolis they called Rufus-Chotean.²⁷⁷

In 1875 D. W. Wilder, in his *Annals of Kansas*, characterized the little volume as a "peculiar book," and said its author was known in the state, "where he spent a few months, as John B. Chapman."²⁷⁸ J. H. Bennet, writing of him for his "Early Recollections of Kansas," 1878, said "J. Butler Chapman . . . was his name."²⁷⁹ It must not be allowed to go down to oblivion without being read once more by the old settlers of Jefferson county." Then he launched into a five-page memory picture of the man and the book. He paraphrased Chapman's own extravagant picture of Whitfield City. Politically, he called him a "Democrat with Know-Nothing proclivities or else he was a Know Nothing with Democrat proclivities." The book itself Mr. Bennet characterized as "funny" for its prophecies. The description of the "Nimehaw" he regarded as "the dullest portion of his book, and . . . not the less true on that account."

274. *Northern Indianian*, August 28, 1856.

275. Letter of J. B. Chapman to "Mr. Editor," August 12, 1856, in *ibid.*, September 4, 1856.

276. A letter from John W. Chapman, North Manchester, Ind., December 14, 1895, refers to an autobiography of John Butler Chapman treating of his life to the time of his emigration to Indiana. The manuscript of this autobiography was once in the possession of a son, Charles W. Chapman; upon the son's death family effects were disposed of. This manuscript, according to the grandson, John W. Chapman, is said now to be "in the possession of a lady in Warsaw."

277. Redpath, James, and Richard J. Hinton, *Handbook to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains' Gold Region* (J. H. Colton, New York, 1859), p. 36.

278. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 43.

279. Bennet, J. H., "J. Butler Chapman" in *Oskaloosa Independent*, June 1, 1878.

The account of Jefferson county itself was too meager, in spite of the assertion that its high prairie looks "all over creation and the rest of Kansas territory."²⁸⁰ In 1921 George J. Remsburg reviewed J. Butler Chapman's 1854 observations of Doniphan county,²⁸¹ and in 1924 criticized his calling the bluffs around Doniphan and Geary City "poor knobs," for they "have always been very productive, despite their sallow complexion."²⁸²

Newspaper writers across the years, in stories of Whitfield City, referred to more often as Kansapolis or Rochester, allude to J. B. Chapman as the founder, quote at length from his extravagant picture of the townsite, dwell upon the educational facilities designed for the community, and emphasize quite as much as did he its convenient location on public roads.²⁸³ Some of them quote from "Pioneer Life in Kansas," written by Fannie E. Cole, in 1900, for the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association. In company with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Cole, she had come to Kansas in the winter of 1855 and settled near Indianola, where she had since lived.

Somewhere during our journey to Kansas a pamphlet written by one J. Butler Chapman had fallen into my father's hands. This pamphlet described at great length and in glowing language the manifold advantages and the phenomenal growth of a city called Whitfield. In this city, besides the many elegant residences, were banks, schoolhouses, and other public buildings, and plans for a great college or university were under way.

My father decided that he would settle as near this town as possible, and for this reason had declined to remain at Lawrence. Whitfield was described as being situated on the banks of the "Conda river." . . . Upon reaching the site of this wonderful city, my father's disgust can be more easily imagined than described when he found that it was a city of stakes only; not a single house or even a tent to break the monotony of bare hills and wide, rolling prairie. . . . It was not then, and never has been, a town, but is a pleasant country neighborhood of fine farms, some of them small, and pretty homes. The "Conda river" is well known under the more prosaic appellation of Soldier creek.²⁸⁴

The "pamphlet" that lured the Coles to Whitfield City was of course a *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*, the very same copy perhaps, now in board covers in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, for Eugene M. Cole, who was its donor, was a brother of Fannie E. Cole. Historic itself, then, becomes this one known copy of the Chapman book.

280. Cf., Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

281. Remsburg, George J., "Doniphan County in 1854," in *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, April 28, 1921.

282. Remsburg, "The Yellow Banks," in *ibid.*, December 18, 1924.

283. Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 3, 1881; Topeka *State Journal*, November 11, 1922, and December 5, 1929.

284. *Kansas Historical Collections* (1911-1912), v. XII, pp. 353-358.

Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864

Miami County Pioneers

(Continued)

Longwood, Osawatomie May 28 '57.

DEAR FATHER

Yours of May 12 recd this week. I think we must have missed one letter; perhaps we will get it next week. You ask if anything has been done more as to the territorial Convention. Nothing that I am aware of. We have seen no territorial papers for two weeks. You also ask, if there is any hope for Kansas? Kansas is now governed partly by a military despotism, partly by an outside oligarchy, under the form of the most unlimited democracy. This government is carried on by a party whose national strength consists in their professions of devotion to the broad principle of the sovereignty of the actual settler. This unnatural state of things cannot exist long. What the exact solution will be no one can tell. But the principle of democratic rule or the government of a majority of the people will at last triumph. The glaring inconsistency between the principle and practice of our rulers is becoming too ridiculous and absurd, too annoying and humiliating to last long. This suggests the reason why no territorial taxes are collected. The collection would have to be forced in nine cases out of ten. That would be too odious too *Austrian* for any part of America. The Assessor was about here over a year ago. Scarce any one would give him the least information. They denied his authority and defied him. That was the last we have heard here of assessors or taxes. Perhaps they will try it again this summer. But it will [be] a very hazardous experiment for them. Any one who will hold any office here under the bogus legislature, is socially ostracized and despised as a traitor to the people. But we think more of crops now than politics. The spring has been so late that corn is very late in getting planted and work is backward. What corn is planted is not doing a great deal. Our corn was three weeks in coming up, and I heard of corn that was five and six weeks in coming up. Potatoes are doing well. There was not one-tenth planted that there would have been if seed had been plenty. Many planted none. We have got in about 8 bushels. We cut them and so planted nearly one acre and a half. A man

offered to contract with our next neighbor who has five or six acres of potatoes planted for all the potatoes he would deliver between August and November next at \$1.00 a bushel. We bought our seed early at \$1.25 cents. They have been worth now since so many came in four dollars, and very hard to get at that.

I wish you could get me some rutabaga seed and send them by mail. I want to sow an acre with rutabagas and turnips. I would like to get a $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of rutabaga seed, and about the same of White Stone Turnip. Warner and Ray used to keep such seed in $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. papers for 75 cts a pound. Such seed are frequently received here in the mail. They might be sewed in a little cotton sack. If you can get these without too much trouble I would be glad.

We have got up, potatoes and corn, mustard and melons, onions, beets, carrots, turnips, cabbage, kale, spinach, summer savory, parsley, sage, peas and beans. We have five currant slips growing of those you sent us last fall. We feel thankful to you every time we look at them. Currant bushes are a rarity here and in the neighboring counties of Missouri.

A man is here doing our "*breaking*" today, and we are busy planting corn. There is a great deal more doing this spring than last. Now we feel secure, then we were in the midst of war. All well & join in love John

Osawatomie, June 3, 1857.

Dear Father

We failed in getting a letter from home this week. We shall get our field all plowed and mainly planted tomorrow. Our health continues excellent. The weather continues cold for the season, with occasional very light showers and heavy dews. Potatoes are growing finely. Rather too dry for garden seeds. We have 28 young year-old peach trees which are growing very thriftily. Corn backward.

Your son

John.

June 8, 1857.

Dear Father

The night after writing the accompanying note, it rained all night, raised the river, so we could not get it to mail. Yesterday we had a terrible storm of wind. Three of the best houses in town were blown down and utterly destroyed. A log house a half mile South of us not occupied was blown down. We had half a mile of fence blown down. We feared for our house and lives, but mercifully

were spared. Two houses on Middle Creek were leveled to the ground. All our neighbors have had their fences blown over, and a great deal of timber. We have not heard of any lives being lost.

We have had two calves come the last week, one from a heifer of our own raising.

You probably will not hear regularly from us now for a few weeks, as what they call here "the June fresh" seems to have come, and the mails will consequently be uncertain.

Your son John

Osawatomie June 23, 1857

Dear Mother,

We have got another boy. He was born last Saturday a little after noon. . . . Both mother and babe are doing very well, particularly the mother. She is getting along so far better than either time before. I think her general health a great deal better. She sits up some to day. Franky is very much pleased with his little baby. We are going to call him Robert Colegrove Everett. We feel to thank God that every thing is as well with us as it is, and that his hand has been stretched over us in mercy and not in affliction. We fortunately have obtained a very good woman to stay with us since Sarah has been sick, which is much better than we might have expected, as such help is scarce, often very poor, and sometimes impossible to get at all.

We received Father's of June 10th this morning. The Cenhadwr we got last week, the sermon the week before. The bogus election, as far as we have heard was a very slim affair. In this county there were 64 votes polled— This in a voting population of 1000 or 1500 at least (now.) There were 400 and odd voters according to the incomplete bogus census in March and I have no doubt there are over three times as many now. You cannot shame a man more who voted then than by asking him if he was one of the *noble* 64. In Franklin County, joining us West a populous Free State County, no census was taken. In Anderson County, Southwest of us, 34 votes were polled. The Convention will be a farce if it ever meets.

I close now so as to be ready to send to the mail by the first chance. We are so busy now that I can hardly take time to go to town on purpose to carry a letter. Our crops are growing well, although it is getting pretty dry. With much love to all at home

Your son John

Osawatomie July 3, 1857.

Dear Father.

Yours of June 17 (with the turnip seed) and June 8 recd this week. Thank you for getting the seed for me. This week we got a check from father Colegrove of \$100 towards paying for our claim. A few weeks ago one of father Colegrove's neighbors brought us \$25 from him. Have little time to write. Sarah has got quite well again. The baby eats and sleeps most all the time. Our crops are looking well. We have got three heifer calves which we are raising, and now milk three cows.

Your son John.

July 9 1857.

Dear Father

Yours received containing the rutabaga seed. We are prospering moderately and are in usual health. The weather is very warm and dry. Sarah is quite smart and the baby is well.

Your son John

July 24, 1857.

Dear Father

We received a letter from home this week. We are all well. I am digging a well. The weather continues very dry. In haste

Your son John

Longwood Aug 14, 1857

Dear Father—

John wanted me to write about four lines to tell you that we are well enough to work days and sleep nights and consequently have no time to write letters.

He is working about two miles from home on a well helping a man blast this week who helped him last week in our well. We have not come to water only a little in some seams in the rock, which supplies us with drinking water.

We have had some refreshing rains within the last two weeks which have brightened up the crops in this section and shortened the countenances of the settlers *very considerably*. We have no very special news— One of our neighbors—Friend Mendenhall told me as he called to leave our mail this week that he had just received the very agreeable news that there was a warrant for treason out against him that had been issued at Lecompton—also warrants for two or three more.

Their offense was, taking part in a tax meeting so called, at which the people pledged themselves to resist payment of bogus taxes— At that meeting Mendenhall was asked if he would fight in case an attempt was made to enforce the payment of taxes and he replied that he didn't expect to fight, but that he would suffer himself to be hanged before he would pay taxes. Such treason does not sound so particularly dangerous, unless to the one uttering it I am sure that it need [not] be raked up fifteen or sixteen months afterward.— Any thing to keep bogus law makers busy— I doubt some if any officer be found courageous enough to serve a warrant in these parts.

Baby grows fast and cries a great deal. He weighs fifteen lbs. I can hardly get time to do my housework he keeps me so busy. Frank helps me considerably and takes a great deal of credit to himself on account of it. He often tells his Father when he comes to his meals that Mother wouldn't have been able to have got one bit of supper if it hadn't been for her good little helper boy— He wants me to stop and let him write a long letter to his Grandfather— He has learned those two verses his Grandmother sent to him, and repeats them very often.

Your children

John & Sarah

[Longwood, September 4, 1857.]

Dear Father

I have delayed writing, hoping to get time to write a full letter. But the time has not come. We are very anxious about Franky, though we still hope for the best.

The free state convention at Grasshopper Falls resolved to go in to the October Election. If the Missourians keep out we can carry every thing. If they attempt to control the polls there will be trouble. The governor has pledged himself to keep out all outsiders. But the people have lost confidence in Walker. With all his fair promises, he is playing into the hands of the Slave Democracy as far as he dares. His recent movement against Lawrence was without the least necessity.⁴⁷ Indeed people at first believed his bombastic proclamation against that peaceful city to have been a hoax. But the movement was entirely and perfectly theatrical. The audience for whom he played was the fire-eaters of the South. Here the only effect was to give the people about Lawrence a market for their extra milk and butter. The people of Lawrence paid no atten-

47. Lawrence held a city election on July 13. Governor Walker issued a proclamation declaring the action rebellious and sent U. S. troops.

tion to Walker. They elected their municipal officers—those officers took the required oath—entered on their respective duties, and passed ordinances just as if he was not there. Gov. Walker stands much lower with the people on account of that absurd movement than he did.

I have not much heart nor time to write and I close, hoping we can soon send better news about little Franky.

Your son John

Osawatomie Sept. 18, 1857.

Dear Father

I was in at the Constitutional Convention (the bogus affair) in Lecompton. They adjourned to the third Monday in October—two weeks after the election—without forming a Constitution. There were two parties in the Convention. Ultra proslavery and Conservative proslavery. The former party very decidedly in the majority. The Conservatives are in favor of submitting the Constitution to the people, while the other party are opposed. But they did not dare to frame a Constitution before the Election and *not* submit it to the people. So they adjourned till after Election. They were a very ordinary looking set of men—some regular types of the border ruffian. Meantime the free state men all over the territory are forming military companies, and preparing to defend the polls if invaded. Probably the resolute attitude of the free state men will go far to prevent invasion. The troops have been withdrawn from Lawrence, and are said to be ordered to Utah. Gov. Walker has gone to Jefferson City to tender his resignation unless he is to be supported by the troops. He has pledged his honor to keep out all outsiders at the Election. The grossest injustice was practiced in making out the apportionment for the Legislature. Thus 14 counties in the Southern part of the territory with almost half the population of the territory were only allowed 3 out of 39 members.⁴⁸ The reason was that most of these counties were so entirely free state that no census was taken in them by the bogus authorities. But with this unjust and wicked apportionment, nothing but the most open fraud can prevent a complete free state triumph.

It is two years since I was in Lawrence before. The change is most marked. Then I travelled a whole day, without seeing but

48. The census ordered by the legislature (see Footnote No. 42) was taken in but fifteen out of thirty-four counties. The remaining nineteen were known as disfranchised counties. They were largely settled by Free-State men and were too remote from the border for convenient control of ballot boxes. Returns were made in every county bordering on Missouri and in every Proslavery county.

two or three settlers cabins. Now there is not one claim on the whole road on government land that is not taken, and a house on it. Lawrence is improving very fast, and seems full of business. Prairie City and Palmyra, two free state towns, have grown up out of nothing, while Benicia and Douglas, proslavery towns, have grown to nothing. The only proslavery town in Kansas that flourishes is Lecompton, and that is built up entirely by the patronage of Uncle Sam. The only business places besides one or two stores are lawyers' shops and grogshops—and the United States Land Office.—I have a chance to send this, and I close, with love

Your affectionate son John

Monday night
Oct. 5, 1857.

Dear Sister Cynthia

I take a few moments to reply to yours of Sept 21, just received five minutes ago. I have taken a job of carrying the mail from Osawatomie to Neosho. Tomorrow is my day to go. It is nearly 60 miles. It takes me three days to go and return. I have been two weeks. It keeps me very busy as I have my own farm work to do besides, and, just now it is almost impossible to hire help. Franky has got pretty smart again. The baby had a bad spell of diarrhea for two or three weeks and lost some flesh. He has got well now.

Today was our election day. I was down to town about noon and voted. Up to that time none but free state votes had been offered. There was a general turn out. The election at this precinct was perfectly peaceable. There are three other precincts in Lykins county. It was not generally thought that there would be much if any Missouri border ruffian vote in this county. But we shall now hear in a few days. . . .

Crops are a great deal better than they promised two months ago. June and July were intensely dry and hot. August and September have been showery, good growing weather. We have had no frost yet.

With much love

In haste Your brother John

In town Oct 6 1857.

Dear Father

Yesterday was Election day. In Osawatomie Precinct the free state vote was 240, not 1 Proslavery. In Stanton, 7 miles West 59 free state and *one* Proslavery

	F. S.	P. S.
Osawatomie	240	0
Stanton	59	1
Miami	23	5
Paoli	30	65
Total Lykins county ⁴⁹	352	71

The vote would have been twice as heavy and the free state proportion much greater if this summer's emigration could have voted. For about all this season's emigration is free state. I am starting to Neosho with the mail and must close. We are pretty well at home

John

Osawatomie Oct. 26 1857.

Dear Father

I am very sorry we have been obliged to neglect our weekly letters so much lately. My trips to the Neosho take up three days every week, and I am very busy the rest of the time. I have been now five times; tomorrow is my day to go out again.

We feel especially indebted to you at this time, now that I am cutting up the corn. We have no reason to complain of our crops. I have got the best sod corn that I have seen any where this year with the exception of one piece. A gentleman who stopped with us night before last said it was the best sod corn he had seen in the territory. He had been in the territory looking around about a month—from Tennessee, but opposed to slavery. For this we are indebted to you, for I could not have got the field in and got it plowed, if it had not been for the help I got from home. I think I shall have 200 bushels of potatoes when they are dug, and plenty of turnips, beets, pumpkins, squashes, &c. We have had a great abundance of melons for two months, and now many will rot we cannot use. We have had a very long, mild, beautiful fall, with moderate rains, making very [good] growing weather. The first of September there was scarcely any promise of potatoes—now one hill makes us two meals.

Now about the election. There never has been any doubt but that the free state men polled a large majority of votes. But the pro slavery party tried to get the majority in the Legislature by *false* and manufactured returns. Douglas and Johnson Counties were joined in one District, to elect three members of the Council and eight of the house. Douglas County contains Lawrence and is over-

⁴⁹. The official count for Lykins county gave a total of 407 votes cast, of which 348 were Free State and 59 Democrat.

whelmingly free state. Even Lecompton, the capital of the territory and the focus of proslavery influence, gave a majority of 190 for freedom. The free state vote in that county was 1683; the proslavery 187. It so happened, as the entire Council consists of 13, and the House of 39, that the vote of this district would turn the scale in the Legislature. It was known the same night how Douglas County had gone, so they opened the polls the second day at a little precinct called Oxford City in Johnson County under the pretense that all had not voted, and added about 1500 names to the return. When this return began to be first talked of it was laughed at as a joke, but when the 45 feet of names came to the Secretary's Office at Lecompton, with a certificate that these votes had been veritably cast, it caused intense excitement and indignation, that the rights of the entire people should thus be wiped out by a mere scribbling of the pen. But the returns were so plainly fraudulent, that Secretary Stanton and Governor Walker determined to investigate their truth. So they went in search of this great Oxford City which professedly contained a population nearly equal to the whole of Douglas County, and found a little village of *six* houses. This place is separated from the Missouri village of Little Santa Fe only by a street, and they found the people there as much astonished as any one at the magnitude of the return and treated the whole affair with derision or indignation. So the governor and Secretary issued a proclamation detailing the circumstances, and declaring that these returns would be thrown out. This is greatly to their honor, for although it was no more than their duty still it is something in these degenerate times for men to do their duty. The notorious Sheriff Jones⁵⁰ was one of the candidates who expected to be benefitted by this mean and wicked piece of trickery, and went to Secretary Stanton *demanding* his certificate of election, and upon Stanton's refusing it, drew his bowie knife on him. It is said that Stanton now goes armed for his own protection. When this affair had been thus disposed of, and it was thought all was smooth sailing, in came another return from McGee County of 1202 pro-slavery and 24 free state. This County is on Cherokee Indian land in the extreme South East of the territory and contains a white population of perhaps fifty or a hundred. It was a remarkable circumstance, showing the effrontery of the tricksters, that these returns were in the same hand writing as the fraudulent Oxford returns, were tied up with the same

50. Samuel J. Jones, Proslavery adherent, was the first sheriff of Douglas county and leader of the armed Proslavery force that practically destroyed Lawrence on May 21, 1856.

kind of red ribbon, and when some curious person put the ends of these pieces of ribbon together it was found that they just matched, showing them to have been cut from the same piece. Of course on the principles of Walker's proclamation these returns must be thrown out.

I have not time to write about the Missourians voting in Leavenworth County—the soldiers voting at Kickapoo &c, but if we get a majority holding certificates in the Legislature the minor frauds can be looked into, and the people have their rights. If all illegal votes were thrown out the proslavery party would be in a very small minority, if there would be any of them left in the Legislature.

Sarah is having a light attack of chills. We hope it will not be serious. The rest of us are well. . . .

With love to all John.

Tues. Evening Oct. 27 [1857]

Dear Cynthia

If the baby will remain quiet long enough I will answer the questions in your last letter—

. . . John got back from Lecompton Tuesday, as we may have written in some previous letter. We both came through the trial unscathed by either the "winds or the wolves." And now what do you think of me, I have to stay alone *two* nights *every* week, and not only that but have three cows to milk besides pigs to feed and chickens to take care of and crying babies to look after. And just now as if all these were too little, the chills have set in, so with all the rest of my duties I am compelled to shake every other day— Tomorrow is my day to be sick and I am preparing for it to day—getting in from the field and boiling sufficient pumpkin to last the pigs—keeping the cows up so that I may be able to milk early before my chills come on fixing food for Franky to help himself to &c. Baby will have the hardest time and I dont know just how he can be managed— Hope this state of things wont last a great while.

We have no very dangerous wild beasts that I know of. Prairie wolves are not dangerous and those are the ones that howl around our lone cabins. We are not so *very far* from neighbors only $\frac{1}{2}$ a *mile* and we have far more companions among tame beasts than wild ones—and as to hardships Kansas has less of them than many older countries— That however depends in a great measure on the way we look at things— Things that would have been to me unen-

durable hardships in Steuben are only a little disagreeable here simply because I like Kansas and didn't like Steuben and I am sure you would find few hardships were you to come here also—but if mother can't bear to hear you speak of coming she would suffer grave hardships for you should you once get here. I suppose the ague is a great lion in the way, in all your feelings and it is indescribable when you are getting acclimated but then you are sure to enjoy far better health, after it, and its future visits are not so bad as your Steuben colds are. Then another thing this climate affords permanent relief to dyspeptics, and consumptives when not too far gone. Do you suppose that John could have ever had more enjoyment in Steuben continually dyspeptic as he was there than he has been here with less luxuries and a healthy stomach? . . . Love to all— I must get to bed

Yours sleepily

Sarah

Longwood Nov. 23, 1857.

Dear Father and Mother

I take a few moments this morning to let you know that we are all well. Yours of Nov 5th we received day before yesterday. . . . I get about \$100 a quarter for carrying the mail. I am back every week in three days. I expect to have to be gone 4 days some times in the winter. We have meetings every other Sabbath in a private house a mile from here. Quite a good neighborhood gathering. Mr. Adair, congregational, and a missionary of the American Missionary Association preaches. He is very much respected as a good man and a good citizen.

You have seen that the bogus Constitution is *not* to be submitted to the people. Gov. Walker by pledges many times repeated is pledged to join the people in opposing it. There is to be a free state delegate Convention Dec 2nd to take action concerning it. It is thought that Gov. W. will call an extra session of the Legislature just chosen, and that they will order an election, so that the people may have an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon this Constitution. The Gov. has done a good deal to redeem his character among free state men by his rejection of the Oxford & McGee Co. returns. It is said that the Oxford list was taken bodily from an old Cincinnati directory in alphabetical order! The free state men are united in their indignation and determined opposition to this last attempt to force a slave Constitution upon them. There is a difference of opinion about the most effectual way of opposing it, but

whatever course is recommended by the Convention of Dec. 2nd will have a united support. That Constitution can never be peaceably submitted to by the people of Kansas. If enforced upon us at all, it will be as the bogus laws have been at the point of the bayonet and by dragoon law.

We have had a very cold November so far. Today the wind blows cold from the North. There was only a little over two weeks after the first killing frost before we had a cold storm followed by frost that froze the ground up. Consequently a great many potatoes are frozen. We have a great many bushels yet in the ground.

Franky has got quite smart. His mother is very proud of little Bobby. He is a great fat healthy-looking good natured child—the admiration and wonder (for is he not brought up on a bottle?) of all who like babies. He gives us very little trouble nights. Could you send us two or three more mouth pieces? He uses up nearly one a month, and we are now using the last one. We took little Robert to meeting with us yesterday. He was awake all meeting time, and did not cry at all. He paid some attention to the minister, but looked around more than would be becoming in a larger boy. He was in ecstasies at the singing. I have bought a second hand wagon for \$25. So all the family rode up to meeting yesterday. Mother used to ride horseback on old Polly, with Frank behind and Bobby before, and father trudging along by the side! We find the wagon an improvement. I must close with love to all

Your affectionate son

John

P. S. My ink has frozen.

Longwood Dec. 14, 1857

Dear Cynthia,

We are all well but have no time to say much else— The weather here this month is delightful the mercury ranging from 48° to 60° in the day time, and from 32° to 40 in the night— But it can't unfreeze our potatoes— The people in the Territory as you see by the eastern prints are undergoing another political crisis—as soon as anything of importance is known to us John will find time to tell you— “Bleeding Kansas” will free herself from her persecutors now or “die in the last ditch.” There will be no more holding on to the skirts of the north or of Congress—no more waiting to see “what will turn up”—but some decisive action will be taken here that will at

once and forever settle the vexed question within her harassed borders— And this is as it should be— Murder and arson and Tyranny have stalked over this wronged and outraged people till forbearance on the part of their victims is no longer a virtue, but a crime, and now with one mind and heart the people are determined to rise up in their might and break the jaws of the wicked and strike from their midst the foe of oppression— God speed them in their righteous purpose.

John's route is 60 miles and back making near 120 miles— *He and Polly both* go it in three days and come back very little if any "worse for the wear"— We have a man here now helping about the farm work so I am not left alone— Little Bobby grows and flourishes like a green bay-tree. We all rode to town in the new wagon last friday. I stepped on to the scales with Bobby and found he increased my weight 24 lbs.! Can you come that in Steuben? He is the best natured baby I ever saw—some days he sits in the rocking chair all day and is not tended so much as a half hour except at meal time when he comes to the table and eats potato and turnip and pumpkin pie like the rest of us. He is very playful, and will talk and laugh with his bottle or toes or fingers for any length of time when nothing more sociable presents itself— That is all I have got time to say now— Supposing you see if you cant say a little more soon and enclose it to your sister & Brother

John & Sarah

Osawatomie, Feb 16 1858.

Dear Father

I do not know when I wrote home last. Am afraid it is a good many weeks since. We all continue well. The people of Kansas are a good deal excited now at the prospect of the Lecompton Constitution passing Congress. I would not be surprised if terrible vengeance will be taken on some traitors to the people, if this Lecompton scheme succeeds in Congress. Perhaps this will be the culminating point of the Democratic party. They have gone here the farthest possible from the Democratic principle.

Little Robert continues very healthy and good. Will try not to be so long again without writing

Your son

John

Osawatomie, Mar. 8, 1858.

Dear Father and Mother

Yours of Feb. 25 we received last Tuesday morning. . . .

You inquire about my journeys to the Neosho. I have had very few unpleasant trips. We have had no very severe weather this winter such as we had last winter and the winter before. The rain and snow generally come, if there is any, when I am at home. We have had only 4 inches of snow at any time. The ground is entirely bare now, and has been for weeks, and very little frost in the ground, and none in the streams. I do not know whether I mentioned that I have a prairie of 20 miles to cross without a house. There was a poor cabin about half way with a family in it in the fall. I expect they will return soon, and I will again make a stopping place there, avoiding the fatigue of my last days travel, which is now about fifty miles. I believe I have told you that I have been selling milk in town this winter three times a week. I have sold about \$30 worth in seven weeks, from three cows. I expect to give it up in a week or two longer as new milch cows come in. We have now three cows, one two year old heifer, and three yearling heifers. I wish very much every spring I could manage to get a few more cows. There is immense waste of the raw material of milk, butter, and cheese around me here every year. Thousands of tons of hay (uncut) are burnt right under our nose, as you may say, every year. All that is wanting to make this valuable is cows to eat it and turn it into milk. Thomas D. Lewis of Utica wrote to me a week or two ago, in respect of investing a few hundred dollars in Kansas in real estate, or lending it on landed security on good interest. I wish that I could borrow two or three hundred dollars to get cows with. If I could give Cousin Thomas the required security I should try to get it of him. But I have not yet pre-empted my claim. Would you like to try to get this amount for me of him or some one else and join with me in a note for it? Say for three to five years at ten or twelve percent. Or I could repay \$200 in one year at twenty percent. I have nearly \$200 coming to me yet of mail money, one half in May, and the rest in August. I have another horse on trial, which I think I will buy, and drive two horses when emigration begins to come in, and carry passengers. Butter has been selling this winter from 30 to 35 cts; cheese 25 cts a pound; milk 30 cts a gallon. So you see dairy products keep a good price yet.

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[John R. Everett]

Osawatomie Apr. 24, 1858.

Dear Father

. . . We have read with much interest the accounts of the revival in the East in your letters as well as in the papers. There is no special interest here. One great hindrance to the cause of religion here is that the most prominent of those who profess religion are hardly as much esteemed for probity and character as some who make no profession. Rev Mr. Adair the Congregational minister is a very good man, and universally esteemed as a man and Christian. But his prominent church members are very poor stuff—intelligent and able, but tricky and mean in every day life. It is a great mortification to have to feel so about men who should be the light of the world—the practical expounders and verifiers of what religion is. Mr. Adair continues to hold meetings near us every other week. The meetings are very well attended.

But this is not what I sat down to write. I am getting in a new field of between 50 and 60 acres this spring. I intended it for a pasture this summer, and had some hopes that I should some way be able to stock it. The custom here is to let calves suck the cows all summer, to get the cows to come up. Hardly any have pastures. In the day time the cows run and graze on the prairies and in the timber patches, and the calves are yarded up. In the night the cows are yarded up and the calves are turned out to graze. It is not as profitable as if one had a pasture and could wean the calves. Which would be the most profitable, and which would be considered the most economical and thrifty, if a man had 160 acres of land in Steuben, all paid for except \$200, and only three or four cows, to burn his grass every year, and wait till the natural increase from his few cows should stock the farm or boldly run in debt for enough to stock his place? I think there is a wide difference between running in debt for the means of living or for speculating in real estate (there is a great deal of that in the West) and running in debt for stock which will be immediately paying for itself. There are no cattle to be sold here on credit. You don't see auction notices here closing with "*Terms.*— Nine months credit, with good approved notes on interest." The great want here is capital to do business with. A man say in Steuben buys 50 acres of land for \$2000 dollars. He pays \$1500 down. He is in debt \$500 for his land. Does he think of letting his farm lie idle till he can earn money enough by day labor to stock it? No, he goes and buys cows at nine to 12 months time. He can't afford to do otherwise. If I had not lost so much health and strength in the printing office I should

not be forced now to borrow money to carry on my farm with. But cows are as good an investment here as in Steuben. What I want to borrow is credit to get them.

But there is another matter that presses harder now. The land sales in this district commence the 5th of July. All land that is not paid for before that time is forfeited. This announcement took the settlers perfectly by surprise. We had been led by the President's message to think that the land sales would be put off till the land was all in the hands of actual settlers. This is another part of the Lecompton scheme. It is the hardest blow struck at the people of Kansas yet. The object undoubtedly is to punish the people for wishing to make their own laws. The great majority cannot pay now without ruinous sacrifices or more ruinous interest. We are just feeling the effect of the money crisis. It is harder times for money than it has been since we have been in the territory. Money on mortgage will be worth here from 50 to 100 per cent between now and July. Can you borrow money for me at a less rate than that on the security of my land? The improvements on my claim are worth from \$250 to \$300. The land will be worth at a low valuation from \$800 to \$1000 when preempted. It cannot be mortgaged till it is paid for. I shall want \$200 to pay for my claim. I had \$100 last fall that should have gone towards my land, but I could not get the other hundred, so I put that into my business. I have something to show for every dollar of it, but nothing that I can now turn into money. I am you know within two miles of Osawatomie (the town has grown towards us), a place that seems now to be very thriving about 80 or 100 houses with three or four new houses going up every week. I have between 65 and 75 acres enclosed—about 14 broke. Please let me know immediately whether you can help me, so that if not I may throw myself into the hands of the land sharks before they get gorged. There can not be the least doubt about the security—after I have pre-empted.

We are all well

Your affectionate son

John

Longwood, May 4, 1858.

Dear Sarah—

I have but a few minutes to write and perhaps it is as good for my purpose as a longer time—as I have nothing in the wide world to say—My teeth are aching and have been all night— It's a damp dark cold dismal time, come on I should judge on purpose, to give folks the toothache and ague, and to rot corn in the hill, and give children the

croup— If my judgment is right it accomplishes its purposes much better than we poor mortals seem to carry out our plans—for in our case as I stated before I've got the toothache, Mr. Snow who is stopping with us has got the ague and Frank has got the croup.

John is gone to day with the mail—and Robert is clinging on to my dress crying— We have not planted any thing yet but potatoes which will do well enough this weather but those who have put in corn will I'm afraid have to replant it. Last week I took out the mail so as to give John a chance to work at home fearing our crop would come out rather late by the three days delay, but this week it is not weather to plow drag or plant so he goes with it himself. I shall probably have to go again next week—

I have hardly got rested from my last trip— I had to do a large washing and some ironing—some cleaning, and cooking enough for him at home and myself, the day before I started—then the 40 miles a day on horseback for three days—then that night about midnight after I got home some emigrants got in that stopped with us and for whom supper and two beds on the floor had to be prepared—which broke up that nights rest and the next day it was afternoon before they got started on so that I had my hands full till quite night getting cleared out after them.

The first night on my way out to Neosho I traveled till nearly midnight— It was very cold part of the time I was gone especially that night, and unusually windy all the time except the last afternoon— On the high prairie I had great difficulty in keeping from being blown off from my horse, an inexperienced horse woman must inevitably have been borne off by the wind— But I believe I may well boast a little of my skill in riding. I have rode down and up ravines steeper than your house roof bare backed with Frank in my lap when the banks were so slippery that the horse didn't pretend in going down 20 or 30 ft. to raise her feet more than once or twice and when in going up she would have to jump and plunge in the most violent manner to keep from slipping down again into the water— Such lessons were learned in the days of Ruffian notoriety when it was necessary to know the latest tidings and when 'twas safer for a woman to be seen out than a man— But in our part such lessons no longer have to be studied, though murders and outrages are rife only a few miles from us on the Little Osage towards Fort Scott.

I think though that the arms of vengeance will be raised ere long in that unhappy neighborhood and ruffianism be driven out from the only corner in which it has any resting place.

I had an opportunity to take a school in Leroy while I was out, but the day I started John had sent out to a man about 15 miles from here who owns 50 cows to see if we could hire 20 of them for the summer— But they were such a poor lot of animals—been so badly wintered—old and never milked except by the calves—so wild too—that our messenger thought they were not worth taking as a gift— So hoping that we might go to dairying I made no effort to secure the school as I should otherwise have done—

I have sent by John this week to see if he can get the school for me. We want and *will* at some rate or other, stock our farm— Green cheese not 3 weeks out of the press sells here for 20 cents a lb. Any man could afford to pay 50 per cent on money to buy cows with here. A cow will twice pay for herself here during the summer in cheese, and since we have failed to get a few this spring I shall get a school if I can this summer and raise the money to get them in that way. The baby I can get taken care of by Mrs Sears our nearest neighbor and Frank can board with me— I am afraid I shall miss of getting the school as it is getting late in the season and they were anxious to have their school commence— I do not know of any other vacant school now— It is getting to be dinner time and I must stop. I have strung my letter out to an *unconscionable* length after all and havent said a word yet or even thought till now of that little new baby, but if you saw as many babies as I see you wouldn't hardly think to tell of it— Babies are as thick here as blossoms in a clover field— Well I am glad its them and not us that have got to be kept awake with it— Very willing they should have *all* the babies in future
 Yours as ever Sarah

[John R. Everett to Jane and Anna Everett, Galesburg, Ill.]

May 20, 1858.

Dear Sisters

I can write but few lines now. . . .

In relation to the expense of coming out here. From Chicago to St. Louis, the fare used to be \$8.00. On the Missouri River from St. Louis to Kansas City, (where you would have to land) the fare varies from \$7.00 to \$12.00 and sometimes higher, depending somewhat on the stage of water in the river—when the water is high the fares are low and vice versa. From Kansas City to Osawatomie the traveling is by stage—fare \$5.00. There is another route—take the Pacific Railroad at St. Louis to a place called *California*, about 25 miles West of Jefferson City, Mo., and from there by stage

(Moore & Walker's line) to Osawatometie *via* Pleasant Hill. The stage fare from California to Osawatometie is \$10—through in two days. They run a daily line to Pleasant Hill and triweekly from there to Osawatometie; but I learn that in a week or two, they will run daily through to Osawatometie. So you see the expense from Chicago will not come much short of \$20 to \$25.00, and might be a little over including detentions and expenses in St Louis & Kansas City. We would be very glad to see you out here, although the expense seems pretty formidable, if you should both come. We have seen a good deal of hard times since we have been here and have learned to be pretty stingy of money. The administration have ordered the land sales in two of the three districts in Kansas to come off in July— Since the passage of the Lecompton contrivance,⁵¹ the settlers are told by the land officers that if they vote for the Lecompton Constitution, and pass it, the land sales will be *put off*. This is a very tempting bribe, as thousands can not now pay up without ruinous sacrifices, and some not at all. But I have no doubt the people will vote Lecompton down. You have no idea how that instrument is detested by the people. If Buchanan should offer to give every settler 160 acres of land if they would endorse his hated pet, even then I really think he would be doomed to a mortifying defeat.

Our little Robert is nearly 11 months old, and is a very hearty and strong child, creeps all over, and walks by chairs &c. Frank is nearly five years, makes little yokes to yoke up his cob oxen, generally has two yoke of oxen about, goes to Kansas City and back frequently for a load of provisions; has got a little wagon that he is all the time *tinkering* with, making new axeltrees, or something, and on the whole is a very busy child—has no idea of reading or books, but can fetch up the cows or go a mile on an errand, as a Kansas boy should.

I must go to work. Write soon. Let us know if you conclude to come and I can write you more particulars about the journey.

Your affectionate brother

John R. Everett.

We have not yet paid for our land. Have written to father to see if he can help us. This land sale is purposely to annoy the settlers,

51. The English bill, passed by congress April 30 and signed by the President May 4, providing for the submission of the Lecompton constitution to the vote of the people of the territory. As an inducement for votes in favor of the constitution, the bill provided for large land grants to be set apart to the future state.—See Frank Heywood Hodder, "Some Aspects of the English Bill for the Admission of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, pp. 224-232.

in keeping with all Buchanan's acts to us. It is directly contrary to his implied pledges in his message. And no doubt now if we would surrender to Buchanan, *and go for a slave state* all would be reversed, and the land sales be put off indefinitely.

Osawatomie, May 28, 1858.

Dear Mother, Brothers & Sisters

I received father's letter of May 14 last evening. Feel glad and grateful to hear that he succeeded in borrowing \$100 for me and that there was some prospect of getting the other \$100. The approaching land sales are being used as a screw to force the poor settlers to vote for the Lecompton Constitution. We are told if we vote for that pet measure of the President, the land sales will be postponed two or three years to enable the state to select the lands to which it will be entitled. But if we vote against the President's desire, the settlers deserve no favors from the President, and the land sales will go on, and those who cannot pay will lose their lands, their improvements; their hardships and sacrifices for the past year or years in pioneering in a new country will go for nothing. This is the hardest time for money we have seen in the territory—the hard times did not get here till this spring. There is not the least doubt that the land sales were ordered for the express purpose of being able to exert the power of the creditor which the President possesses to force the poor debtor to vote according to his will. A new illustration of popular sovereignty truly! But I have little fear that the people can be bribed or driven. They will lose their lands before they will sacrifice their independence. The feeling of opposition to Lecompton is deep-toned and defiant. I have not seen or heard of one free state man in three counties in which my travel lies who can be bought or driven to vote for Lecompton. The people hate it with a personal hatred. And yet in these three counties not one third probably have paid for their lands.— I suppose you have heard of the renewed troubles South of us. A party of Missourians, one day last week, went to a little town called Choteaus' Trading Post, or Montgomery, forty or fifty miles, I think South of us, near the Missouri line, and in the day time went around to the houses, and took twelve unoffending unarmed free state men, took them out on the prairie, and deliberately shot them.⁵² Five were killed, six wounded and one escaped by pretending to be killed. One of the murdered had a sister living in Osawatomie, the wife of one of our merchants. This has of course occasioned a great

52. Choteau's Trading Post was actually about twenty miles southeast of Osawatomie. The episode referred to is known as the Marais des Cygnes massacre.

deal of excitement, and will give rise to a great many absurd rumors in the papers. There are men on the border who would like to get up another general invasion of the territory, but they can not compass it. Such cowardly assassinations will not help their cause, and will surely not go unpunished. We are from 35 to 50 miles from the scene of strife here; when I go with the mail, I am going farther and farther from it.

There was a report in the papers that the land sales were put off, but it is probably not true.

We are all well. The baby gets up alone in the middle of the floor, and stands alone quite a little time, but does not walk except by chairs. . . .

Must close now with love. Please write some of you.

John.

June 22. [1858]

Dear Father and Mother

. . . The land sales have been put off till November 1st, which is very lucky for us, as well as thousands of others in the territory, for I do not know where I should raise the other \$100. We are all well. Robert was a year old, day before yesterday. He can walk across the room. Our crops are looking well. We have had plenty of rain. I have the contract for a short mail route, 15 miles and back, both ways the same day, for next year, at \$99 a year.

Must close with love

John R Everett

P.S. No disturbances here. We are too thickly settled for such small bodies of Missourians as can now be mustered to attempt to do any thing. But there is a sad state of things South and South East of us. It is over 60 miles from here to Fort Scott, and on my mail trips I am going *from* the disturbances. If you read in the papers that 300 or 200 men are coming into the territory to commit outrages, you may generally safely divide that number by 4 or from that to 10.

Osawatomie Aug. 12, '58.

Dear Father and Mother

It is a long time since we have heard from home. Every time I go to the post office I am expecting a letter from home, and come away disappointed. It is very hard times here for money now. Nothing is to be had at the stores except for money. At the same time if one has any thing to spare to neighbors it is a chance if he

gets money for it. It seems as if all the money had gone to the land office. It is impossible to borrow money except at ruinous rates. I do not know any chance of borrowing money on bond and mortgage at less than 5 per cent *per month* and at that rate you would be obliged to let it run for a year. On other security money has been loaned in Lawrence as high as 15 & 20 percent *per month*. There is \$187.50 due me for carrying the mail the 6 months ending with July 1st. Mine was a sub-contract from a man in Pike Co. Missouri. The first quarter of this was due about three months ago. But as the government was very backward in paying other contractors around here, I did not feel uneasy till they were paid, which was about three weeks ago. We cannot hear from the man from whom our money is to come or get any answer from letters. I am afraid he is going to try to cheat us out of it. Have you any correspondent in Pike Co. Mo. His name is James M Gatewood & Co. Bowling Green Pike Co. This Co. is on the Mississippi river, 2 or 3 counties North of St Louis. This failure puts us in great distress, as I counted undoubtedly on getting the first half long ere this. I have not pre-empted. Have been hoping to get my money. Although I owe a part of it for a horse and for work, still I would have had enough to have carried me through. But now if I sue for that money I could not get it in season to do me any good. There is no resource for me but to try to borrow. Would it be possible for you to borrow for me \$100 or \$120? I have some \$300 worth of improvement on my claim—a house, well, stable, nearly two miles of fence, besides my breaking. The bare claim without the improvements is worth at least \$500, being within 2½ miles of perhaps the most flourishing town in Southern Kansas. All this would be lost if I cannot raise enough money to finish pre-empting.

I have a mail contract this year direct from government, which will bring me about \$100. It takes me one day from home. Crops look remarkably well. I have about 14 acres planted, which promises as well as anybody's.

Our health is tolerable. The baby is teething. I have not felt quite as well as common for two or three weeks—had a little fever for a week and have not felt as well since. There is a good deal of sickness about, especially among new-comers. . . .

Our election was a week last Monday. In Osawatomie the vote was 226 against Lecompton junior to 3 for. In Anderson County

where I carry the mail there were only three votes for the proposition in the entire county ⁵³—one of these was by a P. M. another by his clerk, and the third was cast by mistake. Excuse the looks of this sheet, as I got up, restless, in the night, and wrote it. Good bye now.

Your son
John R Everett.

Osawatomie, Aug. 19, 1858.

Dear Father

Can you send the accompanying letter to Thaddeus Hyatt Esq. formerly President of the National Kansas Aid Committee. ⁵⁴ I want to be sure it gets to him, and not knowing his address thought you could send it through some of your friends in New York, who would take the trouble to look him up through the directory or otherwise. We are in distress for money owing to my not getting my mail money, and the extreme stringency of the times. I think Mr Hyatt lives on Morton Street. Jane's letter, with the price of rennet we got yesterday. We are much obliged to her. The baby has been sick with fever, but is getting better now we hope. My health is not very good now for a few weeks, but so that I am around all the time, and think I am mending. The successful laying of the Atlantic Tel. wires (if indeed the success is complete) is wonderful.

Your son
John.

Osawatomie Jan. 29 1859.

Dear Father and Mother

I write you a few lines to let you know that we are all well. Robert and Frank are much obliged to their Grandfather and Grandmother for their little nice gold presents. Frank has got a slate and is going to have a knife and hat from his. Frank got his "Child's Papers" last week, that you sent him. We do not get it so it was very acceptable to him.

The accounts we get from the seat of the troubles in the South of Kansas are generally so distorted and so little reliable that I have not written much to you about them. We have frequently during the summer and fall been excited by hearing of families who were obliged to flee from their homes for safety, from the Missourians.

53. The official count of the board of election commissioners gave Anderson county 4 votes for and 313 against the Lecompton constitution.

54. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 407, for a brief statement of the relief activities of Thaddeus Hyatt in Kansas during the territorial period.

We are in hopes that the fire there is nearly burnt out. The free state party is completely in the ascendant. The violent proslavery men are all driven out, except perhaps a very few in Fort Scott who promise to be peaceable. All the trouble now is from invasions and counter invasions over the border. We hear that the new marshall has patched up another treaty. We look for more quiet times down there now. But for myself I think the sooner all the responsibility of government is thrown upon the people of Kansas, the sooner we will have settled quiet.⁵⁵ The last trouble there arose from attempted arrests of free state men for acts committed while in arms for self defense—which they are not willing to be tried for before proslavery judges

Affectionately

John R Everett

. . . Has Jane got those 150 rennets saved? Sarah thinks she is going to want them this summer.

[March 16, 1859]

Dear Jennie

I wrote to you a few days ago and have only a word to say now—Father said in his last letter that there could be plenty of wet rennets procured of Uncle Henry but how to send them that is the question.

If you could get a dozen or so of good calf's rennets that have not been washed till they are spoiled, and salt them inside and outside thoroughly, and dry them (by stretching on a crotched or bent branch) and send them by mail I will remit to you the price of the rennets and the postage. Perhaps you can send them with only newspaper postage. If you can so much the better, if not I can better afford to pay 96 cts a lb postage than not to have them. It's very mortifying to be always bothering one's friends so much as we have been obliged to do but if you can bear with us a little longer we hope to be able to do better— Indeed our condition looks more hopeful this spring than ever before.

If we succeed in our dairying this summer as we are pretty likely to do if we can only get the rennets and do not get down sick, we shall be getting in a way not only to pay our debts but to live more comfortably than heretofore— Spring is breathing on us again awaking with her soft whispers the buds and blossoms.

55. At this time, Bourbon county militia companies were acting with the marshal as a posse in arresting offenders and enforcing the law. In February, 1859, an amnesty act was passed by the legislature and the border troubles gradually came to an end.

"Our man" is out ploughing in the garden which should have been done a fortnight sooner but for the rains which have kept it too wet.

[S. M. C. E.]

Osawatomie April 5, 1859.

Dear Father

I am sorry I have only time to write a few lines. The Cenhadwr came to Osawatomie the 11th. But there had been a flood which hindered the mails getting in for about a week. I got my Missouri money \$182.00 a few days ago. I have just borrowed \$200.00 of cousin Thos D. Lewis for 10 per cent. This is very low interest for this country. I now intend to finish preempting, buy seven or eight cows, and go to making cheese this summer, if we can get the rennets. We do not want to kill calves if we can help it. But Sarah has written about that. Two Genesee Farmers, The Rural Annual, and some children's papers for Frank, we have to thank you for since I wrote last.

I think of buying a few acres of timber as there is no rail timber or good saw logs on mine. Good timber is worth \$15.00 per acre.

We hope soon to be in condition to begin to pay our debts, at least the interest on them. The last speck of war apparently has died out. Freedom is triumphant everywhere in Kansas and we hope to go on now as a truly free state should. The Gold seekers are beginning to come up the river. Accounts from the mines are encouraging and continue so. But there is no doubt while some may make fortunes the majority would have been wiser if they had stayed at home.

In haste

Your affectionate son

John.

Osawatomie April 5, 1859.

Tues.

Dear Father

We received your letter of March 21 Sat. evening. John returned that day from Lecompton having been up to pre-empt— It was a cold windy time and he was unwell with a cold when he started, and though he appeared better when he got home than when he went away—yet the next day he was attacked with the Pleurisy— I did not know what ailed him but I succeeded in reducing the pain in his side considerably with fomentations, but as he continued to suffer

a good deal I sent up in the afternoon to Friend Mendenhall to come down and see him and tell me what ailed him. Mr. Mendenhall (one of our most worthy Quaker neighbors) is not a practicing physician but is conversant with disease, and keeps always a stock of simple medicines on hand.— He said what I had done was the best thing possible and recommended water treatment to be applied according as his symptoms should indicate— John is better to day and will I think soon be up again. This cannot be called a severe attack of pleurisy, as that disease commonly works, and has not as yet reduced him very much. The rest of us have got colds but are not sick with them only a little dull.

This winter has been sickly beyond any other time that I ever knew. It leaves almost every one worse than it found them, and yet we have escaped with but very little sickness, and our little Robbie that last summer I hardly thought would live till winter, has come up again stout and bright as ever.

We hope to hear from you *now* very often S. M. C. E.

Osawatomie Apr. 9, 1859.

Dear Father—

. . . I had written and sent to the P. O. a letter the same day that yours was received telling you of John's sickness. His disease proves to be the Lung-Fever, which is I have learned accompanied by the Pleurisy or has been in these parts this winter.

. . . He is much better now his disease seeming to culminate on Thursday, since then he has been gaining and will I hope continue to do so. . . .

It is very warm here today— But we have just had a cold spell that I suppose has killed all the peaches in this vicinity. We have about a dozen 3 yr old peach trees in blossom. If it had not been for a few cold stormy days the first of this month we should have had a good many peaches this summer. We have over fifty peach trees that will all be old enough to bear next year. We have put out 36 apple trees this spring and 2 cherries—some currants—Pie plants—Gooseberries—Raspberries black-berries & wild plums.

. . . I shall write again in a few days unless John gets able to write for himself S. M. C. Everett

Osawatomie Apr. 12, 1859.

Dear Father and Mother

I am glad to be able to take my pen in hand to tell you I am getting better. I had quite a severe attack of lung fever, but owing to the not unskillful use of water remedies, and the very faithful nursing of my dear wife, I think I have come out exceedingly well. This disease has been very fatal around here this winter, and I feel reason to be thankful to God that it has been with me no worse. I feel considerable weak as I have not been able to eat scarcely any till within a day or two. My appetite is gaining now. . . . Excuse errors as I am tired.

Your affectionate son

John

Osawatomie, April 18, 1859.

Dear Father and Mother

Having an opportunity to send to mail I drop you a few lines. I do not seem to be improving very fast. My cough is quite loose. I have a little fever every day which seems to keep me back. The baby is sick with a cold and Frank has quite a hard cold. I send a couple of dollars in this. I would like some of you to see if you can get some rennets, and send them in letter form and put on stamps enough to pay the postage. Very few calves are killed in this country, as pasture costs nothing and everybody is anxious to increase their stock. I suppose last years rennets would be drier and weigh less if they could be obtained. If some of you at home will attend to this soon you will do us a great favor. We are intending to milk 15 to 18 cows and heifers this summer. Butter has been worth 30 cts in town all winter. But we can't pack down butter and keep it here as you can there. I would like if you would send a copy of a note to Mr Jones for that money I borrowed last spring (the 14th of May, I believe.) Or else make that note right I sent last summer. Does he want that money this summer? I will try to send at least the interest in due time. My sickness will put me back a good deal coming just in seed time. But I hope the Lord will order it to our good. I have saved having any doctor's bills. They (the doctors) are generally worldly, harsh in their remedies, unreliable, and make very heavy bills. There is some emigration to Pike's Peak from these parts but not nearly as much gold fever as there was in the winter. Those who go from here go generally in companies of four, with a team of from two to four yoke of cattle and provisions for six months. [John R. Everett]

Osawatomie, May 5, 1859.

Dear Father and Mother

My health is getting quite good again, and I am getting strength fast. Frank had a slighter attack of the same disease as I had, and was quite sick a few days, but he is now well again. This disease, Lung Fever or Pneumonia, has been quite fatal around here this winter. In one family a mother and two children died in less than two weeks. I think there has been a great deal of bad doctoring. Calomel is a universal medicine with doctors here. One of our neighboring women was taken with child-bed fever, a doctor was sent for, he gave her immediately a heavy dose of blue pill and dover's powders, and of course she died. It is calomel or blue mass (as they call it) for every thing.— I sent into Missouri for cows while I was sick. They found cows pretty scarce and badly wintered, so that a great many had died from weakness, and rather higher than we expected, but got ten pretty good cows for about an average of \$21.00 a piece. This makes us 16 cows. We have 13 calves we are raising with one more cow to come in. We have three two-year-old and one three-year-old heifer of our own raising with their first calf this spring. Butter sells readily for twenty-five cents in town now. We probably shall make butter as long as it continues so high, but will be likely to begin to make cheese in at least two or three weeks. We are very much obliged for the rennet you sent and hope (if it is not too much trouble) some of you can send us what we want this summer. We think calves too valuable to kill here, while the disproportion between pasture and stock is so great. Sarah says if Jane has this Spring's basque pattern she would be glad if she would send it to her. She would like to know what kind of trimmings are worn, and all about the latest fashions!!! The great emigration to Pike's Peak Gold Mines is *the* feature of Territorial news. None of it comes through Osawatomie, and so we hear of it only through the Newspapers. I think not one in four have gone from this section who made up their mind to go at first. The reports and letters *outside* of the newspapers have not been sufficiently favorable. . . .

With much love,

Your aff. son

John.

Longwood June 20, 1859
Robbie's birthday.

Dear Jennie

I've been looking now every mail for five weeks for some of those tri-weekly billets, that were to come freighted with rennet, and good tidings and home gossip, and as none, no not one of them have ever arrived, I necessarily conclude that they have "gone up"— I have just one rennet left and that will make from sixteen to twenty-one cheeses, and possibly I can borrow enough to make a half dozen more, and by that time perhaps you can send me some more. Can you? Our cheese is getting old enough now to market according to the western notions. And it stands so far A. No. 1 which I know you will be glad to hear. We have sold five and a half at 12½ cts a lb. We took two to town over a week ago and the merchant that bought of us said afterwards that he had tried a great deal of Kansas cheese and had made up his mind that it didn't pay, but that was good and he would like more of it so we sent him another Sat. Morn. and in the evening Mr. Snow was in there and asked them if they had tried the cheese yet. "Yes cut it and its all gone" Mrs. Parrish said. Mr Snow came back and told me the people in town were great hogs they had eaten my cheese all up and cried for more. Now I have got my name up I shall have a ready home market.

I presume you think me very childish to feel so much elated simply because folks like my cheese, but *you* cant realize the reasons that make me feel so— Supposing you had been living on the plainest possible food for only a *few* years say jonny-cake & skimmed milk for weeks together. Supposing you had turned your clothes inside out and bottom side up and then been obliged to wear tatters at that— Suppose your *toes had touched the floor* till the 27. of Dec. and your crops had been shortened by drought and cut off by frost, and you had even with all the economy you could muster kept not only continually sinking in debt but taxing also the charity of your friends. Supposing all this and a great deal more too tedious to enumerate I say—dont you think you would grow a little childish over the first faint gleamings of a better time coming?

Another thing which makes our success more gratifying is the fact that failure has been so deeply ingrafted on the minds of all our friends. To be sure they haven't told us "Oh nonsense! What's the use?" . . . But they have always tried to dissuade us in very kind tones from making any such effort. They would help us **along** so we shouldn't starve, and any farther than that they were

sure would be a damage. . . . And so on and so on. I know you would like me to stop that and so I will. Dont forget to tell me about the fashions when you write for I begin to think just now of having at least a new every day dress so I shall not be put to so much haste and inconvenience when I wash the one I have.

It's quite late in the evening and I am tired. It's John's night away and I had to milk six cows. He has only one more night to spend out on mail business and then his mail carrying will be done for all time I hope. It's too hard for him. I dont think he's quite strong yet from the effects of his spring's sickness. He expects to get in thirty acres of winter wheat this fall then we will have fairly commenced farming. No more from your Weary sleepy

Sister

S. M. C. E.

[Sarah M. C. Everett to Jennie Everett]

July 12 [1859]

. . . We received yours of July 2 with some pieces of rennet.

Osawatomie celebrated the 4th, with a sham fight representing the terrible 30. of Aug. 1856, in the fore noon; and in the afternoon a select picnic. The party was the pleasantest I have ever been at in Osawatomie. The fore noon exercises seemed to me surprisingly inappropriate for the day.—

. . . I must tell you how to make cheese without a hoop when you have only a little curd. Mrs. Mendenhall and I have frequently done so, and had good cheese. Fold a piece of thin cloth like the enclosed paper and sew a seam so as to make a pointed bag, then prepare your curd as for the hoop and put it in the bag crowding it in as hard as you can, then confine it by tying it down tightly with a strong cord, and hang it in a cool shady place to drip. In a few days you have a tolerable fair specimen of new cheese. You will need a new cloth for every cheese, until your first cheeses become sufficiently cured to take out, which will be a week or more. Is Mother an old cheese maker? That is did she use to make cheese in Wales? I think there are a great many things I intended to write but have forgotten them— The Breakers are running two plows in our pasture cutting broad furrows 70 rods long, and my imagination already pictures the waving grain, and the click of the reaper. I believe I wrote you before that we wished or intended to put in 30 acres of wheat, but getting disappointed in having the ground broke as at first agreed on, we will only be able to get 20 acres prepared in season. We had 1 acre of spring wheat which our

folks stacked Sat. and today they are sowing the ground with Buck-wheat. We have a trade for 4 more extra cows under consultation. Dont know yet whether we shall succeed in getting them or not. We have sold about fifty dollars worth of butter and cheese from our cows and have on hand about \$60 worth of cheese which we can sell as fast as it gets old enough. We have made up to this time about \$2.25 worth of cheese per day on the average, but the milk is on the decrease now.

Longwood Aug 8, 1859

Dear Jennie

We received your letter with the rennet from Mrs. Griffiths on Tues. (the 2nd) and commenced using it this morn. After I have soaked out all the strength I can I dry the rennets and soak them over again. In this way I have got along sometimes when I should other wise have had to suspend my cheesemaking for three or four days. I shall save this years rennets for next year although I suppose 3 or 4 will be worth no more than one that had not been used. I am much obliged to you for the trouble of sending fashion news. Shall be very glad to get a cape pattern.

You inquired what ailed Frank. I dont know hardly, he is a very nervous "young'un" and his body gets all worn out with his excitability which keeps him for the most part as poor as a herring.

I wish I could send him out to his Grandfathers for a year or two and see if they couldn't fat him up and quiet his nerves a little. We had men here breaking for us and he must needs go down into the field and learn how, and he couldn't learn unless he could just take hold of the plow and go around the field once. The consequence was a short run of fever after it. Robbie has been sick a few days since we wrote before but he and Franky are both as well as any one can be this hot weather. John and Mr Snow are both pretty near sick. Yesterday I had a chill come on just at dinner time, which laid me up the rest of the day and this morning I am very weak. Probably I shall not have any more. John has bought two cows which makes only 14 that we milk now. Two of the cows he drove in from Missouri I may or may not have told you lost their bags with garget, another soon dried up—that is, as quick as we weaned her calf—and now another that will come in this fall has dried up so that we cant seem to get only just so many after all. One of those that lost her bag he has traded off towards a wagon the other we shall beef for our

own eating this winter and the one that dried up after weaning her calf we shall sell for beef to the butcher likely.

I have not time to write any more as I must go to my cheese,

S. M. C. E.

(To be concluded in the November Quarterly)

Bypaths of Kansas History

SQUAW TROUBLE

Francis Parkman, who passed through part of present Kansas in 1846 "on a tour of curiosity and amusement to the Rocky Mountains," visited an Indian camp in the mountain regions. He wrote in his *The Oregon Trail* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1875), pp. 161-162:

. . . We were entertained with an episode of Indian domestic life. A vicious-looking squaw, beside herself with rage, was berating her spouse, who, with a look of total unconcern, sat cross-legged in the middle of his lodge, smoking his pipe in silence. At length, maddened by his coolness, she made a rush at the lodge, seized the poles which supported it, and tugged at them, one after the other, till she brought down the whole structure, poles, hides, and all, clattering on his head, burying him in the wreck of his habitation. He pushed aside the hides with his hand, and presently his head emerged, like a turtle's from its shell. Still he sat smoking sedately as before, a wicked glitter in his eyes alone betraying the pent-up storm within. The squaw, scolding all the while, proceeded to saddle her horse, bestride him, and canter out of the camp, intending, as it seemed, to return to her father's lodge, wherever that might be. The warrior, who had not deigned even to look at her, now coolly arose, disengaged himself from the ruins, tied a cord of hair by way of bridle round the jaw of his buffalo-horse, broke a stout cudgel about four feet long, from the butt-end of a lodge-pole, mounted, and galloped majestically over the prairie to discipline his offending helpmeet.

A HOME IN KANSAS IN 1856

Extracts from a private Kansas letter printed in *The Republican Gazette*, Providence, R. I., March 20, 1856.

We have been permitted to peruse a very interesting letter from a gentleman in Kansas, to his friends in this city, one or two extracts from which, we doubt not, will be of interest to our readers. The writer has been in Kansas about a year, and writes under date of February 4th:

"Our cabin is 16 feet square, and is eight logs high, or as the carpenters say, about 10 feet between *jints*, with a window on the north, and doors on the east and west sides, with chimney on the south; it is built up on the outside, of logs, and on account of the saw mill not getting into operation, we have had no floor as yet. The roof is covered with split clapboards, which makes it tight against rain, but not of snow; the high winds which we continually have here, blows the snow through the smallest crevice. The logs, which are laid one upon the other, are *chunked* between, and over this chunking, plaster or mud is laid, which we call *daubing*; upon the whole, I consider our cabin about as tight as the end of a wood pile. Our table and chairs are

of my own make, but I would not own this were I anywhere else. Our bedstead is made in back woodman's style; it is formed by driving sticks with crotches at the end, into the ground, and laying poles length and crosswise into these crotches, and then boards are placed across to hold up the bed, which is stuffed with hay and husks. Our cooking utensils consist of an old fashioned cake pan, frying pan, and an iron kettle. In this old cake pan, J—— makes the best of johnny cakes, corn dodgers, white bread, butter milk biscuit, &c.— We cook by an open fire-place, having no stove. Our nearest neighbors are Dr. Kerr and Mr. Barnes, both from New York, the latter, however, lived in Providence a few years since.

"We have the fever and ague, and are taken with a chill all over, pain in the bones, *gape and swallow*, after which comes the shake itself, which almost tears us to pieces. A hot fever follows, with sweats, headache and weakness, together with night sweats, which wets every thread we have on. In the fever and ague we take quinine or Peruvian bark, the first is taken from the latter. Of quinine, we take ten grains, of bark, half an oz., either one if taken between one shake and the time for the next, will break up the fever for two or three weeks. The longest time we let them run without breaking them, was three weeks, one each day. That was when we could get no quinine here or at Kansas [City]. During most of the time since we have had the fever, we have just been able to move about, and, although this be the fact, we have almost ungovernable appetites, and gain flesh. I killed our fatted calf about the first of January, salted one-half and the other half remains fresh; this, together with potatoes, beans, hulled corn and milk, corn dodgers, &c., we succeed to meet the demands of hunger.

"I have been thinking, for some time past, of coming east, that is, as far as Providence, for it is probable that we shall suffer with fever and ague, more or less, for the next two or three years, and besides J— thinks the climate does not agree with her, she feels the want of a more active life, with more society than she has here. I sometimes agree with her, and think we are a *little too far out of town*, and would like to be in Providence again, but in coming now I shall sacrifice not a little, as claims are rising every day. Notwithstanding the fine claim I hold, I suppose that a home in Providence, surrounded by friends, will incline me thither the coming spring."

REPUBLICAN SOL MILLER WINS AN ELECTION IN 1859

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, December 22, 1859.

DIED.—At its late residence, in Leecompton, on Tuesday, the 6th inst., of internal mortification, Kansas Democracy, at a tender age.

Kansas Democracy was an illegitimate child—the result of an illicit intercourse between one Democratic *Ad. Ministration* and *Miss Souri*. Drs. Pierce, Douglas, and other distinguished physicians, assisted at the birth; while Granny Atchison, Stringfellow, Clay-Pate, and others, acted in the capacity of wet and dry nurses. The parents for a long time experienced much difficulty in fixing upon a suitable name for the newcomer, and several were selected, but afterwards dropped. It was successively called Border Ruffian, Law and Order, and Proslavery. Finally, some three years since, the name Democracy

was bestowed upon it, and more than six months afterwards, it was christened in the Democratic cathedral, at Lecompton, Father John Calhoun officiating, and Jack Henderson standing as god father.

The child never was healthy, but was subject to fits, caused by the wicked machinations of one Free-State party, *alias* Republican. This villainous fellow threw the child into frequent convulsions, the most dangerous of which were on the following dates: October 5th, 1857; January 4th, 1858; August 2d, 1858; October 4th, 1858; March 28th, 1859; June 4th, 1859; October 4th, 1859; November 8th, 1859. The last and fatal spasm occurred December 6th, 1859, and that day ended its sufferings. Its system had become too debilitated to withstand these shocks, and it had to yield. It strove hard to overcome them, but in vain. It had become a living mass of corruption, and was exceedingly offensive. Drs. Buchanan, Bigler, English, and all the most celebrated Democratic doctors in the country, had been consulted, and did all in their power to save it; but it was beyond the reach of mortal power.

The funeral ceremonies were of the most imposing description. The procession embraced several military companies, the numerous friends and mourners, and a large concourse of citizens.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Band of Music, Playing on Horns of
Whisky.

Kickapoo Rangers, Oxford Ballot-Box
Stuffers, and Delaware Crossing Guards.

Corpse.

Late Candidates on State Ticket, as
Chief Mourners.

A Barrel of Whisky on a Wheelbarrow.

Legislative and Minor Candidates.

Border Ruffians and Proslavery Men.

Free-State Democrats and Free-White
State Men.

Democrats Because Their Daddies Were.

Democrats Who Always Voted for Jack-
son, and Always Intend To.

Herald of Freedom, *Topeka Tribune*, and
C. K. Holliday, on a Log-Sled.

Old Line Whigs.

The committee of arrangements, with appropriate and praiseworthy consideration, assigned to the Old Line Whigs the same position in the procession that they occupied in the Democratic party—at the tail end!

The remains were deposited in the silent tomb, and while the grave was being filled, the congregation sang the beautiful, touching and mournful song of "Bob Ridley." Then the procession repaired to the cathedral, where an im-

pressive and eloquent funeral discourse was pronounced by John, Archbishop Pettit. The text was:

"Who hath woe? He that seeketh mixed drinks?"

The speaker proceeded, at some length, to caution his hearers against mixed drink; and he especially warned them against mixing it with water. Mixed drink, he said, was probably one great cause of the shattered constitution of the deceased. As an illustration of the benefits of abstaining from mixed drinks, he alluded to himself. Here he was, strong, fat and hearty—the result, he verily believed, of always taking the pure stuff itself, without mixing it even with sugar or water. The wise man from whom he had selected his text, had also, in the same connection, asked the question, "Who hath red eyes?" Red-eye was a figurative expression, and had reference to a certain liquor which was in great favor with the ancients. It was the favorite beverage of the speaker himself. Every Democrat should make it a duty to ask the question, whenever asked to take a drink: "Who hath red-eye?" And where the red-eye was, there was the place to drink; but above all things, if they would shun woe, they should not mix their drink.

While the speaker dwelt upon this subject, tears were seen to gush in streams from the eyes of his hearers, and run down into their boots; and when they arose, it was found that they had even been sitting in puddles of water—undoubtedly all tears, from the fact that it was salty!

After the last solemn rites were performed over the remains of the deceased, the surviving friends retired to their respective homes, there to mourn in silence over their blasted hopes, and seek consolation in drink, which they took care not to mix. They should remember that what is their loss, is the country's eternal gain.

"FENCING IN" KANSAS

From the *Rocky Mountain News*, Auraria and Denver, March 7, 1860.

A letter was received at the metal warehouse of Thos. S. Dickerson, No. 45 Wabash avenue, also largely in the trade in fence wire, to the following effect:

"Dear Sir:—Send me your terms for fence wire. I am thinking of fencing in Kansas. Yours, &c."

The book-keeper into whose hands the letter fell, startled at the proposed territorial movement, fell into a brown study, and made a series of calculations, and relying upon the resources of the house in the line indicated, replied as follows:

"Dear Sir:—Have consulted the best authorities, and made an approximate calculation of the amount of wire it will take to 'fence in' Kansas. We find that we have *just enough* if you order at once. Yours, &c."

MANHATTAN AND KANSAS STATE COLLEGE IN 1863

From the *Big Blue Union*, Marysville, August 8, 1863.

In our recent trip to Manhattan we met several friends and acquaintances and were also pleased with the general appearance of the place. Manhattan has quite a pleasant and advantageous situation, being on the west side of the Big Blue at its junction with the Kansas river, the former of which is bridged opposite the place. A large portion of the town site is very level and well calculated to the easy construction of buildings and the making of streets. It already has a population of some four hundred inhabitants; four fine stone churches and a large school house; several stores, a good hotel, two flouring mills—one in successful operation, and the other in which the machinery was just being erected. This latter is particularly a fine one, being a large three-story stone 60 x 44 feet. The machinery is to be driven by a forty-horse power engine, and will probably be the finest mill in the state. Many of the private residences are also built of limestone, which gives the town a decidedly substantial as well as neat appearance.

In Manhattan we met James Humphrey, Esq., formerly editor of the old *Express*, and now in the practice of law there. Also Mr. Josiah Pillsbury, who had just issued the first number of a good looking paper entitled the *Manhattan Independent*. Mr. P. is an earnest worker and his paper will always be found on the side of right. And among others we met Rev. J. Dennison and our state superintendent of schools, Prof. I. T. Goodnow, both of which gentlemen have for quite a period been actively engaged in the educational interests of the state, and who are two of the principal founders of the agricultural college. The latter gentleman showed us through the college building, and we are frank to say that it is a most noble institution. It is built of white limestone, with good finish and architecture; its dimensions are three stories high, and 50 x 44 feet base. It is situated a little northwest of the principal part of town on the highest point of a gently rising bluff or slope facing the east, to which the front of the building also corresponds. A neat cupola crowns the top. On the second story of the front is cut in the form of a half circle the words, "Blue Mont Central College," and just below (also facing the east) is a star in a ground work of sky blue, which, as well as the words, is inlaid with gold leaf.—The name is derived from a high, steep bluff in the northeastern part of the city called Blue Mont. The lower and second stories of the building are divided into four rooms each, embracing recitation rooms, library, etc., etc. The third is a hall, full size, and one of the finest for public assemblies we have seen in the west. It is intended as the place for holding lectures, etc., connected with the school. The whole institution cost probably not less than \$20,000. The library, consisting of over 2,000 volumes, is estimated at \$2,000. The bell, in the cupola, a very sweet toned one (Menelly's make), bears the dedication and address of its donor, "Joseph Ingalls, Swampscott, Mass."—Its cost was \$250. The donor is a wealthy gentleman besides being an old bachelor of seventy-nine years. He had for a long time withstood the charms of the New England belles and at last lavished a fitting souvenir on *the* bell of Manhattan.

The view from the belfry can hardly be surpassed in the West. We looked down the Kansas valley the distance of twenty miles or more, and then up

the same stream to near Fort Riley, and northward up the valley of the Big Blue, and from the vallies on to the bluff tops and prairies, dressed in nature's liveliest colors sparkling in the sunshine.

The institution now belongs to the state with 90,000 acres of land devoted to state agricultural colleges by act of congress. Its transfer to the state was formally made on the 2nd of July last, the anniversary of the passage of the act by congress, and at which time a grand celebration was held in the hall of the building. There are to be four departments in the sciences, viz: agriculture—mechanic arts—military science and tactics—literature and science. It is purposed, we believe, to commence the school about the first of September next. We bespeak for the Kansas State Agricultural College a proud future.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

President Lincoln's Gettysburg address as reported in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, November 25, 1863.

On the 19th inst., the Soldier's cemetery on the battle-field of Gettysburgh was consecrated. The address was delivered by Edward Everett.

President Lincoln spoke briefly as follows:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers established upon this continent a government consecrated in liberty and dedicated to the fundamental principles that all men are created equal by a good God. [Applause.] Now we are engaged in a great contest—the question whether this nation, any nation, so consecrated, so educated, can long remain. We are met on a great battle field of the war; we are met here to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting place of those who have given their lives that the nation might live. It is all right, befitting and proper that we should do this, but in a larger sense we cannot dedicate; we cannot consecrate; we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add to or detract. [Great Applause.] The dead will little heed. Let us long remember what we have, but not forget what they did here. [Immense applause.] It is for us, rather—the living—to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried forward. ["Good," and great applause.] It is better for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us; for us to renew our devotion to that cause for which they gave the full measure of their devotion. Here let us resolve that what they have done shall not have been done in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth; that the Government of the people, founded by the people, shall not perish."

"END OF TRACK" ON THE KANSAS PACIFIC RAILROAD

Sheridan (Wallace county), near the eastern boundary of Colorado, was the terminus of the Kansas Pacific railroad (now the Union Pacific) in 1869. A correspondent of the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, who visited the place in July, reported as follows in the August 1 issue:

SHERIDAN, July 28, 1869.

The "end of the track" is a gay village with fine wide streets and a general air of thrift. One is soon impressed with the feeling that the people of this town are determined to succeed in life. A stranger accustomed to certain business portions of New York city, will visit Sheridan and swear he sees the same faces he left in New York. Similarity of tastes and pursuits make men resemble each other; ditto women. This is true of the women one sees at Hays City and Sheridan. I presume none of them will take any offense at this remark which is not meant in its most offensive sense. Gayety seems to be the principal occupation of a large majority of the denizens of Phil Sheridan. Most of them dance a good deal. I observed several "dance halls," so called, where the "light fantastic toe" was considerably exercised. A "dance hall" means various things. It means faro, monte, and whisky, together with some revolver and a large amount of knife. A man is always safe here in attending strictly to his private concerns. Delicate inquiries into matters which belong to your neighbor are not healthy. They provoke a degree of unpleasantness which would vastly amaze the good old bones who "gather in" at New England tea parties to "hear the news." If your neighbor has a dog, *let him alone*. In order that no misimpression may be gathered from that remark, I will add, *let both alone*. If your neighbor has anything else, *let it alone*. This is the law in Sheridan, and it is backed by a rod or two of trestle-work which is said to afford constant occupation to a number of expert hangers-on.

There are saloons here. They are tolerably well supported. I have not heard of a single failure in the saloon line. The cause is obvious. The alkali water will not do to drink, whisky is preferable. A great many drink a good deal of whisky in preference to this abominable water. The saloons at Phil Sheridan favorably compare with any in Leavenworth. They are well furnished. I got as good a *lemonade iced* as I ever drank in my life, that is saying much for the saloon. Upon inquiry, I ascertained that there was an ice-house near at hand plentifully supplied from the adjacent "streams." Think of iced drinks on the Great American desert, 405 miles west of the Missouri river.

Sheridan is an *oasis*. It is not a green one though. If anybody comes here thinking so, he is likely to get a radical change of mind before his departure. The green comes in, however—that delightful shade which so rests the eye in the strong glare of gas or benzine. Especially is this true for him who is prodigal of the "midnight oil" and "stakes" his money at little games of chance. Of this class of philanthropists, there are some in Phil Sheridan. They are not singular men here. On the contrary, they are very plural. You will not make a mistake in proposing that "little game" with most any one. The man is "on it," if he gets a chance. Most men are here. Cheerfulness is plenty. I was struck with the air of genuine pleasure with which a prominent citizen of Sheridan referred to the manner in which his public-spirited fellow citizens started a graveyard. You need not be startled to note that the most melancholy themes are discoursed upon in a spirit worthy of the resigned and chastened citizen of Lawrence. This is in a large measure attributable to the good nature which abounds here. It will not do to be ill-natured a great while at a time. A great many persons object to it forcibly. I have not seen but one brokenhearted being since I landed. His heart was broken in a dance

house. It was done with a knife. I believe he was also in love. It is the worst way to get into, in Sheridan. It means so much more here than in many other places. Cupid does not play with darts at this point. He uses sterner weapons, and is a good shot. A man in love here may be said to be considerably "struck." I leave next week. If I do not, my remains will. I shall return and permanently locate with this whole-souled, large hearted, hospitable people. Truly do they love their neighbors as themselves. I have been much loved here. Yea, in the words of Rienzi to the Romans: "I go, but I return."

GREENE.

From the *Commonwealth*, editorial, August 4, 1869.

By reports from Sheridan, the present western terminus of the Kansas Pacific railway, we should judge that the town should at once be placed under martial law for the protection of well disposed people who may wish to tarry at that questionable portion of God's bountiful heritage. Human life is there at a discount. The scum of creation have there congregated and assumed control of municipal and social affairs. Gamblers, pickpockets, thieves, prostitutes and representatives of every other class of the world's people, who are ranked among the vicious, have taken possession of the town and reign supreme. The attempted executors of the civil authorities are laughed at and disregarded, and crimes are rampant and predominant. We have heard it suggested that the only remedy for the glaring evils that there exist is the declaring of martial law by General Schofield. Government troops should be sent there to protect the innocent and respectable who dwell there, and to render life safe and living tolerable to strangers who wish to tarry or locate among them. "Let us have peace."

WHEN A DROUGHT SAVED MONEY

From the *Girard Press*, November 26, 1874.

They have a good bridge across the Arkansas river at Wichita, but the gate keeper is praying for rain, as the river is so low that teamsters ford it, and save paying toll.

MORE ON WESTERN KANSAS MIRAGES

From Larned *Chronoscope* items reprinted in the *Kinsley Graphic*, March 8, 1879.

The mirage these beautiful mornings plays its weird and strange pranks with the landscape. Mr. Jenkins tells us that Monday the whole country for seven or eight miles beyond Kinsley, with its houses and farms could be distinctly seen from his house on Sentinel hill.

From the *Lane County Republican*, Dighton, January 23, 1889.

Tuesday morning a beautiful scene could be observed from the city. In the north and northeast, White Rock township spread out like a panorama before the eye. Among other places could be seen that of Judge Wheatcroft. The

stone buildings were as natural as life. The stock could be seen in the yards and the boys moving about doing their morning work. The judge's place is nearly twenty miles distant, yet the magnifying quality of the air was such that all these could be plainly observed in detail.

WESTERN KANSAS WILD HORSES

From the *Lane County Gazette*, California.

Mr. W. G. Smith and his boys caught a wild horse yesterday. It was running around by his horses and they made a corral with their wagons and after running it in succeeded in getting a rope on it. Mr. Smith came down to tell us about it and while here the rain came up which made him feel so good he immediately pulled out a \$1.50 and paid for the *Gazette* one year.—May 20, 1880.

Messrs. Bell, Broderick and Thompson brought in six wild horses last Friday. They have a few more at their camp and are now after another herd which they will probably bring in before long. The horses they brought in are as fine specimens of horseflesh as one would wish to see. The herder of the gang is a fine black stallion of good size, with magnificent tail and mane. A brown stallion in the lot attracts the attention of every one owing to the fact that he is a square-built pacer. Probably the best horse of the herd is a large three-year-old roan stallion. A roan mare and a pair of matched yearlings are also included in the lot brought in. The horses are not in good flesh at present, but when fed up and broke they will make valuable animals. As a general thing it is not a very lucrative business catching these horses, but if anyone can make a success of it Mr. Bell and his assistants are the ones to do it. It requires time, perseverance, patience and considerable "sand" to capture and break a wild horse.

Mr. Bell says he expects to catch fifty wild horses this season.—May 27, 1880.

E. J. Bell has traded off nearly all his wild horses for cattle. He expects to bring in another herd in a few days which he will sell cheap for cash or trade for cattle.—June 10, 1880.

Numberless herds of wild horses range the prairies of western Kansas in all their native freedom. They usually go in herds of from two to twenty-five. Each herd has its leader who watches and protects his herd with great self abnegation and intelligence. At this time of the year they fall an easy prey to the experienced hunter, and are being caught in great numbers.—June 17, 1880.

E. J. Bell & Co., the wild horse hunters, came in from the range this week with something over thirty head of ponies, and the most of them are fine looking animals. Messrs. Bell, Broderick and Thompson have thus far this season corralled about sixty head of horses but about one third this number have escaped or died. Bell and Thompson will start east with their horses next week.—August 26, 1880.

The boys who have been out running wild horses came in Tuesday evening, having run out of provisions. They have not had very much success.—October 14, 1880.

E. J. Bell, Esq., proprietor of our handsome little city, returned from Rice county last Friday, whither he has been with a lot of wild horses. Mr. D. Wilman, a young attorney of that county, came along with him and will probably make up his mind to locate in this county.—November 4, 1880.

From the Frisco (Morton county) *Pioneer*, June 16, 1886.

Frank Kerr, a pedagogue from Lawrence county, Ohio, but lately from Sumner county, this state, who has a claim twelve miles northeast of here, one day last week caught a nice bay mare out of a herd of wild horses. She is getting quite tame and is learning to eat grain and lick salt. Frank rode her the second day she was in his possession and is a proud boy over his new found treasure. He thinks perhaps he may take her east on exhibition.

SOME NOTES ON MORTON COUNTY'S EARLY HISTORY

From the Frisco (Morton county) *Pioneer*, April 28, 1886.

The first parties who came to Morton county with a view of locating, arrived about one year ago. On the 4th of March, 1885, J. B. Fosher, the company's agent, with J. W. Soules, George Bowman, Dill Chapman and Bill Barney, left Cherryvale, Montgomery county, Kansas, with a view of locating in what is now Morton county, but was at that time Seward county, though better known as Kansas county, that being the original name of this portion of the state. The party came on west through the southern tier of counties and at West Plains, were joined by J. H. Haines, Charles Haines and M. M. Durkee. They pursued their western course until the 16th of March, when they entered this county and after exploring over the different parts, stopped on the 27th, three miles east of the present site of Frisco, where afterwards the town of Sunset City was located. Here they stopped and sent back for their families and other parties to come out.

On the 24th of April, in the afternoon about four o'clock; the snow being about four inches deep, the following parties arrived, with wagons, teams, farming utensils, provisions, etc., H. C. Helton and family, W. W. Anderson and family, Lewis Darraugh and family, Mass Gibbons and family and the families of J. W. Soules and George Bowman and at once a permanent settlement was decided on, which was the first one. Work was begun and the first house built was by George Bowman, which was of sod, as well as the rest, and the second by W. W. Anderson, third by H. C. Helton, fourth by J. W. Soules and the fifth by J. H. Haines. As other parties came in, dugouts and sod houses were built, breaking and planting was done and other improvements made. The first Sunday School was organized in the company building of Sunset City, about the first of June.

The first prayer meeting was organized at W. W. Anderson's in November. Since the arrival of Mr. J. B. Fosher and his party in this beautiful territory a little over thirteen months ago and the permanent settlement was decided on just one year ago, Saturday, many wonderful changes have taken place. Now there is not one one-fourth section of land out of ten but what there is some sort of claim on it. The entire county is dotted with dugouts, sod and frame houses. Farms have been broken out, and others are in progress, while towns have sprung up and are flourishing.

JOHN J. INGALLS SPEAKS AT THE GRAVE OF A FAITHFUL
FAMILY SERVANT

From the Atchison *Daily Champion*.

On Sunday last at Oak Hill cemetery, beside the open grave of an obscure colored citizen, was witnessed a scene without a parallel in the history of this or any other country. Senator Ingalls, president of the senate of the United States, standing with uncovered head delivering a beautiful tribute to the character and worth of his old and faithful family servant, Tarleton Pendleton. The speaker spoke as one who speaks of a departed and cherished friend, and, for the time being, the senator lost sight of everything but his old servant, the trusty domestic whose labors were at an end, and whose rare fidelity inspired the choice utterances of the hour. The uniqueness of the occasion will never be forgotten by those who were present, and it seems to illustrate the fact that this is a land where the highest may stoop to bear tribute to the virtues of the obscurest, and to gain and not lose prestige by the graceful condescension.—March 23, 1887.

A MERITED TRIBUTE.—The following is a brief synopsis of Senator Ingalls' remarks at the grave of his faithful servant Tarleton Pendleton, published at the request of many who desire to give it wider publicity:

"Tarleton Pendleton was born on the 18th of July, 1822, near Charleston, in the Shenandoah valley, West Virginia. He was a slave, and removed with his owners to Kentucky, and from thence to St. Joseph, Mo. He emancipated himself early in the war and escaped to Atchison, where he has since resided. For more than twenty years he has been in the service of my family. During this long period he has always manifested the same interest in my affairs as if they had been his own. I never knew him to do a dishonest act nor to speak an untruthful word. He was faithful, upright and loyal in all the relations of life.

"At the open grave all men are equal. In the democracy of death the rich man is as poor as the poorest, and the poor man is as rich as the richest. Here the wealthy man leaves his possessions, the proud man surrenders his honors and dignities, the worldly man relinquishes his pleasures, and nothing remains but those moral qualities which define our relation to our fellow-creatures and to God.

"Pendleton could neither read nor write. His long life of humble toil is ended. His name will be heard no more among men. But he leaves the memory of virtues which the highest may imitate with advantage, and an example which all may follow with profit and safety. It was such as he that were in the mind of the Divine Teacher on the Mountain of Judea when he declared that the lowly in spirit should possess the Kingdom of Heaven; that the meek should inherit the earth; and that the pure in heart should see God. Here we leave him. He is at rest. May his soul abide in peace and felicity till the last great day, when the Lord shall come to judge the quick and the dead."—March 26, 1887.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The history of School District No. 28 (Little River) was sketched by Hale Stephenson and George Root in a two-column article in the *Little River Monitor*, January 20, 1938. A. G. Wolfe taught the first school which was started November 17, 1879.

Early-day experiences on the Kansas plains of Decatur Stout (Dick) Rees, trapper, Indian scout and pioneer settler of Ottawa county, were published in the Minneapolis *Better Way*, February 10 and 17, 1938.

"Winchester as She Was," a story of early events by Mrs. Althea Curry, was printed in the *Winchester Star*, February 18, 1938. The *Leavenworth Times* also included a historical sketch of the town by George Remsburg in its issue of June 8, 1939.

The founding of Harper in 1877 and several historical events of the years following were mentioned by Louis Walton in the *Harper Advocate*, February 24 and March 3, 1938.

Historical notes and reminiscences, under the title "History of Kincaid," were published in the *Kincaid Dispatch* each week from March 3 to April 14, 1938. Similar material was also recorded in the *Dispatch* in its issue of June 30, which marked the paper's fifty-first anniversary.

Peter Robidoux, pioneer storekeeper, rancher and land baron of Wallace, was the subject of an illustrated article appearing in the *Salina Journal*, March 7, 1938. It was reprinted in the *Junction City Union*, March 14, and *The Western Times*, of Sharon Springs, March 17. *The Western Times* on August 25 issued a special illustrated historical edition featuring articles on Robidoux, Sharon Springs, Wallace, Fort Wallace and the Smoky basin cave-in.

Early efforts at irrigation in western Kansas were discussed in a two-column article in *The Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, March 10, 1938.

Reminiscences of life in Junction City since 1879, by Mrs. L. N. Carr, appeared in the *Junction City Union*, March 28, 1938.

The history of the Republic county courthouse was briefly outlined in the *Scandia Journal*, April 7, 1938.

A scrapbook of articles contributed to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* by Josiah Copley in 1867 is owned by the Saline County Historical So-

ciety. The articles, bearing the title "Kansas and the Country Beyond," were written by Copley while he was a guest on the Kansas Pacific railroad's special excursion train from the East. Mr. Copley's articles were discussed by the *Salina Journal* in its issue of April 21, 1938.

Mrs. Mable Mahin recalled early events in Kensington in the *Kensington Mirror*, April 21, 1938. A brief biography of one of the first settlers, Dr. A. E. Lapham, was contributed to the same issue by a granddaughter, Mrs. Carl Molzahn.

The history of the Marion post office since 1860 was reviewed by Mrs. William Burkholder in the *Marion Review*, April 27 and May 4, 1938.

Alfred E. Gledhill, of Gaylord, outlined some early newspaper history of Portis in the *Portis Independent*, May 26, 1938.

McPherson celebrated its sixty-sixth birthday on May 28, 1938. The *McPherson Daily Republican* of May 27 printed a story of the organization of the McPherson Town Company and the coming of the first settlers.

Recollections of New Chicago, now a part of Chanute, and its rival settlement, Tioga, were published in the *Chanute Tribune*, June 16, 1938. The late Mrs. Charles T. Beatty, who came to New Chicago in 1870 soon after its settlement, was interviewed by Fletcher Maclary for the *Tribune*, which had also recorded an interview with her on May 27.

Pioneer days in Bern, Nemaha county, as described by Mrs. F. W. Lehman and first printed in the *Bern Gazette*, June 4, 1931, were republished in the *Sabetha Herald* on June 1, 1938.

The *Humboldt Union* of June 2, 1938, announced the publication of a historical booklet in connection with the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Humboldt Lutheran church.

Personal recollections and historical notes of Kiowa county, written by J. L. Coates for *The Kiowa County Signal*, of Greensburg, appeared during July, August and September, 1938.

The *Robinson Index* in its issues of August 11 to September 1, 1938, published historical material relating to the town as taken from its files, and particularly from its Kansas day edition of 1900.

Al J. Smith, of Halstead, possesses an unusually fine collection of old firearms and early Kansas relics, the *Halstead Independent*, of August 12, 1938, reported.

The history of Wolcott (Wyandotte county), formerly called Conner, was outlined in the *Leavenworth Times*, August 15, 1938.

A history of Bison was prepared for the town's fiftieth anniversary celebration by William Crotinger and appeared in the *Otis Reporter* and the *La Crosse Chieftain* on August 18, 25 and September 1, and in the *La Crosse Republican* on August 25 and September 1, 1938.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Quantrill's raid on Lawrence was the occasion for a historical review of the incident in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 20, 1938.

The Spring Hill *New Era* on August 25, 1938, announced that the Ohio Society of Spring Hill was sponsoring a movement to preserve the city's historic hotel.

September 25, 1938, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Kansas district of the Lutheran church. The *White City Register* of September 8 reported that the district was organized in Leavenworth with 30 pastors and 27 congregations, and now numbers 132 pastors and 30,000 members.

Historical notes and recollections of Cherokee county and the city of Columbus by Ed C. Williams, a former resident, were printed in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, September 24, 30 and October 3, 1938.

A historical sketch of Nemaha county, including the establishment of towns and townships, appeared in the *Sabetha Herald*, October 19, 1938. The facts were obtained from a progress report issued by the Nemaha County Planning Board.

The history of the Hanston Baptist church, organized on February 8, 1911, was reviewed in the *Jetmore Republican*, October 20, 1938.

A four-column article entitled "A Sketch of Early Days and Settlers of the White City Vicinity," by Nellie Wallace, was published in the *White City Register*, October 20, 1938. The *Register* reported that Miss Wallace has for several years been collecting material for a history of White City and the surrounding region.

The reminiscences of Mrs. E. Rasmussen, of Stafford, a pioneer school teacher of Turon, were printed in the *Turon Press*, October 20, 1938.

A historical sketch of the military post of Fort Scott by H. T. Wilson, a sutler, which appeared in the *Fort Scott Pioneer* for July 5, 1877, was quoted in the daily *Fort Scott Tribune* of October 29, 1938, and in the weekly *Tribune* of November 3.

"Earliest Beginnings in Pawnee County," an article by Isabel Worrell Ball, was printed in the Larned *Chronoscope*, November 3, 1938. In the same and the succeeding issue, Jessie Bright Grove, secretary of the Pawnee County Historical Society, reviewed the early settlement and organization of the county.

Life in Kinsley in the latter 1870's was described in the Kinsley *Mercury*, November 3, 1938, by Mrs. Walter Robley, a former resident.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans featured in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* include: "Rich Material for Moviemakers in the Story of Old Dodge City," by Paul I. Wellman, January 3, 1939; "The Beginning of a Famous Novel in Edna Ferber's Visit to Kansas," January 24; "Notable Generation in G. O. P. Arrived With Kansas Day Club" in 1892 (the founders quickly rose to places of power after their historic protest against party rule of "The Bills"), January 27; "New Markers Prepared For Chain of Historical Sites in Kansas," by Cecil Howes, March 30; "Forgotten Pathfinder [Jedediah Strong Smith] of the West Started Last Adventure at Westport," by J. P. G., March 31; "Border Trouble and Indian Wars Could Not Stop This Cattle Drive [of Nelson Story, an adventurer, who in 1866 drove a herd of longhorns from Texas north into Kansas, then northwest through Nebraska and Wyoming to the Gallatin valley of Montana]," by Paul I. Wellman, April 13; "Spring Comes Again to Shawnee Mission," (a poem) by Dorothy Brown Thompson, and "Methodists Introduced New Crafts to Shawnee Indians [at Shawnee mission] a Century Ago," April 27; "Last Indian Massacre in Kansas [Sappa creek neighborhood] Recalled Vividly by [Mrs. Emmett Martin, of Eagleville, Mo.] a Witness," by Paul I. Wellman, May 8; "Leader's [Col. H. L. Moore] Diary of Heroic March of the Kansas 19th in 1868-1869 [organized to rescue whites kidnaped by Cheyenne Indians]," May 31; "Catholic Church Here [Kansas City, Mo.] Was Founded by French More Than Century Ago," June 5; "Old Cattlemen Still Laugh About the Range's Great 'Legal Rustle'" in which John Chisum (owner of the famous Long Rail and Jingle Bob brand in New Mexico, the man who started the Lincoln county cattle war in which "Billy the Kid" rode to fame) sold a herd of 20,000 to Robert D. Hunter of the Hunter and Evans Commission Co. of Kansas City, Mo., and was paid in some of his own unredeemed and all but forgotten notes, June 9, and "Fights and Disasters Attended Arrival of Barbed Wire in West," by Paul I. Wellman, June 16.

Among the articles of historical interest written by Victor Murock and published in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months were: "Fashioning State's Fabric By Trekkers Who Came Here in the Covered Wagons," January 3, 1939; "Wagon Trains From Kansas That Carried Homeseekers Into the State of Texas," January 9; "Case of Over-production in the Supply of Meat Here With Steak at Record Low," in 1872-1873, when the destruction of the buffalo for the profit from its hide left no market for the flesh, January 11; "Evidence Is Authentic That Lumber Was Rafted Down the Arkansas Here," January 13; "Favorite Stomping Ground of the Big Game of the Prairies Was Located Down in Barber County, Kansas," February 8; "What Whisky in Earliest Day Cost First Settlers Here by Drink, Quart and Gallon," February 10; "Of Frederic Remington And of the Halt He Made on Prairies of Kansas," February 16; "Equipment of a Tavern That Was Built of Logs in the Earliest Wichita," February 20; "Of Albert Lewellen, Five, First White Child Here to be Buried on the Hill," February 23; "Kansan's Place of Birth Proved a Life Preserver in Bloody Quantrill Raid," February 25; "Figuring Out the Reasons Why Cattle Trail Terminals Shifted West From Wichita," February 27; "Luxury Came to Wichita for the First Time in 1870 With Flood of New Settlers," March 3; "When the Reverend Mr. Dotson Was Spreading the Gospel to People of Prairie Town," March 4; "Of Trails Without Terminals Stretching Before Vision of the Prairie Pioneers," March 7; "That Indian Legend of Gold in the Wichita Mountains Not as Good as Memories," March 13; "Barter Born in Wichita With the Early 1870 Flood of Settlers to Reach Here," March 17; "Growth in Use of Metal Which Is Making Wichita the Prairie Steel Center," March 30; "Replacing the Trees on the Kansas Prairies Killed by the 1935 Drought," April 6; "Enmity Motor-Cars Met in Some Quarters Here When They First Came," April 11; "First Legal Sensation to Excite Wichitans Failed in Prosecution," April 14; "What, in Twinkling of Eye, Horace Prescott, Wichita, Saw Happen to Oklahoma," April 19; "Fifty Years of Oklahoma, the Vision of Dave Payne, and Some Early Wichitans," April 21; "He [L. R. Delaney] Discharged a Duty and Performed a Service in Hour of Great Need" in Guthrie, Okla., April 22; "Adventures of Wichitan, Ed. Moore, in Early Days as an Oklahoma Pioneer," April 24; "Early Prairie Physician and What His Charge Was for Day and for Night Visits," April 28; "Early Glimpse of [Wilbur Lee] O'Daniel Lone Star State Chief on the Streets of Kingman," May 10; "Youthful

Mine Experience of Vic Tanner of Wichita in the Coal Corner of Kansas," May 11; "When Rosalyn Lowe, Now Mrs. C. M. Sawtelle of Peabody, Came to Kansas Overland From Wisconsin Sixty-Five Years Ago," May 13; "When Southwest of Wichita [1868] the Men at Camp Starvation [expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry sent to rescue women kidnaped by Indians] Were Unable to Go Farther," May 16; "One Old Chest of Walnut in Wichita Came to Kansas [unloaded at Westport landing in 1857] Some Eighty-Two Years Ago," May 19; "Of Frederick H. Beecher [who went down fighting in the dramatic set-to with the Indians on the island in the Arickaree] Whose Name Was Once Given to This Point on the Map," May 26; "'Loose Him' Cried Capt. [David L.] Payne With His Eyes Flashing Fire and His Order Was Obeyed," May 30; "Bride [Mrs. Dow Wemple] at Pioneer Wedding in Sedgwick County Who Made Her Own Cake," May 31; "How Six Hard Biscuits Bought for a Pioneer the Bible He Had Missed," June 2; "Saved Cattle Movement From Texas Up This Way by Building a Railroad," June 3; "Firms Which Did Business in the Rival Metropolis [Park City] Wichita Wiped Off the Map," June 7; "When Food Finally Came to Starving on Prairies Self-Denial Was Mandatory," June 9; "One Plant Wichita Lost Introduced Steel Posts to World Thirty Years Ago," June 13; "When Two Ragged Women [Sarah White and Anna Belle Morgan] Rescued From Captivity Returned to Civilization," June 16.

Included among the historical feature articles printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, were: "Keeping Up With Kansas Farming a 50-Year Job for Jake Mohler," by Cecil Howes, January 11, 1939; "John Brown's Hideout in Iowa," a drawing, February 5; "Trails Offered Action and Wealth Before the Old West Was Fenced In," by Paul I. Wellman, February 9; "East and West Hear More About Versatile Kirke Mechem of Kansas," by Paul I. Wellman, February 17; "Rich Benefits to Farmers of Kansas in a Half Century of Experiments," by Cecil Howes, February 20; "Doc Barton Revisits Dodge City, Recalls Heyday of Cow Capital," by C. C. Isely, March 29; "Another Great 'Red Necktie Day' for Dr. [W. L.] Burdick and Mt. Oread," by Cecil Howes, April 17; "The Blue Grass Turns Green Again in the Kansas of John J. Ingalls," by Cecil Howes, April 19; "Walter Huxman Justifies Pride of the Pretty Prairie People," by Cecil Howes, May 18; "Challenge of the New Frontier Is Read by William Allen White," in addressing the graduating class of Indiana University, June 6; "Nebraska and Kansas

Staged a Hilarious Show for the Gay Grand Duke Alexis of Russia Sixty-seven Years Ago," by H. V. B., June 8.

During February and March, 1939, the *Natoma Independent* published several articles dealing with the community's history. Stories of Natoma by Twila Hoskins and Ruth Pfortmiller, high school students, appeared in the issues of February 2 and 16. An article on a journey of the Hammonds from Wisconsin to Kansas in 1878 was printed in the *Independent*, February 23. It was a reprint from the issue of July 17, 1930. Pioneer reminiscences of M. C. Brown originally published in the *Independent*, March 5, 1911, was reprinted in the issue of March 2, 1939, and also in the *Paradise Farmer*, March 6.

Articles of historical interest relating to Kansas appearing in recent months in the Magazine Section of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* were: "'Horse and Buggy Doctor' Creates Stir in Medical World," by Harold Streeter, February 5, 1939; "Kansas Woman Recalls Tragedy of Lincoln's Assassination," by Harry Peebles, February 12; "Wichitan Recalls Lucas' Famous Ride Warning of Indian Raid," by Arch O'Bryant, March 19; "Dodge City to Again Become Cow Town for Movie Premiere," by Francis Heacock, March 26; "Harper County Tour Shows Farmers Turning to Livestock," by Bruce Behymer, March 26.

Fred Redmond and Herbert Leiker, workers on the Works Progress Administration's Historical Records Survey, compiled a brief history of Gove county which was printed in the *Grinnell Record-Leader*, February 16, 1939.

Featuring the "World Premiere" of the motion picture "Dodge City" April 1, the *Dodge City Daily Globe* issued a special thirty page edition March 29, 1939. Included among the articles of historical interest published in this issue were: "Stage Routes Raided Early"; "Soule Ditch Caused Stir"; "An Art to Hit Buffalo"; "Caches Lure Gold Hunters"; "No Myth in Dodge Claims," by F. A. Etrick; "[Dodge City's] Four Eras of History"; "Round Up to 20,000"; "Politics Not a Pink Tea"; "Kinsley Woman [Mrs. M. J. C. Rhoads] Saw Sacking of Lawrence"; "Dodge City History Linked to the Santa Fé Trail," by Jay B. Baugh; "'Doc Barton,' the Last of the Cattle Kings," by C. C. Isely; "This Baton [a revolver] Got Results" and "Cowboy Preacher Found Junction City Tough."

Reminiscences of A. J. Bieber, of Bazine, who went to Rush county in 1879, were recorded under the heading "Pioneer Days in

Kansas," in the *La Crosse Chieftain* and the *Otis Reporter* in their issues of March 30, 1939.

The *Kingman Journal* celebrated its fiftieth birthday anniversary by issuing a twenty-four page historical edition March 31, 1939. Of special interest is the front-page article, "The *Kingman Journal* Has 50th Birthday Anniversary," in which the writer traces the history of the *Journal* through its hardships and vicissitudes. Special articles were devoted to the development of Kingman's industries, and histories of the county and the city's business institutions were featured.

A special edition entitled, "Wichita's 68th Anniversary Dedicated to Industry and Commerce," was issued by the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 16, 1939.

A historical sketch of Great Bend, one of a series of articles featuring the ten towns and cities in the United States with the word "Bend" in their titles, was printed in the *Great Bend Tribune*, May 3, 1939.

Early experiences in northwest Kansas were recalled by Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Anthony in the *Selden Advocate* in issues from May 4 to June 3, 1939.

The *Junction City Republic* for May 11, 1939, includes a souvenir section describing the early years of the Union Pacific railroad in Kansas.

A brief history of the Kansas Avenue Methodist church was featured in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 20, 1939. The church was chartered May 25, 1869.

"Progress Marks Lindley's Term," was the caption of the seventy-fifth anniversary edition of the *University Daily Kansan*, of Lawrence, issued May 28, 1939. The "Anniversary Index" of the thirty-four page edition lists four sections. "Section A," in addition to the regular campus news, contains special articles by William A. White, Raymond Clapper, Harry H. Woodring, Theodore C. Alford and Alfred M. Landon. "Section B" is devoted to the history of the schools and departments. "Section C" presents the social life at the university as seen through its many activities and organizations. "Section D" features athletics, rating James Aloysius Bausch, "Jarring Jim," as the greatest athlete graduated from the University of Kansas, Glenn Cunningham trailing him as a close second. James A. Naismith and F. C. Allen were rated as "Two Doctors . . . Famous in Kansas Sports." The picture section showed, among

other things, pictures of seven of the eight men who served as chancellor of the university.

The early history of Ellis, from 1873 to 1883, was recalled by Mrs. Jessie Bell Ormerod, a pioneer settler, in the *Ellis Review*, June 1 to 22, and July 6 and 13, 1939.

"Pioneer Rural Route Days," relating the experiences of Warren Zimmerman as a rural mail carrier at Portis, was the title of an article in the *Portis Independent*, June 8, 15 and 22, 1939.

The story of Silkville, a town organized on a communal plan in the 1870's by Ernest Valetton de Boissiere, a French philanthropist, was told by Jennie Small Owen in the *Topeka State Journal*, June 19, 1939. The land on which the town was located is now a Franklin county farm.

Celebrating its sixtieth birthday the *Oberlin Herald* published a fifty-six page anniversary edition June 29, 1939. Included in the seven sections of the paper were historical sketches of Decatur county by Glenn Rogers and Mrs. Sarah J. Harvie, histories of its schools, churches and industries, sketches of the towns of Jennings and Norcatun, and stories of Oberlin's civic organizations, fraternal and social groups, and other phases of community activity. A history of the newspaper was outlined. The *Herald* also printed a list of county officers from the organization of the county, and the minutes of the first meeting of the board of county commissioners. More than 500 pictures were featured.

The Clark County Clipper of Ashland, June 29, 1939, printed an article by Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian for the Clark county Council of Women's Clubs, on the establishment of the Benedictine monastery "Bueffel Au" on Mount Cassino, north of present Ashland, in 1876. The article was prepared from papers of the Rev. Gerard Heinz, O. S. B., who was told the story by one of the founding party, Brother Andrew Allermann. A drawing made from memory by Father Boniface Verheyen, O. S. B., which shows the group of buildings that comprised the monastery, accompanied the article. Both story and cut were republished in the *Wichita Evening Eagle*, July 7.

Early Santa Fé trail history was discussed in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, of Santa Fé, in the July, 1939, issue. The "Report of the Commissioners on the Road From Missouri to New Mexico, October, 1827," edited by Buford Rowland, described topographical features of the region, relations with Indians, and the work

of surveying the route. This report, which was for many years forgotten in the files of the secretary of the senate of the United States, is now in the National Archives. The field notes of Joseph C. Brown, the surveyor who accompanied the expedition, were printed in the *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society (1913), pp. 117-125.

An article by Allan E. Paris in the *Leavenworth Times* of July 2, 1939, related the story of Mrs. Lizzie Allen, a 100-year-old ex-slave, who has lived in Leavenworth since 1859.

Raiding of a Mound City saloon in 1861, in the manner made famous many years later by Carrie Nation, was described by Theodore W. Morse in the *Mound City Republic*, July 6, 1939.

A two-column story of an early negro settlement near Burlington, by Dan M. Hatch, was published in the *Gridley Light*, July 13, 1939.

The Topeka *Daily Capital* issued a 172-page sixtieth anniversary edition July 16, 1939. Page one of "Section A" presents an artistic arrangement of cover pictures of the Capper family's ten publications with their 4,263,292 subscribers. Leading articles of this section included such titles as: "Senator Capper's Personal Career," "*Capital's* Genealogy Started With First Free-State Paper," "*Capital* Carries on Through 60 Years," "General Manager [H. S. Blake] the Hub," "Glimpse Behind the Scenes in *Capital's* Editorial Room Where All News Is Handled," "Big Circulation Department Keeps Capper Publications Going to Millions of Readers," "Through Sixty Years *Capital's* Advertising Dept. Plays Big Roll in Kansas 'Way of Life,'" "Capper Advertising Agency Among Best in United States; Branches in All Big Cities," "WIBW Grew With Big Radio Industry." Other articles related to the nine other Capper publications, *Capper's Weekly*, *Kansas City Kansan*, *Household Magazine*, *Missouri Ruralist*, *Ohio Farmer*, *Capper's Farmer*, *Kansas Farmer*, *Pennsylvania Farmer*, and *Michigan Farmer*. "Section B" featured banking, building and loan and insurance companies. Among the leading articles of this section were: "Banks Flourished Along With State," "Kansas Insurance Companies Contribute Materially to Industry and Agriculture," "Building and Loan Is Firm," "Kansas Bank Laws Have Kept Pace With Progress of State, Today's Institutions Strong." "Section C" told of the history and growth of Topeka's industries and public utilities. Some of its leading articles were: "Industrial Development Law to Promote Economic Growth Launches New Era for Kansas," "Topeka's Industrial Growth Ful-

filled Dreams of Founders . . .," "Mother Nature Very Liberal in Distribution of Resources . . .," and "Phones to Kansas in 1879." "Section D" presented the automotive industry and highways. Included among its outstanding articles were: "Automobile Industry Changes American Way of Life in Brief Span of Forty Years," "Kansas Highway Department Organized to Keep 10,000 Miles of Roads in Shipshape," "Transportation in Process of Evolution Since Advent of Motorcar, Better Highways," and "Railroads Help Tame Great American Desert." "Section E" dealt with the farm, college and church. Its leading articles included: "Kansas a Leading Farm State Since Pioneers Broke Plains and Tamed the Wilderness," "Civilizations Rise or Fall Upon Condition of Nearby Soil, Say Conservationists," "Washburn College Has Long Served People of Kansas," "University of Kansas 75 Years Old," "A Brief History of Organized Religion in Topeka." "Section F," devoted to retail and wholesale, contained such articles as: "From an Humble Beginning, Topeka Forged Ahead Until It Now Has 75,000 Population," "Businessmen Founded Topeka Made It Into One of Best Cities of Its Size in Country," "Topeka C. of C. Dates Back Sixty Years," "Old Santa Fé Trail Paved Way for a Great Railroad." "Section G," a "Retail — Historical" feature, presented articles on, "Topeka's Fine Park System Best in Whole Middle West, Constantly Growing Better," "State Historical Society's Collection of Kansas Annals Dates Back to Pioneer Times," "Shawnee County Has Cared for Needy, Aged and Blind During the Long Depression." Important historical articles were interspersed here and there with such titles as: "Congress Opened Kansas," "Bogus Legislature Chose Leocompton for Capital," "Youngsters Wrote Kansas Constitution," "Southerners Felt Kansas Worth Taking," "Horse Thieves Were Hanged in Early Days," "Jayhawkers Were Rough on Missourians," "Heavily-Armed Southerners a Menace," "First Governor Was Impeached," "Kansas Negro Citizens Keep Pace With State and Nation," "Mennonites Brought Winter Wheat," "Populists Had Short, Merry Existence," "Y. M. C. A. Celebrates Sixtieth Anniversary With *Capital* . . .," "Topeka Y. W. C. A. 52 Years Old . . .," "Droughts, Storms, Locusts, Good Crops, Failures, Panics, Made Kansans Courageous," "War Claims Used to Erect Memorial Hall," and "Third Kansas Generation Treks Back on Trail Over Which Their Pioneer Ancestors Came." Other articles dealt with Sheriff S. J. Jones, John Brown, Republican party in 1856, Horace Greeley, John C. Frémont, Marais des Cygnes mas-

sacre, Topeka vigilantes, buffalo herds, goldfields of west Kansas, Kansas colleges, Kansas pioneer towns, coöperative marketing, WPA and PWA projects, 4-H club, girls' and boys' scout work.

An account of some pioneer Caldwell history by Grant Harris, an early-day printer on the Caldwell *Post*, appeared in the Caldwell *Daily Messenger*, July 24, 1939. Originally printed in the Wagoner (Okla.) *Tribune*, the story told how the "toughest town on the border had been tamed."

"The Life of Ann Lynch McPhillips," by Kathleen Grennan, was published in the Jamestown *Optimist*, July 27, 1939. Mrs. McPhillips came to Kansas in 1870, and in 1871 settled with her husband and children near Jamestown.

Experiences as a member of a freighting crew working between Palermo, Kan., and Fort Kearney, Neb., in 1865 were recalled by A. A. Campbell in *The Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, August 3, 1939.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Clark County Historical Society was organized at Ashland July 1, 1939, at a meeting sponsored by the Fort Supply Trail chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Over fifty Clark county residents were in attendance. Officers of the society are: Mrs. Lois McCasland Martin, president; Willis H. Shattuck, first vice president; F. C. Price, second vice president; J. W. Berryman, third vice president; Mrs. (J. C.) Melville Campbell Harper, secretary; S. E. Grimes, treasurer; Lena E. Smith, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian. A column, "Clark County Historical Society Notes," under the supervision of the secretary, Mrs. J. C. Harper, is to be a regular feature of Clark county newspapers. Members of the board of directors, representing Clark county townships, include: Evaline Crouch, Appleton; Mrs. George Abell, Brown; M. G. Stevenson, Center; Mrs. Bentley Randall, Cimarron; Mrs. Ruth Harvey McMillon, Edwards; A. L. Roberts, Englewood; J. E. Stephens, Lexington; Mrs. Will Jackson, Sitka, and Mrs. Ruth Clark Mull, Vesta. M. G. Stevenson will serve as chairman of the board of directors. Standing committee chairmen are: Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historical; Mrs. Barth Gabbert, museum; Walter Ray, publicity; Kate Hensley, membership, and Mrs. Gay Hughes, entertainment.

Eight directors of the Franklin County Historical Society were elected at a meeting held in Ottawa, June 30, 1939. They are: one-year term—Grace Meeker, Anna Melliush and W. S. Jenks; two-year term—Hiram Allen, Williamsburg, Asa Converse, Wells-ville, and Mrs. J. W. McCracken, Ottawa; three-year term, B. M. Ottaway, Pomona, and A. P. Elder, Ottawa. Dana Needham, Lane, has one more year to serve before the three-year term expires. The directors will select new officers who will be installed in September at the society's annual meeting.

Greensburg's hand-dug water well, 32 feet in diameter and 109 feet deep, may now be viewed through a recently installed steel and glass hood. The well has been floodlighted and a canopy has been erected. Dug in 1888 for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé railway, it was used by the city until 1932. Iron stairs, placed in 1915, are still usable. The chamber of commerce advertises the well as "more than just another hole in the ground," and tourists have been at-

tracted. The Kiowa County Historical Society coöperated with the city in the dedication of the well at the society's annual old settlers' reunion held July 26, 1939.

A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Herington, Kansas, by the Rev. George Wilbur Nelson, pastor, was published in observance of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the church on July 1, 1939. The eighty-two page booklet includes a review of early Presbyterianism in Kansas from the founding of the first mission, the creation of the Synod of Kansas and the Presbytery of Solomon, the history of the Herington church, and biographical sketches and photographs of ministers who served the church.

A Guide to Salina, Kansas, a fifty-five page illustrated booklet compiled and written by the Federal Writers' project of the Works Progress Administration, came from the press in August, 1939. Produced under the sponsorship of the Salina Public Library Association and printed by the *Advertiser-Sun* of Salina, it contains historical information relating to the city, biographical sketches of the founders, a description of "Salina Today," "The Story of Flour Milling in Salina," and three "tours" to places of interest in Salina and Saline county. This is the second publication of the Kansas writers' project in the *American Guide Series*, the first being the *Larned City Guide* (October, 1938) which was mentioned in the *Quarterly* for November, 1938. Harold C. Evans is state supervisor of the project.

Four volumes in the *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas* series have been published since this project was last mentioned in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* in November, 1938. The Historical Records Survey of Kansas, a project of the Works Progress Administration, has been compiling bibliographies of county records throughout the state and has now published seven books. Those for Johnson, Greenwood and Montgomery counties were issued in 1938. During 1939 volumes for Seward, Graham, Franklin and Gray counties were completed, one for Cherokee county is now in process of production, copy for Bourbon and Cowley counties has been approved by the national editor, and the Shawnee county book is undergoing final editing. Harold J. Henderson is state director and Walter M. Markley is editor-in-chief of the Kansas project.

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Brief biographical sketches of members of the Everett family were published on page 3 (February, 1939, *Quarterly*).

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The John Brown Legend in Pictures

Kissing the Negro Baby

JAMES C. MALIN

HERO-WORSHIP fulfills a popular need among all peoples, and few would question the place of Washington and Lincoln among the heroes of the American people. The status of John Brown presents a different problem, because around few personalities has more bitter controversy been waged, yet to a large portion of the nation he is the Old Hero, and no more specific label is necessary. Regardless of the disputes relative to his merits, the student of national folklore is interested particularly in examining the processes by which so dubious a character came to be accepted as heroic. Well known are the arguments of the biographers and controversialists, and the story of how the John Brown song became the marching song of the union armies. Effective, but scarcely recognized in the process of popularization, is the function of pictures.

At the time of the execution of John Brown at Charlestown, Va., December 2, 1859, the Quaker poet Whittier wrote the lines which gave widest currency to the story that inspired the three pictures reproduced here—John Brown kissing the negro baby. Prior to 1857 Nathaniel Currier published lithographs over his own name, but thereafter the firm was known as Currier and Ives. Altogether more than six thousand titles of their prints are known. The subjects were selected from scenes and incidents of everyday life. Authorities on art insist that they have little or no artistic value; that the coloring was violent and crude; but the student of American life esteems them highly, because they represent so fully the tastes and interests of the common man of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. If they are deficient in those qualities which the art critic deems essential, that fact merely reflects the cultural tastes of the class of people who liked and bought them.

In 1863 Currier and Ives published a colored lithograph entitled simply "John Brown," and subtitled "Meeting the slave-mother and her child on the steps of Charlestown jail on his way to execution." The publishers seem to have felt the necessity of explaining the picture even more fully by the statement at the bottom of the sheet that "The artist has represented Capt. Brown regarding with a look of compassion a slave-mother and child who obstructed the pass-

age on his way to the scaffold. Capt. Brown stooped and kissed the child—then met his fate. From the original painting by Louis Ransom.”¹ It should be noted that a number of symbolical features are incorporated into the picture: the Virginia flag with the motto “*Sic Semper Tyrannis*”; a figure representing “The Spirit of ’76”; and at the lower left-hand corner a statue of justice blindfolded, arm broken off, the fragments and the scales lying at her feet. In 1870 the print was reissued, having been redrawn in simplified form—omitting all extraneous matter—just the resplendent military officer, the mother and child, and over all, John Brown. During the seven years intervening between the first and second prints the “John Brown Legend” had been growing apace, and the title was elaborated to read “John Brown—The Martyr.”

The third of the pictures is an oil painting by Thomas Hovenden (1840-1895), a European-trained artist who belongs to the school of photographic realism in American art.² It was painted in 1881 for Robbins Battell and given by his daughter, Mrs. Carl Stoeckel, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1897. A replica owned by Albert Rosenthal was shown at the National Academy of Design in 1925.³ In composition the Hovenden painting is quite different from the others of the series, avoiding the symbolism of the first, and the posed tableau effect of both. In the spirit of realism, it reproduced a supposed historic scene with a fidelity approaching a news camera, but notwithstanding the number of persons present, John Brown dominates. The appeal is direct and simple, and required no explanation—he is shown in the act of kissing the negro baby.

If it were possible the historian would wish the poem and the pictures to stand as history, but truth does not permit. On the day of Brown’s execution soldiers were drawn up in lines on either side of the road to the scaffold. Rumors were afloat of plans for a rescue. No chances were taken. The public was excluded from any possible direct contact with the prisoner. The baby-kissing episode appeared in the New York *Tribune*, December 5, 1859, with a Harper’s Ferry date line of December 3. Whittier’s poem was printed in the New York *Independent*, December 22, and was reprinted widely. Had he been in a critical frame of mind at the time he would have recognized the impossibility of the story, as descriptions of the execu-

1. No biographical data on Louis Ransom have been found.

2. Walter Pach, “Thomas Hovenden,” in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

3. Letter from the secretary’s office, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, to the author, July 26, 1939.

BROWN OF OSAWATOMIE

By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

John Brown of Osawatomie spake on his dying day:
"I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in Slavery's pay.
But let some poor slave-mother whom I have striven to free,
With her children, from the gallows-stair put up a prayer for me!"

John Brown of Osawatomie, they led him out to die;
And lo! a poor slave-mother with her little child pressed nigh.
Then the bold, blue eye grew tender, and the old, harsh face grew
mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks and kissed the negro's
child!

The shadows of his stormy life that moment fell apart;
And they who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart.
That kiss from all its guilty means redeemed the good intent,
And round the grisly fighter's hair the martyr's aureole bent!

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The portion of the poem printed here is from the revised version as it appears in the Cambridge and Riverside editions of Whittier's poems. The original version drew severe criticism from William Lloyd Garrison in his *Liberator*, January 13, 1860, where it was reprinted. The second line of the third stanza read: "Without the rash and bloody hand, within the loving heart." Whether the change came from Garrison's criticism or not, the later reading was a decided improvement and softened the language as well.



"JOHN BROWN"

A reproduction of a Currier & Ives lithograph (1863) from the collections of the Library of Congress.



"JOHN BROWN—THE MARTYR"

A reproduction of another Currier & Ives lithograph (1870) from the collections of the Library of Congress.



"LAST MOMENTS OF JOHN BROWN"

A reproduction of the Hovenden painting (1881) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

tion had explained the stationing of the troops. But Whittier was a poet, the story was ideally suited to the purpose, and to be true to type, the kind of Abolition hero-martyr being created by the "Legend" makers probably should have taken his leave in this manner. James Redpath used the baby-kissing episode in his biography of John Brown issued early in January, 1860. In later years two different newspaper men, telling conflicting stories, confessed to having participated in the hoax as printed in the *Tribune*.⁴ The effectiveness of the propaganda is registered nevertheless in the fact that it is the fable rather than the truth which became a permanent part of the popular national heritage.

4. William Sloane Kennedy, *John G. Whittier, The Poet of Freedom* (New York, Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892), pp. 240-243. This book should not be confused with an earlier biography by the same author, issued in a revised edition (New York, Derby and Miller) in 1892. A list of citations to the newspaper controversy over the baby-kissing episode is to be found in T. F. Currier, *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937).

A Little Satire on Emigrant Aid

Amasa Soule and the Descandum Kansas Improvement
Company

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

THE debate of 1854 over the Kansas-Nebraska measure aroused a furore throughout the country, and nowhere was the storm more violent than in New England. Extreme exasperation in that section with the "violation of a sacred pledge" in the Missouri compromise was a major factor in the launching, in the spring of the year, of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, and later of its successor, the New England Emigrant Aid Company. It was followed by a great host of organizations along similar lines, all with the immediate objective of "doing something" to put a quick stop to the onward march of the "slave power." Horace Greeley did his part in the New York *Tribune* to broadcast information concerning the new movement, while Henry Ward Beecher called upon all good men to resist the spread of the monster—slavery. Ministers of the gospel in large numbers throughout the New England states received the Emigrant Aid Company as a promising means toward the goal of freedom, and used their pulpits to promote the cause.

In July and August, 1854, when the first emigrant groups left for Kansas, under the auspices of the Aid Company, a great fanfare in the public press marked their progress toward the frontier. It was often stated that the company would be able to greatly help its emigrants in winning the soil of Kansas for the cause of freedom, as it was reputed to be a powerful organization of great resources. When the emigrant parties arrived on the border, however, they found things to be pretty much in a state of nature, and many were often greatly disappointed. This was particularly true of those who arrived in considerable numbers in the fall of the year, with high expectations concerning the preparations for their comfort by the company. That organization had made notable efforts toward this end, but was handicapped by a lack of time. Unfortunately its agents, in their eagerness to obtain emigrants, had enlisted many New Englanders or Easterners who were either fundamentally unfitted or unwilling to undergo the hard life of the frontier. When such persons arrived on the Kansas border, and realized that they must carve out their own homesteads by the "sweat of their brow," they often beat a hasty retreat to their more hospitable homeland. A

crescendo of unfriendly criticism then arose in New England and the East against the Emigrant Aid Company.¹

With its mixture of climax and anticlimax, it was quite natural that 1854 should witness a burlesque upon the Kansas mania then prevalent. Of such a nature was the *Descandum*² Kansas Improvement Company, which was founded early in November, at a meeting at Chelsea, Mass. The chief purpose of this organization was to enable its treasurer and chaplain, the "Reverend" Amasa Soule,³ to visit "Kansas and other places," in order to "civilize and otherwise astonish the inhabitants" by the "use of words, as stupendous and vast as the immensity of the country where they reside."⁴ The members of the organization advanced \$100 toward his expenses, with the hope that he would overawe all whom he met "with the largest words known to lexicography or otherwise." The constitution which was adopted at this time provided that the annual meeting was to be held just before the treasurer left for Kansas, and made Soule perpetual treasurer.⁵

Amasa Soule left Boston November 7, 1854, apparently with Jerome B. Taft's company under Emigrant Aid auspices.⁶ After a slow trip up the treacherous Missouri, the party traveled overland from Kansas City to Lawrence, where they arrived November 22. Soule found this place to be a collection of "some fifty huts of different sizes,"⁷ offering poor accommodations for new arrivals,

1. Such complaints were particularly numerous in the early winter of 1854-1855, due to the number that returned to the East. In all justice to the Emigrant Aid Company, however, it should be pointed out that no other organization did as much to smooth the way for the settler. In the years after 1854 it was better prepared to receive settlers. The plan of artificially promoting emigration from the North had pronounced effects on the Missouri border. The emigration of large, organized groups led to the circulation of wild rumors that the aid companies were transporting the off-scourings of Eastern cities to Kansas, probably to vote in the territorial elections, and the return of the "dupes" seemed to corroborate the worst fears of the frontiersmen. The staking of claims in advance of the "Abolition horde," and participation in the Kansas elections were then regarded as natural measures of self-defense by the citizens of western Missouri.

2. The term *Descandum* is probably a corruption of the word *descant*, which may be defined as meaning to discourse fully and at large. As a cure-all for the Kansas troubles, talk was perhaps the thing least needed, which makes the burlesque all the more appropriate.

3. The term "Reverend" is probably used here in a humorous sense.—Proceedings of the first annual meeting at Chelsea, November 1, 1854, Chelsea (Mass.) *Telegraph and Pioneer*, November 4, in the "Thomas H. Webb Scrap Books" (library of Kansas State Historical Society), v. II, p. 7. The family biographies of Amasa Soule, and his son, Silas Stillman, make no mention of the elder Soule as a minister of the gospel. Amasa Soule was born at Woolwich, Maine, in 1804. Due to the death of his father, he became a cooper's apprentice while still very young, and attended evening school at the same time. Soule moved to Bath, Maine, where in 1831 he married Sophia Lowe. He later moved to Freeport, Maine, and about 1850 to Chelsea, Mass. (Manuscript biography, probably written by a daughter, Emily N. Soule, or Annie J. Prentis.)

4. Quoting from the proceedings, which are given on p. 345. The *Descandum* documents may be intended primarily as a take-off upon Soule, rather than the Kansas mania.

5. Document entitled "Descandum Kansas Improvement Company—Constitution." See p. 346.)

6. Letter of Soule, dated Lawrence, November 25, 1854, in the Chelsea *Telegraph and Pioneer*, clipped in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 61. (See pp. 346-349.)

7. *Ibid.*

particularly in inclement weather, and he blamed the Emigrant Aid Company for promoting a false impression as to the new settlement. Soule arrived at a time when the dispute concerning the Lawrence townsite was at its height, with a scramble in progress for good claims in the vicinity. He was much impressed by the prevalence of the "grab game," and the "jumping" of claims, and drifted southward some eight miles to the cabin of Stephen Ogden, an early emigrant from Massachusetts, near Coal creek. Soule took a claim here and built a log cabin in the timber near the creek, where he was joined in the fall of 1855 by his wife and children. In 1856 the entire family suffered from chills and fever, and Soule's wife and daughters returned to Maine, where they remained three years.⁸

In 1855 Soule became a member of the Palmyra town company, which later granted land for the founding of Baker University.⁹ He was an ardent Abolitionist and admirer of William Lloyd Garrison, and likewise a strong advocate of temperance and reform in general.¹⁰ He supported the Free-State cause and later became a member of the Republican party, serving as a delegate from Douglas county to the Leavenworth constitutional convention of 1858.¹¹ In December, 1859, he was elected from the eighth district (Douglas and Johnson counties) to the legislature of the new state government to be organized under the Wyandotte constitution.¹² Unfortunately, Soule never lived to see the actual admission of Kansas into the union. He died in September, 1860, and the state legislature to which he had been elected did not convene until March, 1861.¹³

The sending of Soule to Kansas appears to have been the only activity of the Descandum Kansas Improvement Company. Moti-

8. Manuscript biography of Silas Stillman Soule, probably written by a woman member of the family.

9. A. T. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 355.

10. Manuscript biography of Amasa Soule.

11. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

12. D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* 1886, p. 289.

13. A son, Silas Stillman Soule, distinguished himself for his part in the rescue of Dr. John Doy, and for a similar attempt to rescue John Brown's associates from the prison at Harper's Ferry. Silas Soule took an active part in the struggles in Kansas, and kept the camp in the best of humor with song and story, and his unusual power of imitation of Irish and German characters. In 1860 he joined the rush to Pikes Peak, and later he was an officer in a Colorado regiment. While in this position he refused to obey the order of Colonel Chivington to join in the massacre of a band of Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians at Sand creek in November, 1864. Early in 1865 he became acting provost marshal of Colorado. Soon after this Soule was killed, perhaps because of his refusal to cooperate with the military authorities. —MS. biography, written by the Soule family. (See the biography of Edward Wanshear Wynkoop, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 76-77.)

William L. G. Soule, another son of Amasa, was city marshal of Lawrence at the time of the Quantrill raid. For a description of his part in that tragic affair, along with that of his sister and mother, see O. W. McAllaster, "My Experience in the Lawrence Raid," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XII, pp. 401-404.

For the Soule biographies, and other generous aid, the writer wishes to thank George A. Root, curator of archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

vated by humor and satire, the organization thus played a unique role in ridiculing the Kansas aid movement.

The following documents are the chief sources of information concerning the Descandum company and illustrate the jocular nature of its organizers. The third document, the letter of Amasa Soule from Lawrence, is a penetrating account of what he found there in 1854, as viewed by an Easterner.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE DESCANDUM KANSAS IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

The meeting was held in Chelsea, Mass., on November 1, 1854. E. W. Arnold served as president of the gathering, T. P. Cheever, W. O. Haskell and T. H. Carruth acted as vice-presidents, and W. E. P. Haskell served as secretary.

A constitution was adopted, and a subscription of money received. The sum of \$100 was given to the chaplain, Mr. Soule, who was scheduled to leave for Kansas November 7.

Resolved—That as members of the Descandum Kansas Improvement Company, and at its first annual meeting, we congratulate mankind, that the immense region of territory known as "Kansas and other places," is soon to be visited by the Rev. Mr. Soule, and that the vocabulary of that infant state is at once to be amplified and expanded with the largest words known to lexicography or otherwise.

Resolved—That the treasurer of this association, whether we regard his personal beauty, his ministerial dignity, his universal experience of human nature generally, and his equally subtle and magnificent spread of expression, possesses qualifications for this missionary enterprise, which would diffuse a paleness over the cheek of the Great American Traveler, and agitate into hysterical admiration the editor of the Habeas Corpus.

Resolved—That as the sense of the stockholders of this company residing in Chelsea, the chaplain of Old No. 1 be requested to address the virgin inhabitants of the unsophisticated soil of "Kansas and other places," . . . that he particularly inculcate to them, as provided in our constitution, the use of words, as stupendous and vast as the immensity of the country where they reside. . . .

Resolved—That the appearance of Amasa Soule in the fields of "Kansas and other places," will be extremely cautionary to anti-negro sympathizers, sovreignties, unabolitionists, wild cats, catamounts, etc., and that to all such persons his roll of words must inevitably be—annihilation, devastation, determination, depopulation, expurgation, extermination, and abomination!!!

Resolved finally—That the idea of A. R. Soule "*putting*" off on this tour, without "*heading*" back again shortly or before, is not to be mentioned even to the "chaste stars."¹⁴

14. Proceedings in Chelsea *Telegraph and Pioneer*, November 4, 1854, clipped in the "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 7.

DESCANDUM KANSAS IMPROVEMENT COMPANY—CONSTITUTION

Art. 2. The object shall be to raise funds to enable the chaplain of Old No. 1 to visit Kansas and other places, for the purpose of civilizing and otherwise enlightening them, and he, the said chaplain, shall be perpetual treasurer.

Art. 4. The treasurer shall receive all the cash paid in, and dispose of it about right, and when a sufficient amount shall be raised, he shall *put*, with all comfortable speed, for Kansas and other places, and commence forthwith to civilize and otherwise astonish the inhabitants.

Art. 5. Any person of fair reputation, and decent wealth may become a member by taking one or more shares (not exceeding fifteen hundred) and paying therefor one dollar per share, and shall receive an equal and just dividend . . . , and in addition to which, each member shall have his name engraved with the largest kind of jack-knife upon the largest tree in all Kansas.

Annual meeting shall be just before the treasurer shall head for Kansas.

A. SOULE, Treasurer of the Descandum
Kansas Imp. Co.¹⁵

KANSAS LETTER OF AMASA SOULE, HEADED "DESCANDUM"

LAWRENCE (Kansas Territory), Nov. 25, 1854.

I am now upon the soil of Kansas, where I arrived two days since after a travel of fifteen days, and at a distance of more than eighteen hundred miles from Chelsea. . . . We left Boston, as you recollect, on Tuesday, the 7th inst., and on Saturday following, we arrived at St. Louis, where we went immediately on board a steamer. . . . When we started from St. Louis, we began to think we were near the end of our journey; but the most tedious business that I ever engaged in was that same passage up the Missouri—that river of mud, crooks and shoals. The water being very low, we were subjected, some days, almost hourly, to being grounded upon the sand bars, that are continually shifting, so that no pilot can clear them. We were until Sunday following reaching Kansas City, a distance of 450 miles. This is a place of some importance in the estimation of the people about it. But in New England it would not make much of a show. . . . We found accommodations at a hotel, where we fared as well, probably, as we should at any place on the route, after leaving Michigan. The manner of living at the West being of that kind not suited to my taste, especially in Missouri. We left Kansas on Monday noon for the territory. . . . We hired two teams to haul our luggage about fifty miles, for which we paid one cent per pound, we traveling on foot.¹⁶ We could have procured special conveyance at one dollar and

15. Document of the Kansas State Historical Society.

16. The Thomas H. Webb handbooks for emigrants to Kansas, 1855, list the cost of transportation, for adults to Kansas City, as \$40, with a slight reduction in summer. Meals to St. Louis were extra. More than one disgruntled emigrant who went to Kansas late in 1854 or early in 1855 wrote back that he could have done so cheaper and better on his own "hook" than under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company. Some blamed this upon the inability or inexperience of the agents who led the parties. If we admit the truth of this allegation, it is still probable that a lack of familiarity with frontier life was an important factor in the complaints.

fifty cents each, but we should have been nearly as long on the road as we were on foot. We were two nights upon the road, both of which we camped out, which gave the most of us the first taste of pioneer life. . . . We arrived in what is called Lawrence about noon of Wednesday, this being called a city. . . . Sufficient to say, there are some two hundred people located here, doing about *nothing*.¹⁷ They have some fifty huts of different sizes, some built of logs, some of turf, and others of poles, covered with grass,—the most of them uncomfortable, except in pleasant weather. They have one large camp, which they call a *boarding house*, where they feed some fifty or sixty human beings at two fifty per week, and in another camp some eighty feet long, they allow them to sleep, provided they can get any sleep. They lie upon the ground covered with such bedding as they may happen to have; those who have none go without, and when the weather is cold they are anything but comfortable. The principal food at this *hotel* is bread and molasses, with fresh beef fixed up (not cooked) in a manner that I shall not describe. The most who come seem to meet with sad disappointment, having got the impression from the Boston agents that everything needed is prepared for their reception on their arrival. I think the New England Aid Company have incurred a tremendous responsibility, in encouraging families to migrate hither at this season of the year.¹⁸ Women and children arrive here exhausted by travel. . . . You can imagine their condition on their arrival, with no other accommodations than those described.

The next question that suggests itself is, "what to do after they arrive?" Well, the first thing is to look out for a claim, . . . and here comes the tug of war. Every claim within a day's travel of Lawrence is taken up, and, upon the rivers and streams, as far as can be heard from, not a vacant claim is to be found; for bear in mind that no timber, of any description, is to be found anywhere else, and but very little on the streams, and that of an ordinary quality. The soil, I think, is equal to any that the world can boast of, and the beauty of the country, as nature has left it, is unsurpassed. It is what is termed rolling prairie, . . . every acre of which is level enough for cultivation, and the soil seemingly of uniform richness. But how a settler, without means, can commence operations upon a claim from ten to twenty miles distant from materials for building and fencing, is what I cannot comprehend. Any person coming here to succeed, even tolerably well, must come with means to procure food until he can realize a crop, and also to furnish a team sufficient to haul timber for building, and breaking up of the soil, the

17. For a good description of Lawrence at this time, see the letter of Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols of Vermont, who went to Kansas with the fourth Emigrant Aid party.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

18. Compare the following account by a member of the first spring party, which left Boston March 13, 1855, under the leadership of Charles Robinson.—*Zion's Herald & Wesleyan Journal*, dated April 6, in "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. I, p. 104 et seq.

"In consequence of the exaggerated reports circulated in the East, by those who have most emphatically proved themselves to be either fools or knaves, hundreds are flocking to the country unapprised and unprepared to meet the privations to which they are exposed; the consequence is, that many fine families in comfortable circumstances will be ruined—beggared."

The writer continues that not one in a thousand came prepared to build a stone house. All depended upon timber, but the masses could do little, for lack of mills. The Aid Company had two mills, operating at exorbitant rates, but their output, for months ahead, was spoken for by previous settlers. Hence many were forced to build sod houses. The mechanic had been told, that here was a paradise, but when he arrived, frequently could find no employment. The land not being surveyed, claims were less valuable than supposed, and many were consequently discouraged from making improvements. Provisions of all kinds were high in price, and scarce in quantity.

first ploughing of which is exceeding[ly] hard. After all this is accomplished, I think he may be considered independent, according to my idea of independence.

There are two or three obstacles in the way of settlers locating here, one of which is the monopoly claimed by what is called the first and second New England Cos. They have selected a site and laid out a prospective city two miles square, and each member claiming, in addition to his city lots, one hundred and sixty acres, which, with the city site, includes all the timber for many miles. One fourth of the city property is granted to the "New England Emigrant Aid Company," in consideration of erecting a mill here, which may possibly account for the interest they take in inducing emigrants to locate in this vicinity.¹⁹ One other obstacle is, the location of what is called the "Indian reserves," which includes the best of the territory that I have yet seen. The Shawnee reserve . . . is generally well wooded, and the most inviting tract of country, in my opinion, that can be imagined.²⁰ Upon the opposite side of the river is the "Delaware reserve," . . . said to be of equal quality. . . . As far as can be seen from this side, it is heavily timbered, and indeed possesses all, or nearly all, the valuable timber that I have seen or heard of in the territory. But Yankee avarice has its eye upon it, and unblushingly declares that the Delawares shall be dispossessed of it for the benefit of *Christian civilization*.²¹ I, in my verdancy, imagined that in a journey of nearly two thousand miles, I could out-travel the selfishness of my race; but that spirit I found was more than a match for steam engines, as far as speed is concerned. Instead of forming a brotherhood, where the good of the whole is the great object of each, I find the grab game to be the recognized system. I hear daily the complaints of claims being "jumped," . . . and then rejumped and rejumped, if you will allow the term, until the jumping of claims would seem almost to be reduced to a system.²² . . . From the time

19. In the spring of 1855 the property stake of the Emigrant Aid Company in Lawrence was reduced to ten of the 220 shares of town stock, of which two shares were held in trust for a university. In 1857 the company owned real estate, hotels, mills, or other valuable property in Kansas City, Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, Quindaro, Wabaunsee, Burlington, and Atchison, and later invested in Clafin and Batcheller. The Aid Company hoped ultimately to realize a profit on this investment in the cause of freedom.

20. In 1854 the Shawnee Indians, by treaty with the United States, greatly reduced their large reservation south of the Kansas river, thereby throwing open to settlement that portion west of their new reserve. The new line of their reserve fell a few miles east of Lawrence. Soule apparently refers to their diminished reserve, which was then not open to settlement, but which was illegally squatted upon by a few settlers.

21. In 1854 the Delawares also greatly diminished their reserve, the ceded portion to be held in trust by the United States, until offered at public sale. These trust lands near Fort Leavenworth were not open to settlement in 1854, but this was disregarded by the settlers, who speedily occupied them. The commissioner of Indian affairs, Manypenny, made a fight to the finish against this occupation, but failed. The staking off of these lands encouraged settlers to occupy or encroach upon other holdings of the Indians throughout Kansas, even though not ceded by the treaties of 1854, and particularly the nearby Delaware reserve. Charles Robinson became interested in these lands as a promising speculation, and as early as 1854 bought logs for the Emigrant Aid Company from the Delawares. Like Governor Reeder, Robinson also interested himself in the valuable Kansas half-breed lands along the Kansas river. Concerning the speculations of Robinson, see the article by Paul Wallace Gates, entitled "A Fragment of Kansas Land History," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI (August, 1937), pp. 227-240.

22. This comment may be a trifle strong for 1854, but claim troubles became very common by 1855 and 1856. The settlers organized claim clubs to obviate such difficulties, until the arrival of the surveys and law and order, but these organizations apparently did not include all the settlers, and functioned imperfectly, particularly in partially settled areas. It was also difficult for new settlers to tell what land was already claimed, especially when the claimant did not reside on his claim, or had not properly improved it. In this claim technique the Easterners, being less familiar with frontier customs, were more likely to become involved in disputes with previous claimants.

I landed at the City of Kansas, I have been so ill as to almost unfit me for anything like exertion. . . . [Soule here states at some length that the continued exposure has brought no improvement.] I am now at the cabin of your citizen, S. Ogden, who has taken a claim some eight miles from Lawrence, and has erected a comfortable cabin. . . . I have found this the most comfortable lodgement since I arrived in the territory. . . .

[Soule states he will try to be present at Lawrence at the election of November 29, 1854, and vote.] But what the qualifications for electors are, I am not informed; at any rate, there will be strenuous exertions made by the people from Missouri to carry it to suit their feelings. Numbers have already arrived here for that purpose, assuming to have claims which, if valid, will probably allow them to vote. I think the indications are strong that a proslavery man will be returned.²³ . . .

In conclusion, allow me to say, that among the last that I forget, shall be my friends in Chelsea.

DESCANDUM.²⁴

23. John W. Whitfield, the Proslavery candidate, was elected territorial delegate to congress.

24. Letter printed in *Chelsea Telegraph and Pioneer*, December 16, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. II, p. 61.

Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864

Miami County Pioneers
(Concluded)

Longwood, Sep. 1, 1859.

DEAR JENNIE:

We got the last rennet in mother's and your letter last week. I am afraid you are bothered a great deal with *us* and with getting rennets— We sent a few weeks ago to Pittsfield Mass. for a package, and hoped they would have been here before this time, but I begin to fear they will not be here in season for this summer.

I have had a great deal of trouble because I couldn't get what rennet I wanted. Half the time for the last six weeks I have not had enough to bring the cheese in any reasonable length of time, and then 'twould be dragging around till noon so that the cheese would of course get sour these awful hot days, and besides it kept my work behind all the time so I could hardly get around with it. I wish you would try to engage a parcel for us this summer for next.

I dont think what you have sent lately were near so good as those in the early part of the season— Two go no farther than one did then. The reason we dont kill the calves is because all it costs to keep one here is the fodder in the winter which is a mere trifle, and when they are three or four years old they are worth from forty to a hundred dollars a yoke. We can better pay \$1.00 for every rennet we use and the postage besides than kill the calves. We have now two stacks of prairie hay (25 tons) and one stack (4 tons) of hungarian, which with our nine or ten acres of corn fodder will be ample for our stock of about 35 head great and small, and our horses.

We shall thresh what little wheat we have with flails so soon as John can get lumber for a floor. Our hand-mill answered a very good turn the first winter but it got broke. Those mills are pretty much of a humbug. There is a mill building in Osawatomie which is intended to be ready for flouring in a short time, and another up above town about the same distance from us that has been in operation a year. It is not worth while to send the salt on the rennet. Shake them as clear as possible from it and save the postage.

Our folks are now working on their wheat ground. They get their seed for \$1.00 a bushel. Tuesday we were over again to Paola with cheese sold \$19.60 worth, \$17.00 in cash. We can now get cash for all that we make by carrying a part of it to Paola. We have sold just \$132.80 cts worth of cheese and have all of Aug. cheese yet on hand except three, so I presume we shall have full as much more for market.

We have had a very favorable summer for vegetation. The corn crop (the *main* crop here) is as good as I ever saw. I wish you could find rennet enough so that you could send us half a dozen at a time. Sarah's cheese has been set two hours now (9 o'clock) and is hardly ready to cut up yet. I am afraid you have a good deal of trouble in getting enough rennet to supply us. If Uncle Henry does not have dry rennets, there must, I should think, be some butcher in Utica who does. Perhaps Uncle Henry would know of some. Sarah has had great discouragements in making cheese this summer, what with hot weather, poor arrangements, flies, mice, &c &c. We try to conquer all as best we can, and do not feel at all doleful about our success; but a scarcity of rennet makes us think of the Israelites who were compelled to make brick without straw. Our ambition is to make as good cheese as can be made in Kansas. If it is a possible thing, we want twenty or thirty rennets *to start on* next spring. Do you think there is that number for sale in Oneida County, New York? and that they could reach Kansas by any means, by, say, the last day of March, 1860? (I seriously doubt whether there were twenty calves killed in Kansas this year.) I send a gold dollar in this.

The health around us is quite good for the season of the year. This you know is the sickly season, but I have never known as little complaint since we have been here at this time of year.

I want to try to raise funds to get five to ten more cows next summer. I want to build a stable 70 or 80 feet long this fall. What is the size of the long pieces at the top where the stanchels play, and of the pieces at the bottom—how thick & wide? Is three feet the standing room for a cow? Must close. We are all well, for which we desire to be thankful. Wish some of you could come out and see us. But I fear we will have to wait for that.

John & Sarah

Osawatomie Sept 30. 1859

Dear Jennie—

Your letter of the 16, we got today with two rennets also we had one last Sat. which I have not ans. You said in your letter we got Sat. how disappointed you were at not getting a letter the Sat eve. before you were writing (the rainy eve.) "Poor girl" John said "if she only knew what a scolding she will get when that letter comes she would sit down very cheerfully without it." Your budgets had not got to coming weekly when we sent that letter and we were using the only *borrowed* rennet we could get in the whole Territory so far as we knew, the weather was so warm that mornings milk would sour in 12 hrs and nights milk by noon—so we could do nothing to speak of butter making. So you see as our case seemed desperate we felt constrained to try a desperate remedy hence the wildcat nature of that communication— The 4 rennets you speak of will be sufficient for this year. I cannot tell just how late I shall continue to make cheese—through Oct. I guess— I have set my head on selling \$250. worth of cheese—but if I can make more at butter making when the weather gets cooler shall not be particular about the precise amount of either. We have sold \$145 of cheese and have on hand at least \$85 worth more.

My last letter I believe was sent unfinished owing to my being sick— I had a severe attack of intermittent fever but am well now, only not so strong— According to your letter you will be in N. Y. City while I am writing this. I have been trying to make John think he can afford to go out to Steuben this fall and stay through the winter—but I cant convince him— I'd be willing to get along 'most any shape if he could— I can fairly feel the pleasure it would be to him and his folks if he could be there.

I send this as it is. We are going to Paola to day with cheese (Oct 3.) Pray forgive my bluntness in my other letter. I am obliged to return the \$10. bill. Perhaps it is good. But our currency here is mostly gold and silver, and as we are so far from Bill makers people are shy of bills at all doubtful. Bills go undoubted with you, are generally good here. We are all in tolerable health now. With much love in haste Sarah and John

Osawatomie Dec 14, 1859.

Dear Father,

I believe we have let a longer interval elapse than we should without a letter to let you know how we are. Sarah's health is a good deal better than common at this time of year. The children and myself are as well as common. We have had unusually cold weather this month. A week yesterday (Election day) was very cold, mercury in thermometer 9° below zero. It is also very dry. These two causes operating together make winter wheat look badly. The weather is however very pleasant—cool nights, bright days—a bracing air. Yesterday morning we saw a brilliant aurora borealis—rainbow-red pillars shooting half way to the zenith—the second appearance this winter and I think the third I have seen in Kansas. We got a paper from Jane yesterday containing a pair of gloves and belt buckle both very nice & just the thing. Also a letter last week with bonnet lining and ribbon. Sarah says she is going to write to Jane as soon as she gets time. I returned a \$10 bill I got from Jane, which was doubtful and would not pass here as much as two months ago and have never heard from it. Was it received safe? I must close now

With much love

Your son John.

There was a "nigger hunt" (as they call it) in this neighborhood a few days ago in which the hounds changed places with the hare. The black man had his free papers stolen from him in Missouri and a kidnapping attempted. He got away and came to this neighborhood (where there is a station of the Underground railroad.) He worked and staid here a few weeks. Last week three men came up from Missouri to take the "*nigger*." One of them pretended to be the owner. They stopped a few miles back a little before night at the house of a man who pretended to be pro-slavery. They told him they were after a runaway slave. As soon as they left his house he posted to the house of a neighbor who was stanch antislavery and told him what was going on. This man immediately gets on a horse and follows these men, goes to the station and gives the alarm. Then one boy hurries to find the negro and get him where his friends were thick. Another gets a pony and rides to town to rouse the sons of liberty. Twas not long before enough got together for all practical purposes and then ensued a search for the kidnappers. They searched the cornfields and woods but nothing could be found of them or their horses. They then bethought them of a proslavery

man about two miles off, who was suspected of harboring such vermin. One of the party went to his house pretending to have lost his way, and found they were there. The result was, the three men were roused up and compelled to turn out again. They were taken to where the negro was. A hemp rope was found with them. One of them the negro recognized as the one who stole his free papers. They gave the negro one of the men's horses and overcoat and \$50 in money, and a revolver. He also changed hats with one of the men as he remarked their hats were the best. So the kidnappers were turned back minus their three horses and their overcoats and revolvers and were followed some way to see they took the straight road to Missouri. They returned probably wiser certainly sadder men than they came. Kidnapping or reclaiming fugitives has never been profitable in these parts, and if justice is not administered with due respect to the forms of law, remember that *federal* law is law here, the law that pursues such as John Brown—mistaken and erring but noble in his objects—with most deadly and unrelenting hatred, but never has punished a kidnapper—never has punished one of those traitors who tried to steal the liberties of the whole people of Kansas. One of the leaders against the kidnappers was attempted to be killed at the Choteau's Trading Post tragedy.

Longwood Dec 31, 1859

Dear Jennie

Your letter with the undersleeves and belt came to hand Wed. night—the things are all very nice—the gloves, buckle & lining, came a good while ago, and the boys books came Monday night (26.) Everything is very nice. It was two or three weeks before I could make up my mind to wear any thing so gay as that lining and those strings—I am a very old woman . . . my face is thin sunken and wrinkled, my hands bony withered and hard—I shall look strangely I fear with your nice undersleeves with the coquettish cherry bows—I shall however wear them up to Friend Richards to a New Year's party Monday if it is warm enough though I fear it will not be.

The Mercury stood this morning -7°. We are having a hard winter for Kansas, but no snow. I really fear that winter wheat will all be killed out in these parts— It looks as dead and dry now as the prairie grass.

Tho' we have been told of wheat in the west dying down in this way and afterward making a good crop it looks pretty dubious now. Two of our peach trees have split open from the ground to the limbs

with the cold— You are enquiring what is the feeling in regard to John Brown's surprise party in Virginia.

It has caused a good deal of feeling here— I should not think that *excitement* is exactly the word to characterize the feeling *here*— Brown was intimately known in these parts and greatly loved by the Free state men here. Mr. Adair his Brother-in-law, lives just above Osawatomie. He is an abolitionist as the term goes here and is respected by all who know him. He sympathised in Brown's movements here and in reply to a question from a new comer who had heard a great deal of evil of Brown as to what sort of a man this John Brown was, Mr. Adair said he was a man that had always been from his childhood impressed with the idea that God had raised him up on purpose to break the jaws of the wicked. Perhaps I have mentioned before that Mr Adair is the Congregational Miss. Minister of this place—a most worthy man— I must defer this letter till perhaps next year as our folks have come to supper, and this was written while waiting for them and wouldn't have been written at all only I have such a cold I can not work but a part of the time so I get time to write.

Jan. 18, 1860

I have done up my supper work browned & ground coffee for breakfast and popped some corn for the children and now (7 o'clock) I do not know as I can do any better than finish this last year's letter. John has gone to Olathe about thirty miles distant to attend to some business for T. D. Lewis of Utica, will not return till tomorrow. You enquired once something about our house. We have one south window, a west door; and a north door leading into our little orchard & garden thro' a shed 6 ft wide, the ends of which are boarded up and 6 ft of the north side making our cheese-room the west side of which was exposed to dogs and "varmint" generally. Opposite the window is the well about 14 ft from the south side of the house. Our peach trees on the north side of the house already form a beautiful grove—being 10 or 12 ft high and 10 ft in diameter in the tops.

I have been trying out some lard and tallow today. I have finished up all I have till our folks finish butchering the rest of the hogs. We have killed two beeves beside the cow John sold in the summer for beef. We have killed 3 hogs and have 3 more to kill. You enquired once if they came to as much in beef as they cost us. We paid \$20, for the one we sold alive, and sold her for the same keeping her calf which is a nice heifer. The other two cost \$45, the

first one we killed we sold of beef tallow and Hide \$19, and had 14 lbs of tallow & 150 lbs of beef for our own use, have also her calf the poorest one in the lot, this last one. We shall not have over 13 or 14 dollars worth to spare and have not kept more than 100 lbs of beef for our own use. She was very light but we have a nice heifer calf of hers which will be worth \$8 in the spring. There I have given you a very elaborate answer to both your questions, and now let me say another word in regard to "Old John Brown." I dont like to hear him stigmatized as misguided. It would not grate more harshly on my feelings to hear Moses called misguided, because he failed to enter into the promised land. It's of no use for Christians to pray that the bondsman's chains be loosed unless they are determined to arise in the strength of the Lord and undo them and let the oppressed go free. God works by human instrumentalities, and, it is by these that he is going to break every yoke if ever they are broken. John Brown remembered them that were in bonds as bound with them, and undertook to be a doer of Gods word as well as a hearer of it—

How in the name of common sense do Christians propose to do away with this enormous sin if not with John Brown's method; you know very well and every body knows that southern slaveholders will not allow any kind of Christian teaching in all their borders only the christianity of devils and how is the great southern heart to be reached but by God's ministers of vengeance. If any body knows of another way let them attempt it and when they shall have succeeded I will submit to hear the epithet misguided applied to that glorified hero. And now if I had room I would give you a synopsis of Mr Adair's sermon last Sabbath. It was from the text (I cannot repeat it just as it is in the bible) If a man smite his servant with a rod and he die, he shall surely be punished, nevertheless if the servant live a day or two he shall not be punished for he is his money. Now you know what passage I mean though my quotation is sadly murdered. He preached an excellent anti-slavery discourse

Yours as ever Sarah

Osawatomie Feb. 27, 1860.

Dear Father

Your & Jennie's letter of Feb. 14 was received day before yesterday. We were truly glad to get them as it seems a long time since we had heard from home. . . . We are sorry to hear of cousin Letitia's sickness. Consumption is almost an unknown disease here unless the lungs are very bad when they come here. Franky got the two first numbers of his paper the morning he took his letter to the mail.

You ask "Should I succeed in borrowing \$100 for you shall you need it or not?" I answer we would. It would be just the time to lay it out for cows. We have to keep a hired man and ought to keep a girl during the summer months and could as well keep a few more cows as not. It would be a very great advantage to us if we were able to get them. I would like to get it for two years. I am very anxious to get on, so as to get a comfortable place to live in and especially to pay our debts. We are all well, except that Frank has a bad cold.

From your affectionate son

John R Everett

Longwood Feb. 28, 1860

Dear Jennie—

I began to think we should never hear any thing more from Steuben—so was greatly and agreeably disappointed last Sat. when John came home from town, at seeing once more the well known post-mark of that place. Frank and I have come to the conclusion that if we could get "a boit" of those cakes and biscuits we could make a "right smart" lessening among them— I hope you wont have to make yourselves sick to eat them all— We dont get a great many such things here. I haven't seen any biscuits or wheat bread at home since Christmas week— I suspect if ever our big wheat crop "comes off" we shall have "heaps" of biscuits here.

John is going to try to break twenty or twenty-five acres this spring himself which if he accomplishes and gets a good crop of wheat and our cows do well—and one or two other ifs of a kindred nature turn out favorably, I think we may next fall make a commencement for a house, but shall not be any wise disappointed if we do not, and since you have waited so long I hope you will not come to Kansas till we can make you comfortable, which we certainly

never can nor could have done in the house we are in. Our condition is getting every way improved with the exception of our house—We are growing almost everything we need for the table—and when once another harvest comes, do not see why we need to lack any necessary.

It is a dark lowery day. We have been having a good deal of rain the last two or three weeks—all the winter and fall since Sep. had been unusually dry till now it seems trying to make up lost time.

One night last week we had a cow get hooked into a small creek which runs through the pasture, and in the morning when our folks found her she was quite unable to help herself, with struggling and the chill she got from lying stuck in the mud and water, and had to be drawn out. We did what we could for her but she never got up again. She had the horn-ail, but would have lived I think if it had not been for the accident and even then if it had been a dry warm time but it came on cold and rainy, so it made it impossible to Dr. her properly.

Franky & Robbie want to send word to Aunt Jennie that their black cat has got eight little black kittens!! and want to know if she wouldn't call that a stack of black cats and beside that they have some little chickens. . . . I should like to have you get me some ribbon to trim my bonnet with this summer. Such ribbon as used to be 12½ cts when I came from there cost here about thirty cts.

[Sarah M. C. Everett]

Longwood June 5, 1860

Dear Jennie—

Your last two letters came duly to hand, freighted with rennets. I am very glad to get them in time and hope *soon* to get more of the same sort— We are milking 18 cows now and in a few weeks will have two more giving milk— I am making cheeses now that weigh about 30 lbs or more— We have already sold over \$20. worth of the stuff at the same price as last summer— We are in passable health at present though a little dull because of the hot weather—

You cannot think how oddly it sounded to hear that you were just turning your cows out to grass on the 8. of May— Cattle here to be sure run out all winter but many an one's I guess got only what they picked up in the commons two months before that date— I have just got my cheese in to the press and am too tired to write much. Mr Snow is cutting the wheat. We shall not have much of

a yield. We have had not rain enough to bring up the corn in these parts and farmers are growing quite discouraged. It looks now very uncertain about raising enough to supply the home demand. A great many have not yet made garden. How is it with you?

Do you read H. W. B.'s ⁵⁶ sermons in the Independent? I believe if it were not for reading now and then some things in his sermons that I should tire to death of this life and give it up— I don't read them all— I perfectly abhor a printed sermon. But sometimes when every thing else grows so tiresome and weary and the vexations and cares of life seem like a multitude of thorns piercing me on all sides I get hold of one of his sermons and it always contrives to turn the sharp points and make a pathway through them— Verily they are like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

Wed. 6.

While I was milking this morning I was seized with a sudden desire to record the names of our cows, for your special edification. "These are they"—

Dow, big Line, little Line, Queen, Pinky, Minky, Blaze, Red, Nig, Snip, Pied, Bim, Lil, Cherry, Star, Black, Beauty, "Remmy," California, Leopard & Rose— You see I have nothing to say and will be happy to see the close— How many rennets have you on hand ready— I wish we could send for a box (by express) with a hundred in it. The freight would be less than the postage. We could send on the money one of these days I guess. I've been getting the boys some pants.

[Sarah M. C. Everett]

Saturday June 9 [1860]

Dear Father

Yesterday morning just before day a hurricane passed over these parts. It blew down the house, a new frame building of our next neighbor, Mr Holaday, and killed his wife. He tried to get her to come out as the wind suddenly raised, and they heard the roaring of the coming tempest, but could not persuade her. When the crash came he stood by the door and reached to draw her out, but some thing came between. he sprung through the door and was knocked down by the falling house but fortunately away from it. He asked his wife if she was killed. She said she was afraid she was. He asked her if she could hold out till he went to Everett's for help, but the poor woman spoke not again. Mrs. H. was a Quaker and

⁵⁶. Henry Ward Beecher.

much esteemed by a large circle of relatives and acquaintances. Another house was unroofed in our immediate neighborhood, but no one hurt. Three lives were lost in Stanton, 7 or 8 miles from here. This event as is natural creates a very solemn feeling in the neighborhood. We have heard of many houses that were unroofed or blown down. Much of our fence was blown down. We feel especial reason to be thankful that our house was not injured, and that our lives are spared. I send in this a draft of \$8.25 for the interest to David Jones and the rest towards the rennets. In haste

John.

Longwood Sep. 6, 1860

We had sent a letter yesterday to the P. O. to Father and Jennie and this morning we got Mother, Mary & Jennie's. We have been greatly troubled at not hearing from you for so many weeks. Last spring or early in the summer we sent a draft of \$8.25 to pay interest to Jones—and have never heard whether you received it or not— Did you?

The story of our returning or intending to return is all humbug— We have never thought of the thing.

In the summer, as early as June or July—before it was supposed that crops were going entirely to fail, I tried to persuade John that if he kept a hired man this winter he could leave home well enough, to go back for a visit and stay all winter— The only thing at all in the way, was *lack of money* to pay for his journey & that quite upset the charming project— A little later when the drouth shut out all hope of anything but a scanty crop of potatoes and sugar cane and I was taken down with fever, we seriously ruminated on *my* going back to spend the winter—and the way I was to raise passage money was in this wise— A great many families were leaving for Iowa, Ind. and Ill. with their teams. If I could find some one with so little load that they could carry me and cheese enough which I was to peddle on the way to pay my expenses after I left them, why I could go— One of our neighbors offered to undertake it but I doubted the ability of his team— A wise doubt in the right place! you will probably exclaim, *I think so now myself*—

About the things I spoke of some weeks since. We can *stay* without them. we cannot raise money to pay for them, and shall go without them— We dont want any assistance this winter— We are going to do on our own resources, unless we are all taken down helplessly sick, and our cattle all die off with the blackleg or starvation.

We are doing what we can to provide against the latter. It is far gloomier to contemplate the coming winter than it was the winter of '56 & '57— This is an old settled neighborhood and the people just here are better prepared to withstand the fearful calamity that has fallen upon the Territory than those of the more newly settled portions— I suppose Mr. Hyatts statements reveal the *actual truth*.⁵⁷ And yet the real suffering has not commenced— Our next door neighbors on two or three sides, here in this old settled neighborhood will be obliged to get aid from some quarter.

Our dairy business has turned out badly but will enable us to live along somehow or other till another year. The weather here was so warm all through July that a great deal of our cheese rotted down—and all of it was more or less injured by the warm weather. Then I was taken sick and John had the cheese to make & take care of till finally we gave up the cheese and went to making butter— So every thing you see went wrong for Kansas and now the cattle are going with the black-leg— We have lost 5 head as John wrote to you yesterday and there is another we have not seen for several days. I suppose that too is gone. Others besides us have lost stock with the same disease— Now our principal pinch is paying our hired hand— We hope to be able to turn some cows some way so as to partly pay that and perhaps a little wheat. He will not crowd but we know how badly he needs it and it worries us.

I am glad you have commenced writing to us again. I hope you will not wait two months again till there is a little brighter times here to take up our thoughts— We haven't written to B'r Butler's in a year as I know of—the truth is there are too many things in this country to absorb one's time and thoughts. There are a great many poor & sick around you—and every thing is awkward and unhandy. When provisions are getting low with you, you can step to the store and get a bbl. of flour at a time—we get 10 to 12 lbs. just what we can pay for— It takes quite a part of one day to search up the team and take a bushel of corn to mill and a part of another to get it again, and so on too tedious to mention but I must close. Dont feel sorry for *us*—some of our neighbors say, if we had your chance we could get along—but that ragged coat and those ragged pants one woman said to me yesterday is all that William (meaning her husband) has got for the winter—and this dress a slitted out old calico my only outside garment and not corn enough for bread no

57. Thaddeus Hyatt wrote extensively for the Eastern press during the drouth years of 1860-1861, describing conditions in Kansas and urging contributions to relief funds.

potatoes nor any other eatable except meat which they were to have enough for themselves and a little to spare—and not fodder enough for their stock and her husband not a sock for winter. I think we shall in all probability have plenty of corn bread meat and milk and if you were in the midst of such suffering as will surround us you would not want anything much better, as for clothes I candidly think we shall go awful “shabby” & in so doing will form no invidious contrasts to others around us— So dont worry about us till you hear that we are getting worser and dont offer us any more money, it is us now that should be sending money to you rather than you to us.— As I said a page back I must close Sarah

Osawatomie Dec. 10 1860.

Dear Father

Yours containing draft of \$32.05 rec'd to day. I write this in town, and can but just acknowledge receipt, and say how grateful I am to you and my dear friends for remembering us so kindly. This help will come very seasonably although we hoped to be able to pinch through. I have sent for the box to day by the Kansas City and Fort Scott Express, which runs through this place and has an office here. O. J. Owen has written me that he had directed a barrel of flour to me at Atchison. Kansas City (or Leavenworth)—is our river point. Kansas City is 45 miles, Leavenworth 60, Atchison between 80 and 90 miles distant. But I hope to be able to send to Atchison by some team that will be going for relief grain. We are all well. The winter is very favorable for stock. I am foddering only my milch cows and horses. To day 3 or 4 inches of snow—the first. In haste

With many thanks

Your affectionate son

John

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Longwood Dec. 31. 1860

Dear Jennie—and all at home—

I am not in much of a mood for *writing* my thanks . . . however much I may *feel* them. You can have little idea how much happiness your box brought into our homely cabin. In the first place it came from the loved ones at home and was welcomed as a messenger of love from them. Then the things were so apropos to our wants— The blankets as we shiveringly nestle beneath are a nightly benediction—and the boots and shoes not less so— My

feet were cramped into a pair that I wore in the summer which though large enough then were quite too small with woolen stockings and the soreness that has been occasioned by getting chilled—These are one number larger than I usually wear, but fit my feet as they are this winter admirably.

The stockings too—just the thing.— Robbie and I had on the only ones we had and they needed washing and mine mending— Auntie got a very happy fit on those little socks— The children think their mother's knitting is quite thrown in the shade by those socks— Franky is sorry he cannot write a letter himself to say how nice they fit. . . . [Robbie's] clothes fit him pretty well— The coat would be better if it was broader in the chest and between the shoulders—but he can wear it this winter well enough and perhaps next winter too for he is such a chub that he will naturally grow slimmer. The waist & pants couldn't be bettered Frank's waist & pant bands have to be enlarged—otherwise all right— The smaller of the two caps just fits both boys— The little boots are nicely fitted— Franks will suit him another winter after this—but Robbies will be rather tight after this winter.

He had been teasing for some little boots and a knife for a long time, and when he heard that there was "*a whole big box of things coming to us*" he had a full and complete faith that the boots and knife and a little clock would come for him—

Mary hoped I could find some use for the dress she sent. I found so much use for the skirt of it as to wear it to a wedding at Mr Chestnut's Christmas Eve—also your nice undersleeves hood and skeleton— Sarah's shawl, Annie's collar & mittens, whose shoes comb and gloves and pocket handkerchief I know not but hope you will inform me— Frank went to the wedding in his new suit and John had the benefit of his new cap, gloves cravat handkerchief (Fathers) boots socks & a pair of the pants for the occasion. Robbie we left at Mr Snow's house, which was as great a treat to *him*, as the wedding to *us*.

Mr Snow has rented a farm for next season and is living on it keeping bach this winter—just now a man and his wife whose house and all in it were burned a few weeks ago are stopping with him till they can put up another cabin. Mr. Snow was very pleased with his things. He seems to think your way of mittening a fellow an improvement on the old fashion and wishes us to say he feels obliged for the handkerchief and mittens both. I gave him a pair of socks also from the box— He always comes in once a week—every Sun-

day—just as any body goes home. It was quite lonesome here at first without him.

That nice de laine I shall keep over till next fall when you must be sure to tell me *the fashion* to make it by— Whose gifts are the little flannel sack—(a capital thing in windy weather) and the heavy piece of pant cloth? Mother's presents came into requisition immediately— I put on one that night, John the next day— You can judge how much they were needed— Frank has got one of his aprons made and Robbie will soon have one to match it— It's a marvel to us now how we got along before the box came— That great shawl I have been needing. I think now I couldnt get along without it. The apron too came the right day, the last one I had went to pieces very much after the manner of the "Deacon's One Hoss Shay" a short time before John came home with the box. We should like to know the price of such de laine—collar and pants cloth as you sent also of the apron checks and boots and gloves— I have been asked 500 times more or less the price of that ribbon belt and buckle you sent me last New Year's. My paper is used up and I am very tired— I was almost laid with a cold a good deal of last week and am not at all well yet. John is coming down with a cold. The children are quite bright

Yours as ever

Sarah

There are a great many other things I meant to have spoken of but have got too tired.

We gave Mr. Adair his gloves Christmas Eve at the wedding. He had them on up at meeting yesterday.

Longwood, Jan 21, 1861

Dear Jennie—

We have had two letters from you since we have written. Mary's and yours written Christmas and your last dated Jan 8.

It is very cold here, and the ground is covered with snow— We have all had hard colds this winter, but *John*, but are getting some better from them. I dont know but *he* is just coming down with his— I have had a cold now for two months, and it was worse last week than any time since I was first taken with it— I have had a very hard cough for the last ten days—more than all I've coughed before in Kansas.— The children too have coughed a good deal.

Mrs. Chestnut—you've heard us speak of them before—died a week ago today. She had been sick only one week and there was nothing alarming in her sickness till about twenty four hours before

she died when she sunk into a state of unconsciousness in which she remained till she died. John was acquainted with them before I came out and we have always been on intimate terms, and her death somehow seems to loosen my attachment for Kansas strangely. She was one of the most amiable and lovely women that it has ever been my lot to meet. There is no other one here that can in any measure fill her place.

You made mention in your last before this, of a willingness to aid any in our neighborhood that might be suffering.

I do not know of any that think *you* ought to assist. I think so far as my acquaintance goes, those that really need assistance more than they can get from the general fund have friends back that would assist them if they made known to them their necessities. There are but a few but show a very laudable zeal in trying to help themselves and *such* might starve before I'd ask a friend of mine to help them— I expect the suffering in the southern part of the Territory is very great owing to the bad state of the roads which renders it impossible to get provision there as fast as it is needed—the reports from that quarter are painful to hear.

Jan. 22. We are feeling rather poorly to day—with cold and a little fever, and will close this letter without writing any more as we have a chance to send to the mail. Our Eastern mails have been irregular for a few days on account of heavy drifts to the North. There is a solid coat of sleet and snow on the ground now. This is the first that cattle have had to depend wholly on feeding. Till now cattle have got at least half their living on the prairie In haste

John & Sarah.

Feb 21, 1861

Dear Jennie—

Frank has been writing to you, and has very kindly offered me a chance to put in a slip of paper with his letter, so I take the opportunity to send you a line in answer to your last which was received two days ago— In answer to the *seed* question, you could not possibly get *seed wheat* through in season to be available this spring—and the cost of sending small parcels from Ill. or Wis. would make it somewhat impracticable we fear to send seed-corn—tho' that would undoubtedly come thro' in season, otherwise we should be very glad to accept your kind offer. We have a small piece of winter wheat self sown at the time of the tornado which in conse-

quence of the dry weather did not come up till it ought to, that may supply us with bread if it has not winter-killed. We cannot tell yet whether it will be worth anything or not. We have corn that will answer for seed, but not nearly as much as we ought to have for our horses and milk cows. John has just come home with a load of corn for which he has paid .85 cts a bushel on the cob for old corn and 40 cts a bushel for last summers growth.

We are greatly obliged to you for all your kind offers of assistance. About the money, if we borrow at all it will be only a small sum to build with and we can not say at this time whether we shall want that— We are sorely in need of a better house and our plan if we can execute it, is to build a hewed log house but we have already so much team-work on our farm, that I do not know that we can undertake anything more— In speaking of seeds I should have mentioned that we have plenty of seed-potatoes but of small garden seed we are out— I wrote to you two weeks ago Tues. that we had sent that day for the bbl. of flour. Last Tues. it had not arrived. John is going to town with the wagon this afternoon to see if it has come in yet— We live a hundred miles from Atchison and I do not know of any teams that have been able to make the trip there this winter in less than two weeks, so bad has been the going. If John gets the flour to day he will put a pencil mark across his name on the corner of the envelope

Sarah

All pretty well

Longwood, March 4 1861

Dear Jennie

Last week we had soft mild balmy breezes and warm bright sunshiny weather—but this morning such a black sky and cold blustering snow squall as broke upon us! It made me think of the mad turbulent outbreak of rebellious South Carolina and her sister secession states.

Wonder if Old Abe's accession to the Presidential chair had anything to do with this bluster in Kansas— I rather think it was the sympathy of nature with human passions for at the hour of noon when democratic rule retired from power the sky lightened up, the air grew warmer and the snow ceased its furious driving and came straggling noiselessly and quietly down dissolving so soon as it touched the earth— So I think mad rebellion and blustering secession will subside and melt away under the more genial influence of Republican rule.

But this was not what I begun to talk about—or rather not what I sat down to talk about— I thought as I do not feel like doing anything to day I would say a little about those rennets— As I wrote before we do not need them till probably the first of July—but since you spoke of sending some seeds I have been thinking that if it is just as convenient for you to send them earlier, you might accommodate us also in another way—by sending some peas and beans &c. . . . It is five o'clock and I must write in haste what I have to say— Have you any of the regular real snap beans, what we used to call string beans? I should like a pint or so if I could get hold of them also a pint each of two or three different kinds of peas as marrowfat and a smaller kind very productive that farmers usually sow in the field. I do not know any name for them; and the early June— I wish also that we could get a few of your raspberry bushes and strawberry vines and would like to try once more a few currants and one or two rhubarb roots— And I am homesick for some old-fashioned double pink roses— Can you send me a rooted bush if you send that package early enough? There are a number of such things I should like to get but I do not feel that I ought to trouble you with such things.

That tight sleeve pattern that you have told me two or three times of you have never sent, or at least I have never rec'd— tuck it in to the rennet bundle some where and if you have a summer cape pattern late style put that in with it also— Tell me also what kind of border or face trimming is worn in summer bonnets— I got a cheap plain straw bonnet last fall—as I only wanted to wear it a few times & felt very poor I did not get any face trimming at all— I got one y'd of plaid green and white ribbon for strings and made a cape & put folds on the bonnet of green barege. This summer I propose to change it a little but am not certain that I shall do more than put in face trimming— It looks far better on the outside than you would suppose— Oh I want you to put in some bone-set &c some worm-wood. . . .

Friday—8 I have laid aside my begging letter for a few days considering whether it would not be ridiculous to trouble you with all of these things and “others too numerous to mention”—but my desires have got the better of prudence & so I have commenced again— Can you get in that country a patent wheel-head— I want one if you can— Also a box of genuine cheese annatto— There is an old Herkimer county cheese maker in this place that says it helps to guard against cheese flies and there never was a

country so pestered with cheese flies as this— I don't know as there is anything else unless you put in a few cuttings off your lilac bushes and another piece of that remarkable sticking salve— John most always has sore hands—if the skin gets broken it remains raw or else makes a large sore especially in the fall & winter and that salve will stick tight and keep the air out so much better than anything else we have found that he would like to feel that he had enough to last him through the season— The weather is mild and beautiful again and farmers are going along with their spring's work as fast as their lean teams are able. John has been hauling out barn yard litter on to his field for a week past—is going to mill today and intends to commence plowing to morrow. We have 5 young calves so our dairy work is commencing a little you see— Expect before the month is out to be milking 14 or 15 cows. I have no help yet but mean to try to get a girl next week that can milk as I can do but little of that for some time yet. Have you kept an account of what you have expended for rennets for us— We would like to know when you send these how much we are owing both for rennets and the postage & freight on them also the cost of these things we send for now— There's no telling when we can pay for them—but I think we shall surprise you some day by paying up our debts!— We have heard again from that bbl. of Flour. It has been sent to a warehouse in Leavenworth City and we are now endeavoring to get a chance to send for it— The freight on it is \$3.40— If we find an opportunity to send for it by a team it will not cost over .75 or .80 a hundred to get it from there. I must not write more for I have not done up my work this morning and I am trying to braid a straw hat for Robbie—the poor boy has gone bare-headed all the spring and I want to finish his hat this week, so good bye till the next time. Write as soon as you can. John will write some day when he finds time

S. M. C. E.

Longwood, March 15, 1861.

Dear Jennie

Your letter of Mar. 2. came to hand yesterday— I have sent you two or three notes I believe since you had written before. In my last I spoke of some seeds and other things being sent—but of course we do not want you to put yourselves out to send the rennets earlier than is convenient, for the sake of sending those things. We shall be able to get *seeds here*, so that we shall not have to go without garden stuff— We are having our plowing done now— John hires a man (Mr Kinter) to come by the day at 40 cts to do it for him—

When there is a day that the man cannot come he plows a part of the day himself—but he has so many chores to do that he cant do a great deal else— He is not strong enough for farm work any way—this dairy business is just the thing for him— He can stand it to take care of his stock and then he can hire the harder work done. He does not calculate to hire a hand steady—but only by day's work this summer which will be the best course I think— Mr Kinter has a family and we can pay him along in butter and cheese and meat and anything we have to turn off and we do not feel the pay so much— I have one of his daughters helping me now,—came this week. She is very lady like and companionable and I should be glad to keep her all summer—but I am afraid I cannot— Her mother put it into my head to get her for a few weeks this spring—and hinted at the possibility of her staying till fall— The trouble is she is engaged to be married and when her lord that is to be calls for her she is bound to go. The family are N. Yorkers and are smart and intelligent— Came in from Mich. a year ago last fall. Lost their furniture and a great many of their clothes on the way and have of course lost all their farm labor by drought like every one else and so they are willing to work out. That's the way I am able to get one of the girls— Mary the one that is with me now taught our school last summer, one of her brothers the winter before— O. C. Brown's letter contains more truth in it than is apt to come from him— He has put the population of our town down I believe a good deal higher than the census man if I remember rightly— He speaks of "one thousand souls"— I am sure the bodies counted less by a few hundreds but I may be mistaken otherwise he is not so much out of the way perhaps if you proportion other things down— A great many get help that dont need it, and a great many need help that might have helped themselves last fall if they would—but they looked for help from "the East" and so neglected their plain duty— Such ought to suffer some— I have no sympathy for them and I wish "the East" (whatever that may be) would inform Kansas that this is the last time she is to be helped from that source and see if some of the beggarly spirits wont try in future to take care of themselves instead of waiting for strangers to support them and then grumbling because they are not better provided for. Those that should have most will many of them get the least. . . .

. . . You wished one of us would write a letter about Kansas to be published— I dont think either of us know any thing to write—we are such a domestic family that we dont know any thing

only what pertains to ourselves and our particular quarter section— It is simply “Us four and no more” with us—

It is very dry yet this spring and unless rain comes soon spring wheat will do nothing—though the whole country seems crazy to sow it because it is charity wheat— Mr Kinter is going to sow some on our place on shares—he finds the wheat and does the work— John finds team and gives the land—& then they divide the threshed wheat some way, I dont know exactly how— I guess the *piles* will both be small if this dry weather lasts a couple of weeks longer.— I must close— Write soon and often— It is very lonesome this spring—it is so dry and windy, and no one feels in good spirits on account of the hard times—and people’s dispositions have got soured by suffering and misfortunes—and when we meet we gossip one about another— In short one more drought would corrupt utterly the morals of the country— So write often and try to keep me at least from having nothing to do but gossip

Sarah

I perceive on reading over my letter that I am blaming or seeming to blame the noble spirits that have so generously contributed their means to relieve the sufferings of the starving many of Kansas—and I should hardly do right did I not make some explanation of what I have written— I was thinking of a few cases of misapplied charity and wrote what I did with those only before my mind. I did not then remember the little hungry children and their grief worn parents that but for the noble benefactions of “the East” would have gone down to their graves long before this time—nor of the barefooted and half clad teamsters toiling beside their half-starved teams thro’ the snow for days together with the food sent from “the East” that was to gladden the hearts of those destitute ones at home— Every dweller in Kansas owes a lasting debt of gratitude to “the East” for what she has done for the suffering here

Sarah

Osawatomie Apr. 12 1861.

Dear Sister Jennie

Yours of April 3 was received yesterday. We had been getting rather impatient to get a letter, for it was about a month since we had heard from you, and I do not know but you will have the same feeling to get ours. Sarah has been very sick since I wrote last. She was smart as usual for a few days. . . . Then she was taken with fever. . . . She continued to grow worse till a week ago

Wednesday which seemed her worst day and the crisis of her disorder. Thursday morning she woke feeling better, and since has been slowly gaining. Is still confined entirely to her bed. The weather has been the worst for invalids I hardly ever knew in Kansas.

It has set in to rain, and now it rains every day a little—damp and cold consequently. This has brightened farmers up not a little you may be sure, but it is unfavorable weather for the sick. I am hoping that when it clears up and gets a little warmer she will gain fast. The baby has had some boils on one of her little arms. Otherwise she is well and very good. We feel thankful that we are all alive and so well. Sarah says she cant call the baby *all* those names you sent. In fact we have had very little time to think of names. I tell her she must give the baby whatever name it gets.

We feel very much encouraged at the turn the weather has taken. Winter wheat which had been nearly given up has revived wonderfully. This weather is just the thing for wheat winter and spring. Write soon, and we will try to do the same. We are obliged for the mouth piece

Your brother

John

Osawatomie May 7 1861.

Dear Folks at home,

Excuse a short letter. Sarah is getting pretty well though still weak. The rest of us are well. I help with the cheese. That and planting keeps me quite busy. Milking 18 cows. Raising 14 calves. Making cheese weighing fresh from the press about 35 lbs. Making more cheese than we expected consequently using up rennet faster. We would like to have those rennets sent as soon as anyways convenient. Direct by express to Osawatomie. Leave off "Via Leavenworth" if not already sent. The sentiment in Kansas is very strongly patriotic. I hope we may have quiet to raise our bread this year. I think there is little apprehension of home trouble since we heard the glad news of the uprising of the North.

We are having a cold and somewhat backward spring—with seasonable showers however— The weather is very favorable for wheat of which almost every farmer has sown more or less.

There will also be a better prospect for fruit in consequence of the backwardness of the season. We have now a fair show for a large crop of peaches. Our orchard contains about 60 trees most of which

hang full. Our wheat too (8 acres self sown by the Tornado) promises now a fine yield—

. . . I would get little Robbie's likeness taken for you if there was any good operator in these parts—he is the fattest roundest faced blackest eyed reddest cheeked boy you ever saw and the most mischievous one too I guess.

The new comer, who seems to cause more rejoicing among her distant relatives than those at home, we think of calling Clara Elizabeth—though I like Irene Colegrove much better— It isn't of much consequence however seeing it's nothing but a girl anyway— I must close to help him a little about the cheese— I have not got stout enough to do much yet but am gaining slowly all the time. I have to hire my work done, and we are getting wofully shabby for the want of a little sewing. I wish I could get to your machine for a few hours— Write a little oftener if you can get time—

John & Sarah

Longwood, Sep. 4, 1861.

Dear Cynthia & Jennie two times over—

(I believe that is the order in which we owe,) it is such a dull rainy day that I cannot set myself to work so I am going to inflict a dull muddy letter on your patience. We have had no rain to do any good for a month, till night before last there came up a thorough thunder storm. John and Frank were caught out in the hardest of it while searching for the cows and had to come home without them.

After midnight the rain set in again and continued in fierce showers till morning—this morning again a drizzling rain commenced before sunrise and still continues. (now 9 o'clock) We have a haystack not topped out!

Clara has been sick with Fever since Friday— I cannot find out whether it arises from teething (she has one little tooth) or whether she is attacked with chills— Whatever it is it makes her exceedingly worrisome so I can hardly get along with her. Last night she was awake two or three times an hour. John and I are doing alone (except haying) and we cannot get time to write much— I generally milk 11 cows in the morning and 10 at night that is about three good hours work in a day—then it takes 4 hours more to work the cheese off and the rest of the time I have to do the family work— How many letters a month could you mail and do all the work including sewing for a family of five, and do 7 hours hard work in a day extra? I am very glad Uncle Henry sent rennets enough so

that we need have no thought about them, for I am just in the condition of the camel we read of, before that last feather was added to his load. I have not seemed to have much strength this summer, and have felt very little interest in anything about me,—business is dull, we have over ninety cheeses— We cannot just now sell cheese to get bandage cloth.

I am obliged to do without help because we cannot pay— We have turned a cow for haying.

You seem to feel a great deal of enthusiasm in regard to the war—I don't get very much excited except at the miserable guilty tardiness, (or what looks like that to me,) of the administration in accepting troops and forwarding them to such points as require them—Lyon might have been shot if the administration had done its duty, but the chances would have been far less if he had been properly re-enforced— And it's no justification of the powers that be, to say that men could not be spared without rendering other points liable to attack, so long as every body knows that there were thousands of volunteers that were anxious to serve their country, but were refused the privilege of doing so. Something seems to have awakened up the dull-heads at Washington and it is to be hoped *something* will be accomplished *yet* before it is too late. Hitherto their acts as seen by the public have been such as to excite in the minds of true loyal and earnest people, little more than doubt and shame. We will hope now however to see some of the great things done that have been for months past promised—that wonderful policy carried out that was to satisfy the most earnest supporters of anti-rebellion— I must stop soon on account of the baby. I hope you will write soon and as often as you can without neglecting any other known duty. If you who have so many pleasant surroundings find it pleasant to hear from us, much more you must remember will it be to us, to hear from you—to us, who are struggling on with debts, poverty and all the inconveniences of a pioneer life—overburdened with strange work & surrounded with uncongenial associations. Your letters filled with kind remembrances are as great beams of sunlight among the shady places in our pathway.

Yours wearily

Sarah M. C. E.

Sep 10

Clara is very low with bilious intermittent fever aggravated by teething

S. M. C. E.

Sep. 18, 1861

Dear Jennie

I got your last yesterday, while returning from the grave-yard, where we have laid our *sweet little Clara*— She brought a great deal of sunshine into our homely cabin this summer, and when she was carried out of it, it certainly seemed very dark to me—

She died Monday morning about eight o'clock, (little Henry's birthday). Mr Adair preached her funeral sermon yesterday at two o'clock from Job 1, 21.

Robbie & Frank are well, John & I considerably worn with watching— I did not undress the last week Clara lived as she needed constant attention. Our neighbors were very kind, doing much more than is commonly done on such occasions but we were alone till Saturday.

There is sickness in a number of families near us. It is indeed the sickly season and it has been more sickly than it usually is— I shall leave the rest of this for John to fill out for it seems useless for me to try to say anything I feel so utterly prostrated, not so much in strength as in spirit—

Sarah

It was very hard to part with our little darling, but she is gone, and the Lord's will be done. She seemed a greater comfort to us than either of the other children at her age, she was always so good a child. Her disposition was very amiable, and she was easily pleased. She was quite restless for several nights but slept well the last night. In the morning when we spoke to her she answered in her little pretty talk, the first time for several days. When she went it was without a struggle, a few gasps, and she was gone. May the Lord prepare us all to meet in a better world. [John]

Osawatomie Aug. 15, 1862

Dear Jennie

I wrote a letter to you a month ago, or more enclosing two dollars for rennets— Did you get the letter? . . .

I wish you would find out the address of the rennet vender in Philadelphia you once mentioned to me in one of your letters, where Jane's Uncle gets rennets five years old, and send it to me. We would send there for our next years supply and not bother you any more.

If you could ascertain the directions for us so as to let us know by New Years it would answer our turn. I have not made cheese for several days. I have been out of rennet, and sick or half sick

rather besides, and probably should have stopt a week to rest if I had *had* the rennets. It has been very hot and we have been unfortunate with cheese losing quite a number. Our crops do not promise much this year; the early drought nearly ruined them. I hope though that we shall raise enough to get through with. We have had some fine rains recently. John sent twenty dollars to you three weeks ago. Have you received it? We are back one year's interest on Jones' note. Hope we can pay it soon. We are anxious to build a room this fall. Our old cabin is very unsafe in windy weather besides it is very cold and has settled so much that John can hardly stand upright under the joists. I believe it has settled ten or twelve inches in a year and a half.

I have nothing special to say—today our school closed. I went up to see it end and am consequently tired out. Write as soon as you can

Yours wearily

Sarah M C Everett

Osawatomie, Oct. 30, 1862.

Dear Jennie

I have received a number of packages of rennet—so many I have really forgotten the number.— But I know I concluded that they all except the last package contained two whole rennets, and that *that* contained nearly another. Is that a correct estimate of the quantity sent? I do not need any more this fall— I commenced using to day from the last bundle and it contained more than I shall probably use. We are having one of the most favorable, mild spells of weather that can be and this accounts for my making cheese so late in the season. Any day we are liable to have a sudden turn-about to the coldest weather and that will “dry up” cheesemaking in a hurry— Last week we had one of those sudden changes, Thursday was a warm day—that night the wind wheeled about into the north, and in a few hours (minutes if I should say 'twould be no exaggeration) we had a spell of winter. Sat. morning at 9 o'clock the thermometer was at 18°— You can imagine there was small chance of making cheese that day in an open shed with a north-side view, even if the cows would give milk sufficient [in] such weather, which they would not— I believe the cheese then in the press froze by its appearance. So much for the cheese question. Can you send me a “little bit” more of annatto; a very small piece will do. I sent by Frank to the drug store for some today and they sent me madder

instead, and that too after being told that I wanted it to color cheese.

There has been an unusual amount of wild fruit in the woods here this season— We had gooseberries two months. I canned about 14 qts after they were picked over beside having them constantly while they lasted, then plums came on and lasted till the frost came, then there were summer and frost grapes all through the woods in every direction, in some places there were a great many blackberries and also mulberries the most insipid fruit that grows, there are in places, too, “heaps” of paw-paws, a large green sickish fruit that some people are very fond of, and persimmons that before they have been ripened by several severe frosts will pucker ones mouth up so that they cant find their tongue for a week after— But which when fairly frost ripened are very nice. Some people sprinkle sugar on them and dry them and call them raisins— but they aint. I dried a flour sack two thirds full of plums after they were stewed and the pits taken out—have besides now about 4 gallons of plum sauce— Peaches were generally almost a failure. We were quite favored however—we had all we wanted to use in every way during the season and sold and gave away about ten bushels. I pickled two thirds of a bushel and made seven or eight gallons of sauce for winter and dried perhaps 7 lbs. I dried only such as fell off faster than I could otherwise dispose of them. We had tomatoes a plenty late but very few early ones. I made about a bushel up into catsup, and a bushel more into a kind of sauce but did not get it very nice— Molasses we failed on this year the cane getting injured by frost or rather by remaining too long unworked after the frost— Our other crops are all *light* vegetables. We have none of any such except potatoes (I forgot pumpkins of which I have dried 15 and we are eating them in pies every meal) and they are turning out poorer than we hoped (John and a colored *gentleman* began to dig them today) We all have fair health—John remarkably good for him. He has worked steady all through haying and harvesting.

I believe I have written all that relates to our current family affairs unless it be about the chickens and soap—topics never left out when certain of us neighbors get together for a visit, but those items are perhaps too important to place on the last page so I will defer them sine die.

Nov 4

It's election day here. There is greater excitement about political affairs in Kansas this fall than there has been before in several years— And the funny of it is there is no ostensible issue—

I have never mentioned the receipt of those Histories. We have received three volumes. Our fine weather still continues—but I don't like the feel of today. I think we shall have a squall soon— Is there anything new in the way of fashions? If it's not too much trouble I wish you would send me a cloak or cape (or whatever it may chance to be) pattern.

John says he would like to know what you paid for the Histories and he will send you the money. I will send also the money for those rennets at the same time

Yours as ever

S. M. C. E.

P. S. Will the war ever end?

Wanted.

By the subscriber, twenty-five or thirty good, old, home-cured veal rennets. For which the highest market price will be paid by my sister Miss Jane Everett, at Steuben, New York.

John R. Everett

Osawatomie, Miami Co., Kansas, Jan. 16, 1863.

Dear Jenny,

I do not know but you will laugh when you read the above as heartily as Sarah when I read it over to her, but, perhaps, (pardon the coarseness,) on the other side of the mouth. How would it answer to put the above on the Cenhadr cover. I do not know what we shall do for rennets, unless you can help us. We have been so much indebted to you for rennets, we are emboldened to try again. I am satisfied, rennets in pickle will not keep well in our hot summer weather, at least in wooden casks. Probably, (as we did not immediately dry them,) for that reason, we did not have good luck with the cask of rennets Uncle Henry kindly sent us. The home-cured rennets you have sent us have generally been good, and have worked well. We thought if you could get 20 or 30, they could be sent in a bundle by express, and if so, perhaps we will send for one or two other things with them. Please let us know whether you think you can do anything in this way without too much inconvenience.

It is over three months since we have heard from you. It makes us unhappy to be so long without hearing from home. We get the

Cenhadwr regularly, and so hope nothing serious is the matter. We too have been very remiss in writing. It seems to be harder work to write now than it used to, and you know I never was much of a letter writer. I have done a good deal more of my work myself this year than usual and, so, have not had much time to write. I am wintering this season, about 50 head of cattle and four horses, or (as they say here, in hoosier language,) 50 cow brutes, and four horse beasts. We have had two or three little snow storms, that have whitened the ground for a day or two each time and that is all the winter we have had yet. Most of the winter so far has been mild October weather. But yesterday and to day have been sharp, cold winter days.

We have all enjoyed first rate health, since we last wrote. Our two children go to school. We have the best school this winter we ever had here. Our teacher Rev. J. H. Carruth, is a college and Seminary bred Presbyterian minister, not preaching, an old settler in our district. Do you know any thing about a "*Pilgrims Progress*," I used to have, marked on the back *Evangelical Library*, I believe I would like to get it. —

Saturday.—Do as you like about the advertisement. Change it, or do not publish it. I enclose \$3.00 in this. Will send more after hearing from you. Have no more Eastern money or would send more now. What are custom house demand notes (U. S. Treasury) worth with you? Have some of them. They only have heretofore offered 10 per cent for them here. No time to write any more. Let us hear from you *soon*.

Your brother

John

Osawatomie, Mar. 7. 1863.

Dear Aunt Jennie

We have got a new baby two days old. And it is a regular Welsh-man. And it is very fat. And it is the prettiest thing that I ever did see. You never saw such a pretty thing as it is.

Mother isn't very well. Write soon as you can.

Frank R. Everett.

If you ever got a letter from John containing three dollars towards getting rennets for this summer, we should like to know it. S

Osawatomie Mar. 17, 1863.

Dear Sister Jennie

Yours was received two or three days ago. We thank you for the trouble you have taken in inquiring about rennets. Please to get \$5.00 worth of dry rennets, and send them by the cheapest conveyance, which will probably be by express. There was a movement made in the H. of Rep. at Washington to have all packages of limited weight carried in the mails for 1 ct. an ounce, but I do not know as it ever became a law. We would like to have a box of annatto sent with the rennets. Sarah had thought of sending for a patent wheel head for a spinning wheel but we have succeeded in finding one here. If you would let us know what the annatto costs we would be obliged. If you could put in a root or two of the raspberries I set out west of the barn, and a rooted sprout of the . . . plum that was in the corner of my old orchard, I would be glad. Cut off most of the top. If inconvenient let them go, for they might not live. Wrap in moss, or old oiled silk perhaps would do. Currants are of no account here. We cant make them live. Once in a great while, on some peculiar soil they grow in Kansas, but in general they will not thrive here.

We are all pretty well. Sarah seems quite well, but not very strong. . . . We call the baby John Edward. Our school is over now. Both of the children went most of the time, Robert staying at home the coldest days. We have had four warm days now and we are in hopes spring has set in. Give my love to Aunt Sarah if she is there yet. I sometimes wonder if father and mother are looking much older than when I left. It is eight years now—a long time. I long to see you all—but it may not be.

Affectionately your brother

John

Osawatomie May 2, 1863.

Dear Jenny

I have very little time to write today. The rennets have not come yet, nor have we heard from them, and we are in distress for want of them. Will you please find out if they have been sent, and if not have them started immediately. And if you have one in the house you can spare send it by mail. We have no rennet on hand except some pig rennets, and they are not fit to use alone. We are all well. . . . I have been able to do more work this spring than any spring I have been in Kansas

Your brother

John

Osawatomie Nov. 14, '63.

Dear Father & Mother and all at home,

I have been waiting some time now for time and opportunity for writing a long letter. But they do not seem to have come yet. I feel guilty for neglecting to write so long. I lamed my right shoulder about four weeks ago so that I could not use that arm for writing or any thing else for some time. I have had less help about my work this summer than any year before in Kansas. Sarah also has had a very busy summer and fall. Her hired help in a great measure failed this fall, and she has undertaken double labor. She has had 40 pounds of wool to work, the product of a small flock of sheep we are keeping on shares. Cloth from the store has become so deceptive and *shoddyish* Sarah thought she would go back to the primitive spinning wheel and loom. We had to send our wool 60 miles to be carded. We have had a good deal of trouble in getting things together, so that we have all been more than commonly busy this summer and fall. This week Sarah has been making clothes for the boys, and next week intends to make for me out of this home made cloth.

Our general health is better this fall than common. The baby is fat, and healthy and good. He has the whooping cough yet, but it don't seem to trouble him except when he coughs. The boys help me a good deal about my work. . . . Hoping that this apology for a letter will be better than longer waiting, and that you at home will not delay writing for our neglect, I remain as ever

Your affectionate but not punctual

And too often tardy son John.

[Contents Place This Letter Late in 1863. First Portion
Is Missing]

Sabbath when returning from church, we pass by the P. O. and usually look in to see if any thing came in the evening before.

It had been mis-sent and that was the reason of its being nearly three weeks on its journey. You have had the letter John sent you about the same time yours was written I hope and so have been relieved from any further anxiety.

A N. Y. City man was taking an excursion in N. Hampshire & stopped to ask a back woods man the distance to some town he wished to visit. The Countryman asked the gentleman "what parts" he was from, and on learning he was from N. Y. asked him in sympathising tones if he didn't hate to live so far off.

I couldn't help wondering when reading your letter so full of anxiety if you didn't hate to live so far off.

I have not had any heart for writing this summer (I fear the same is the case with some of my friends in the East). I have been more than usually harassed with my home matters. I don't think I ever endured such a *hateful* (I can't think of any other word any nearer the meaning) summer in my life. It makes me shiver every time I think of it. Besides my household vexations, I had some deeper afflictions to suffer as you will see by the enclosed letters.⁵⁸ Thus my mind has been under a cloud and I have seen only *that* nor hardly made an effort to see beyond it.

As regards *danger* from Rebel or more properly Guerrilla raids we that is John and I never *feel* any— We *realize* that plundering bands may visit Osawatomie the same as they have some other points in Kansas but can't *feel* it. We are never afraid altho' the community gets its scare occasionally— The border is now thoroughly protected, besides there is hardly inducement enough at present.

The two stores might pay. There is nothing else but an old grudge against the town to entice them, but you would hardly need feel any uneasiness for us if Osawatomie should be destroyed. We are not on any road to any place in particular and when a band of robbers make an onslaught on any place in Kansas they must necessarily do it with the utmost speed or else get caught hence they have small opportunity to murder or pillage among the farmers not on their immediate route.

I wish I could send you one of my cheeses to compare with the factory cheese— We have had the best luck this summer we have ever had. I think I can make cheese at last that will keep in this hot climate with out spoiling. We have not lost any with hot weather this summer and have made excellent cheese too. We get now 12½ cts a lb. I have yet over 50 on hand. We went over to Paola last week to get our likenesses taken to send home but did not succeed. We thought when we started we could get photographs but were mistaken, only Ambrotypes being at present procurable. The artist intends to get a photographer and perhaps we shall wait till we can get photographs now. It is a great task for us to get ready and go so far (10 miles) with all we have to do in the morn-

58. Reference is to the death of her father on July 31, 1863.

ing. We cannot get back till after dark and it's mean work doing up the chores in the evening when one is cold & tired. . . .

Tell me something about "the fashions."

. . . You saw the acc't did you not of Spencer Brown's execution in Richmond.⁵⁹ He was O. C. Browns son. He has another son in the army now in Arkansas I believe.

Our children are all very well. Eddie since he got over the whooping cough has been very healthy and has grown very fast and is a great marvel among babies on acc't of his size. He weighed 26½ lbs when he was 7½ mo. old, and has been growing ever since. I would tell you that he is the prettiest baby in the world if I was not intending to send you his likeness, but then you will have a chance to see it for yourself so I wont say any thing about it. I expect this week to get his homemade clothes wove, my paper is out and I must stop.

Your Aff. Sister
S. M. C. E.

St. Josephs, Missouri, June 7 1864.

Dear Father,

I started from home last Friday to take Sarah to Leavenworth on her way to her brother in Columbus, Warren Co. Pa. . . . When I got to Leavenworth I thought best to come this far with her. We came to Leavenworth with my own team and a neighbor's carriage—and from there here by the public conveyances. (Steamboat and cars.) She started this morning for her brother's by the Hannibal and St Joseph Railroad. She has company as far as Indianapolis, one of our neighbor's Mr. Barnard's son. The baby is with her. It is with a good deal of trembling and apprehension, I saw her start, as she is hardly fit for so long a journey and I ought to have gone through with her. But the expense was too great. I can only entrust her to the keeping of the Lord, as I trust he has kept her heretofore. There is a colored woman taking care of the house and the children while I am absent. I received a few lines from father dated May 25 as I came through town last Friday. Sarah will write you as soon as she feels able after arriving in Columbus.

I crossed a railroad on the Kansas River coming to Leavenworth. It is the commencement of the great Pacific Railroad, is completed about 24 miles and is being pushed on. Pray for Sarah, that she may recover if it is the Lord's will.

Your son
John

59. See Footnote No. 31.

[Sarah Everett's condition became increasingly serious after her arrival in Pennsylvania, and John Everett joined her there early in July of 1864, remaining with her until her death on August 21 of that year. He later returned to Kansas to dispose of his cattle, then went to the family home at Remsen and resumed work at the printing plant. In the spring of 1866 he came again to Kansas and settled once more on his farm where he lived until his death on August 8, 1896.]

Some Wage Legislation in Kansas

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO

LEGISLATION concerning wages assumes many forms. Programs for social insurance comprise one category and are designed to provide cash payments during sickness, invalidity, old age, unemployment, and dependency resulting from the death of the family supporter, and may be thought of as deferred or emergency wages. Another form includes attempts to regulate directly the size of the income and is represented by minimum wage laws, and by family wage laws which provide supplementary payments based on the number of dependents. A third form is designed to secure the earnings of workers against certain contingencies by extending to them preferences and safeguards. This study is limited to the third of these, describing the development of Kansas legislation for the establishment of preferences and for regulating the time, basis, and medium of payment.

Legislative efforts to safeguard the earnings of workers have been directed along two different lines; mechanics' lien laws and wage preference laws. Perhaps a somewhat different type is represented by a Kansas law of 1872 which provided that any railroad contracting out the construction of its road must take a bond from the contractor adequate to insure the payment of wages, materials and provisions.¹ The mechanic's lien gives one person a hold or claim upon the property of another, as security for a debt.² The debt may be for labor or materials. Such laws have generally been passed by American states early in their history. One was adopted by the first Kansas territorial legislature of 1855.³ Modifications have been made from time to time.⁴ But these are only in part labor laws. Nothing more will be said about them here except to point out that an amendment to the Kansas lien law allowing the worker a reasonable attorney's fee, if successful in a civil action, was held unconstitutional on the ground that it violated the equal protection clause of the federal constitution.⁵

1. *Laws, Kansas, 1872*, ch. 136, p. 286; Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation* (1927), pp. 60, 61. A still different type is represented by the Wisconsin law which makes stockholders in certain designated corporations liable for wages.—*Wisconsin Statutes*, 1925, sec. 182.23, referred to in Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2. *Mendenhall v. Burnette*, 58 Kan. 355.

3. *Statutes of Kansas Territory*, 1855, ch. 109, pp. 490-493.

4. *Revised Statutes, Kansas, 1923*, sec. 60-1401, pp. 847, 848.

5. *Laws, Kansas, 1889*, ch. 168, sec. 9; *Atkinson v. Woodmansee*, 68 Kan. 71. This section had previously been interpreted as applying only to attorney's fees in trial courts and not to those in the state supreme court. *West v. Lumber Co.*, 56 Kan. 287.

Wage preference laws, although coming later than lien laws, are also quite common. There are two different types. One is based on the "danger-flag" theory "that if a debtor allow the law to take hold of some of his property by any kind of process, it is a sign of financial distress, and laborers may immediately come in and secure their wages."⁶ The other type applies only "to general receiverships in cases of insolvency, and not to supervenient receiverships for limited or special purposes only."⁷ The Kansas act is of the second type.⁸ It provides that in case of insolvency, wages due employees other than officers accruing within six months immediately preceding the appointment of a receiver or the assignment of property shall be paid from the first moneys coming into the hands of the receiver or assignee. The act has involved some litigation, but its constitutionality has never been questioned.⁹

The usual law of garnishment prevails in Kansas. But wages for a period of three months preceding an order cannot be garnisheed if they are necessary for the use of the debtor's family, except in the amount of ten percent plus court costs not to exceed four dollars; and if any debtor is prevented from working for more than two weeks because of illness of himself or of a member of his family, none of his wages may be attached for two months after recovery.¹⁰ No earnings of a debtor who is not the head of a family dependent wholly or in part upon him for support are exempt. If a debt is assigned or given for collection to an agency, then neither the assignor nor the assignee has the benefit of this act. Wages earned and payable outside the state are exempt from attachment or garnishment in all cases where the cause of action arises out of the state, unless the debtor is personally served with process.¹¹

SMALL DEBTORS' COURTS

The cost of employing an attorney is an effective barrier to the collection of unpaid wages and of most small debts by legal action. It was to solve this problem that Kansas enacted in 1913 a small debtors' court law.¹² Under the provisions of that law, county or

6. *Acme Foundry & Machine Co. v. Wampler*, 124 *Kan.* 486, 489, 490.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 491.

8. *Laws, Kansas*, 1901, ch. 229; *Acme Foundry & Machine Co. v. Wampler*, 124 *Kan.* 486.

9. *Geppelt v. Stone Co.*, 90 *Kan.* 539; *Acme Foundry & Machine Co. v. Wampler*, 124 *Kan.* 486.

10. *Laws, Kansas*, 1886, ch. 111; *ibid.*, 1889, ch. 268; *ibid.*, 1909, ch. 182, p. 360 ff; *ibid.*, 1913, ch. 232.

11. *Ibid.*, 1905, ch. 523.

12. *Ibid.*, 1913, ch. 170.

city authorities are empowered to establish small debtors' courts to collect sums for wages, work or labor, and other debts, not exceeding twenty dollars in amount. Any court so organized is under the jurisdiction of a judge, who serves without pay for a term of office not to exceed four years. Only those who prove themselves financially unable to employ an attorney are authorized to use these courts. Indeed, lawyers are not permitted to "intermeddle in any manner whatsoever" with litigation of this sort. No costs are assessed or charged to either party. It is not necessary to summon witnesses, but the judge may informally consult witnesses and otherwise investigate the controversy. Judgment is conclusive upon the plaintiff; the defendant may appeal to the district court.

The Kansas small debtors' court law was one of the first of its kind in the United States, being preceded only by that of Cleveland, Ohio.¹³ It was, however, developed quite independently of the Cleveland act. Kansas therefore ranks as a pioneer in the development of this form of legislation. And in this connection a misconception regarding the nature of the courts set up under the Kansas law should be corrected. The two authors of the most comprehensive work on American labor legislation say that Kansas debtors' courts are "nothing more than conciliation" bodies.¹⁴ That is not true. Small debtors may sue in such courts and if the judgment is against the defendant the latter must pay or appeal to the district court. Judgment against the plaintiff, as said above, however, is conclusive.

There would seem to be no doubt that small debtors' courts can perform a useful function in the judicial system, especially in the industrial sections of the state. Unfortunately very few of our communities have availed themselves of the provisions of the law. The commissioner of labor reported in 1930 that only a few of the courts existed, and that the effectiveness of these was diminished by the \$20 limit.¹⁵ Consequently many requests for assistance in collecting wages continue to be made to the labor commissioner, who, although without legal authority, by using his good offices continues to render valuable assistance.¹⁶

13. Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Industry (Labor Department)*, 1930, p. 26.

16. In 1929, fifty-five claims were submitted to the commissioner and twenty-three settled. A total of \$513.44 was collected, or an average of \$22.32 per claim. In 1930, seventy-eight claims were submitted and \$922.82 collected.—*Ibid.*, 1929, p. 13; *ibid.*, 1930, p. 26.

TIME OF PAYMENT

It has been said that for many years one of the most persistent demands made by the workingmen of this state was "for the enactment of a law requiring corporations to pay their employees weekly."¹⁷ Weekly payment of wages was not uncommon at the time the demand was most persistently voiced. In an investigation covering more than 21,000 wage earners it was found that as early as 1888 over seventy percent of the employees in manufacturing and industrial establishments, over sixty-five percent of the packing house workers, and many of the stove foundry and machine shop workers were being paid weekly.¹⁸ Railroad and mine workers, however, were generally paid but once monthly—the wages earned in one month would be paid on the fifteenth or twentieth of the month following. That entailed hardship upon a large number of workers.¹⁹

After considerable agitation and repeated attempts,²⁰ an act was finally passed in 1893 which required all private corporations except steam surface railways and corporations producing farm and dairy products to pay not later than Friday of each week all wages earned during the preceding week.²¹ In case of violation, the worker was allowed to recover his wages plus damages equal to five percent per month of the wages due for not to exceed six months. The provisions of the act could not legally be waived by the worker. A corporation contracting out its work was made responsible as provided by the law for the payment of wages to the contractor's employees. Workers entering or maintaining a lawsuit for recovery of wages, if successful, were entitled to a reasonable attorney's fee. Another act, passed in 1915, required all private corporations to pay wages as often as semimonthly.²² That act was designed to apply to steam surface railways and farm and dairy corporations, which were not included in the act of 1893. When the general statutes were revised in 1923, the two acts were combined. The law of 1915 was repealed and the original law of 1893 was changed

17. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Third Annual Report*, 1887, p. 320.

18. *Ibid.*, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1888, p. 17.

19. "The worst curse we have is this pay by the month. Pay-day is on the 20th of each month, for work done in the preceding month, thus keeping back twenty days' pay."—Miner's comment, in *ibid.*, *First Annual Report*, 1885, p. 135.

20. For example, a bill requiring corporations to pay weekly in lawful money, making all earnings due and payable immediately on discharge, and providing penalties, but not to apply to workers receiving an average per diem exceeding \$1.50, except miners, was introduced in the 1887 legislature. It passed the house by a substantial majority, but the senate did not get to it.—*Ibid.*, *Third Annual Report*, pp. 322, 323.

21. *Laws, Kansas*, 1893, ch. 187.

22. *Ibid.*, 1915, ch. 165.

to read that steam surface railway and farm and dairy corporations must pay wages at least semimonthly, while all other private corporations must pay weekly.²³

The problem of requiring payment in full, on dismissal, of all wages earned has also been dealt with. The weekly pay law of 1893 provided that the wages of discharged employees of all private corporations were payable under the same conditions as laid down in that act for the regular payment of wages. Nothing further was done until 1911, when a separate and independent act was passed which required all corporations to pay, within ten days from the termination of his services, the wages of any employee who quit or who was discharged.²⁴ Payment was to be made at the place of discharge or at any of the corporation's offices in the state designated by the worker. In case of violation, the worker was allowed to recover as damages wages at the same rate until complete settlement for a maximum of sixty days unless action for recovery had been commenced within that time. A further step was taken in 1919 when the discharge provision of the act of 1893 was amended in detail.²⁵ Wages of a discharged employee were made payable on the day of discharge, and for failure to pay within twenty-four hours after a written demand the employer was penalized by giving the worker a right to collect by court procedure his regular wages until full payment of the original wages due was made. It should be noted that the penalty was in addition to the original one of five percent per month for six months.

The act of 1893 requiring weekly payment of wages was declared void. An attack was first made upon the section allowing an attorney's fee, and the section was declared unconstitutional on the ground that the exception of steam and surface railways and farm and dairy corporations constituted discriminatory classification and consequently violated the equal protection clause of the federal constitution.²⁶ That decision foreshadowed the ultimate fate of the act. A broadside attack on the law was made in the Livingston case in 1923.²⁷ In that case it was held that the entire act violated the federal constitution by excepting steam railroads, farm and dairy corporations. We have already noted that the law of 1915 which required all private corporations to pay wages at least semi-

23. *Ibid.*, 1923, ch. 144; *Revised Statutes, Kansas*, 1923, sec. 44-301, p. 687.

24. *Laws, Kansas*, 1911, ch. 219.

25. *Ibid.*, 1919, ch. 221.

26. *Anderson v. Oil Co.*, 106 *Kan.* 483.

27. *Livingston v. Oil Co.*, 118 *Kan.* 702.

monthly was repealed when the general statutes were revised in 1923. The Livingston decision therefore left Kansas without any law regulating time of payment. The deficiency was remedied in 1931 when a law requiring all private corporations to pay at least twice monthly was enacted.²⁸

The discharge provision of the law of 1893, as amended in 1919, was also declared unconstitutional on the ground of discriminatory classification.²⁹ Furthermore, the additional penalty of daily wages until settlement, was held by the court to be not punitive damages, but a fine, and as such had, according to the state constitution, to go into the school fund and not to the worker.³⁰ Again, the court found that the amended act applied to any "firm or person," but that its title did not indicate the fact and the act therefore violated the provision of the state constitution requiring the title of an act to indicate every subject therein.

The state supreme court found the act of 1911, which requires all private corporations to pay employees leaving their services within ten days, constitutional.³¹ The penalty provided in that act—daily wages until settlement, but not to exceed sixty days unless action for recovery has started—was considered to be essentially compensatory. In justification of its decision upholding the discharge provision of this act, the court said:

It is a private wrong to turn off a workman without his pay. It is particularly a grievous thing for a corporation to do so. A corporation is an intangible entity, with many officials and functionaries. A laborer is oft-times mystified in attempting to deal with its numerous responsible heads. He may go from superintendent to manager and from manager to president, if these can be reached, only to be put off or sent on tedious or fruitless journeys to see other functionaries of the corporation before he can get his pay. With an individual employer, the ordinary case is different. The latter, with whom the contract of employment was made, is the individual who discharges the employee, and so is ordinarily at hand or readily accessible to pay when the employee is discharged, and if the laborer's wages are not forthcoming with his discharge, the employee knows at once that he must invoke the aid of the law to collect his due.³²

28. *Laws, Kansas, 1931, ch. 215.*

29. *Livingston v. Oil Co., 113 Kan. 702.*

30. *State constitution, Art. 6, sec. 6.*

31. *Laws, Kansas, 1911, ch. 219; Livingston v. Oil Co., 113 Kan. 702.*

32. *Livingston v. Oil Co., 113 Kan. 702, 707.* Interest at the rate of six percent per annum is made payable by law for "monthly employees, from and after the end of each month, unless the same shall be paid within fifteen days thereafter."—*Laws, Kansas, 1889, ch. 164, sec. 1.* The rate had been seven percent.—*General Statutes, Kansas, 1868, ch. 51.*

BASIS OF PAYMENT

The two basic units used in computing wage payments are piece rates and time rates. Legislation affecting the use of both has been enacted in Kansas. The regulation of wages by the industrial court is too extensive to be discussed in this study, and the law requiring the "prevailing" rate of wages on public work is more properly discussed in connection with legislation regulating hours of labor. However, it is possible to discuss here the Kansas laws affecting piece rates.

One of the most persistent demands made by the coal miners of Kansas was for a law requiring that coal be weighed before being screened.³³ In the 1880's dissatisfaction with the practice of screening coal before weighing it was so widespread and the discussion and agitation so considerable that a joint meeting of the miners and operators of Cherokee and Crawford counties—the principal coal mining counties of the state—was held. At that meeting it was agreed that a uniform screen in two possible sizes, with an area not to exceed eighty-four superficial feet and with openings not to exceed seven-eighths of an inch would be used in screening coal before weighing it.³⁴ This quieted matters for some time. It is said, however, that the operators did not adhere to their agreement, and dissatisfaction again developed.³⁵ Numerous complaints were made that some operators were crushing the coal before it was screened, that others were using screens of larger dimensions than those agreed upon, and that still others were using larger screen openings. In the early 1890's the demand for an antiscreen law was practically unanimous on the part of the miners. Many meetings, conventions and demonstrations were held, and many petitions sent to the legislature.³⁶ Indeed, for years every legislative representative elected from the mining districts was instructed to try to secure a mine-run law, and miners kept paid lobbyists in Topeka to further their cause.³⁷ It was not unusual, however, for successful candidates to make absolutely no attempt to secure the enactment of this legislation.

33. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Third Annual Report*, p. 320. The advantages claimed for a law of this kind were that it would eliminate much of the friction caused by badly regulated and dilapidated screens, and would benefit the miners financially. As one miner put it: "If we had our coal weighed before it is screened, it would be a large item in our pockets."—*Ibid.*, *First Annual Report*, p. 136.

34. Inspector of Coal Mines, Kansas, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1899, p. 142.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

37. *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 119.

Finally, in 1893, a screen law was enacted.³⁸ It was made unlawful to screen any valuable part of the coal of miners employed at quantity rates before weighing it and crediting this weight to the employees concerned.³⁹ Miners were empowered to employ at their own expense a check weighman, who was to have the same rights of weighing coal as the regular weighman, who was to take the same oath—"to do justice between employer and employee"—and to be subject to the same penalty for its violation. Penalties were provided for using fraudulent scales or fraudulent devices. Any agreement to waive, modify or annul the provisions of the act was declared to be null and void.⁴⁰

At first the operators opposed the bill. Later they offered an amendment to make it effective three months before the date set in the act. After its passage, they posted prices for mine-run coal, effective four months before the law became effective. The summer price was to be forty-seven cents and the winter price fifty-three cents per ton.⁴¹ The miners claimed that the prices were too low, and would reduce their earnings. A general meeting of miners was called, and it was agreed that if the rates were enforced a strike would be called. That led to a meeting of miners' and operators' representatives, but no agreement was reached. The rates were enforced, and the strike of 1893 was precipitated. A compromise was effected shortly afterwards, resulting in a settlement. But a demand was made that the workers sign "yellow-dog" contracts. That caused further trouble, until the operators finally withdrew their demand.⁴²

Many operators completely ignored the law. Injunctions and prosecutions finally placed the act before district courts. In some it was declared to be unconstitutional on the ground that it deprived citizens of the freedom of contract.⁴³ The district court judge of

38. *Laws, Kansas, 1893, ch. 188.*

39. It should be noted that contracts for the payment of wages based on the quantity of screened coal produced were not prohibited.—See *State v. Wilson*, 61 *Kan.* 32.

40. A bill, identical in language with this act, except that the section providing penalties for fraudulent scales and weighing included the words, "proceedings to be instituted in any court of competent jurisdiction," was introduced in the 1887 legislature—House bill 351. This bill, followed rather closely the Missouri law, and was prepared by the labor committee of the house. It passed the house, sixty-six to twenty-three, with thirty-six absent or not voting. The senate committee recommended its reference to the committee of the whole and suggested that it be passed. A petition signed by 196 citizens of Cherokee county was presented in the senate. An attempt was made to have the bill advanced on the calendar to third reading, but this failed and the bill was not reached on the regular calendar.—Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Third Annual Report*, p. 320.

41. Mine inspector, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1899, p. 144.

42. *Ibid.*, *Sixth Annual Report*, 1893, pp. 121-127.

43. *The State v. A. B. Kirkwood*, in the district court of Crawford county; *The State v. David Mackie*, in the district court of Cherokee county. The opinion in the latter case will be found in the mine inspector's *Report* for 1895, pp. 139-149. The former case was appealed to the state supreme court, but was never argued.

Crawford county, W. L. Simons, however, upheld the law as a valid exercise of the police power. That case was carried to the Kansas court of appeals. There it was argued that the act violated section one of the Kansas Bill of Rights, which states that "all men are possessed of equal and inalienable natural rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that it violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the federal constitution.⁴⁴ But the act was upheld as a valid exercise of the police power.

Appeal was taken to the state supreme court.⁴⁵ The arguments advanced against the validity of the act were the same as in the lower court. The supreme court also upheld the act as a valid exercise of the police power. The act, it held, did not interfere at all with the right of contract, even to contracting for payment of wages on the basis of screened coal. And the court found it useful in several ways: both miners and operators would have information as a basis for bargaining; deception and fraud would be rendered impossible; and data on the coal production of the state would be useful to the public. One justice dissented, holding that the act was intended by the legislature to regulate the wages of miners, and as such was unconstitutional.

It was nevertheless some time after this decision before all mining companies weighed coal before screening it. The mine inspector was forced to take drastic action to compel some operators to install scales for this purpose. Some companies continued for a while to pay on a screen basis.⁴⁶ By the end of 1900, however, the mine-run basis of payment had been universally accepted.⁴⁷

Two other related matters should be taken up at this point. The first concerns the testing of scales. There has always been a strong feeling among miners that the scales will, whenever possible, be "doctored" in favor of the operator. To guard against any tampering with the scales, the miners long sought to have the mine inspector made an official scale inspector and tester. A bill was introduced in the legislature of 1899 to make the mine inspector ex-officio inspector of weights and measures, but it failed of passage. In 1903, the mine inspector was made ex-officio inspector of weights, measures and scales used at coal mines, and was required to test

44. Mine inspector, *Report*, 1899, pp. 144, 149 ff; *State v. Wilson*, 7 K. A. 428.

45. *State v. Wilson*, 61 Kan. 32.

46. Mine inspector, *Report*, 1899, p. 147.

47. *Ibid.*, 1900, pp. 66-69.

scales once every six months, and authorized to do so oftener.⁴⁸ The other matter relates to the numbers placed by miners on the cars they load with coal as a means of identification. It is unlawful to "change, exchange, substitute, alter or remove" any such "check number" with the intent to cheat or defraud, or to place any number upon any other miner's loaded car with the same intent.⁴⁹

The industrial welfare commission never established piece rates. Two special provisions inserted in the factory and laundry decrees of 1922 by the industrial court, however, should be noted here. It was provided in the factory decree that the earnings of workers on piece rates were to be not less than the minimum weekly wage established for that class of workers, and in the laundry decree that workers not employed full time should be paid the full minimum wage, provided in each case that the worker accepted all work or time offered and was subject to the employer's call at least five days each week.

MEDIUM OF PAYMENT

Several attempts to regulate the medium of wage payment were made by the Kansas legislature. The demand for such legislation came largely from the coal mining regions, where many of the miners were at one time compelled to trade at so-called "pluck me"—company—stores. A special investigator sent into mining communities in 1886 by the state labor commissioner reported that the system of paying wages in scrip during the interval between pay days had grown to such proportions in Cherokee and Crawford counties "that a large majority of the population, business and working men alike—in fact nearly every person, except those directly benefited—demand that some means be taken to abolish the evil."⁵⁰

Miners, it was said, received in cash somewhat more than half of their earnings, the remainder being drawn in the form of scrip and generally spent in the company store.⁵¹ Some reports place

48. *Laws, Kansas, 1903, ch. 544.* The following complaint is illuminating: Scale testing "is one of the most onerous and distasteful of the duties of the mine inspection department. No less than four hundred sets of scales have been tested by the inspectors during the past year. In only a very few instances have any of these scales been found incorrect. Hauling test weights from one mine to another, sometimes under very unfavorable road conditions, and then to find the scales absolutely correct when you test them, and later on to be called back to the same mine within ten days, and in some instances sooner, to make another test, and again to find the scales weighing correctly; in short, to be hounded from post to pillar by everyone concerned in the scales, at all the different mines, is among the joys of this particular end of the mine inspector's duties in this state."—Mine inspector, *Report, 1913-1914, pp. 10, 11.*

49. *Laws, Kansas, 1905, ch. 214.*

50. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Second Annual Report, 1886, p. 200.* Two facsimiles of scrip are reproduced on page 204 of this report.

51. For a detailed but limited analysis of this, see *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 31-67.

the percentage of wages paid in scrip as high as 72.⁵² An example of one method of compelling miners to "draw" scrip was given by an ex-mine foreman. "The first of each month the mine foreman is given a list of employees classed into groups, 'good,' 'fair,' and 'bad,' with regard to their custom of drawing scrip during the month, and if he is a wise foreman he sees to it that the miner marked 'bad,' and drawing the smallest amount of scrip during the month, is punished for his negligence . . ." ⁵³ Perhaps that example was not typical of conditions as they existed in Kansas coal mining camps at that time, but it does reveal a kind of pressure that was not infrequently brought to bear in many primitive mining communities.⁵⁴

When scrip was used to purchase goods in the company store, it passed at face value. Frequently, however, the miner wanted cash for other purposes. To secure this cash before the regular pay day, it was customary to draw scrip and to sell it at a discount to anyone willing to purchase it. The camp saloon keeper usually performed the service, and that constituted another serious evil of the system. Estimates of the discount on scrip vary from five to thirty-five percent.⁵⁵ Complaint was universally made that the practice appreciably increased the miner's cost of living, the argument being that miners were compelled to pay higher prices at the company store or take a heavy discount on their scrip.

Legislation designed to remedy the situation was soon adopted. An act of 1887 made it unlawful to give in payment of wages, directly or indirectly, any scrip, token, check, draft, order, or other evidence of indebtedness, payable otherwise than at the date of issue and in lawful money.⁵⁶ The prohibition extended also to advances of wages earned but not yet due. To check the abuses involved in compulsory trading at company stores, it was made unlawful for employers to compel their employees to trade at any particular place of business. Violation was punishable by fine or imprisonment. Apparently the legislature was not willing to uproot completely the entire system, for it provided that any person could, at

52. *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 318.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

54. A recent case is reported from Harlan county, Kentucky. A coal operator there reported that the practice of issuing scrip is widespread. "Asked whether there was any compulsion to make the miners trade at his stores, Mr. Bradley said: 'Well, I just told my miners, "Now boys, if you don't want to trade with me you can move along."'" When asked about the prices charged in his stores as compared with ordinary stores, he is said to have replied: "Of course my prices are a little higher."—J. C. Byars, Jr., "Harlan County: Act of God?" in *The Nation*, v. 134, No. 3493 (June 15, 1932), p. 673.

55. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1897, p. 318.

56. *Laws, Kansas*, 1887, ch. 171.

the solicitation of an employee, give orders on any business house, provided he himself was not directly or indirectly interested in the business. And contracts between farmers and their employees were excepted from the provisions of the act. Ten years later this act was amended. It was made to apply only to corporations or trusts that employed ten or more persons.⁵⁷ The provision allowing employers to give orders on a business house in which they were not interested, at the employee's request, and that excepting contracts between farmers and their workers were dropped.

Almost immediately the constitutionality of the amended act was challenged. A mining company was convicted in the district court for giving a "punch-check" for wages earned but not yet due and payable.⁵⁸ The case was taken to the court of appeals, and there the constitutionality of the act was affirmed.⁵⁹ It was held by the court of appeals that the act applied only to corporations, and the decision holding the act constitutional was made to rest on the right of the legislature to amend corporate charters. The section regarding coercing employees to trade at particular stores, however, was held invalid on the ground that it was not within the scope of the act as indicated by its title. One judge dissented, holding that the title of the act was narrower than the text and that therefore the entire act was in violation of the state constitution.

An appeal was taken to the state supreme court. There the decision of the court of appeals was reversed, and the entire act was declared unconstitutional.⁶⁰ Many defects in the act were found by the state supreme court. The title contained not even a hint that corporate charters were affected, and that was required by the state constitution. The act applied not only to corporations, but also to trusts, and a trust might be composed of persons or firms associated together and might or might not be incorporated. Thus the main contention of the lower court was rejected. Furthermore, the court did not hesitate to say that the act violated the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution, for the provision limiting the act to corporations or trusts that employ ten or more workers was discriminatory classification and thus denied the equal protection of

57. *Ibid.*, 1897, ch. 145.

58. The following copy of this "punch-check" is taken from *State v. Haun*, 61 Kan. 146, 148:

\$2.00

Fuller, Kansas, 9-22-1897

Kansas Commercial Coal Company: Please accept this as an order for store merchandise to the amount of two dollars, and charge the same to my account. Not transferable.

E. P. GRAVES.

59. *State v. Haun*, 7 K. A. 509.

60. *State v. Haun*, 61 Kan. 146.

the laws. It was "class legislation of the most pronounced character."⁶¹ The act was regarded not only as bad law, but also as bad economics. Such legislation

treats the laborer as a ward of the government, and discourages the employment of those talents which lead to success in the fields of commercial enterprise. . . . Those who seek to put a protector over labor reflect upon the dignity and independence of the wage-earner, and deceive him by the promise that legislation can cure all the ills of which he may complain. Such legislation suggests the handiwork of the politician, rather than of the political economist.⁶²

The chief justice dissented. It was his contention that the act amended corporate charters, and that its title need not state the fact in so many words. "The doctrine of the majority of the court reduced to a finality," he said, "is that . . . corporations are not required to take notice of the general body of the statute law. . . ." ⁶³ And admitting for the sake of argument that the legislature did not have the right to impose the regulations on individuals, partnerships and trusts, it had the right as to corporations, and that part of the act could be segregated from the rest. Furthermore, the chief justice held that limiting the act to corporations or trusts employing ten or more persons was not discriminatory classification.⁶⁴

Thus the first attempt to compel the payment of wages in lawful money proved to be unsuccessful. A second attempt was made in 1899.⁶⁵ The new act extended not only to corporations and trusts, but also to any person or firm, and required that time-checks, due bills, orders, etc., issued in payment of wages, be payable in lawful money, not at the date of issue as did the previous law, but fifteen days after date, and then only at the option of the holder. Punitive damages of double the amount involved plus a reasonable attorney's fee were made recoverable by the worker. This act was superseded by one of 1917, which makes undated due bills, scrip, etc., payable at the holder's option in lawful money, and dated due bills payable not more than fifteen days after date of issue.⁶⁶ Punitive damages and attorney's fee are no longer recoverable.

The constitutionality of the act of 1899, and the modification of 1917, has not been questioned in the courts. The decision which in-

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 155.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-170.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-178.

65. *Laws, Kansas, 1899*, ch. 152.

66. *Ibid.*, 1917, ch. 229.

validated the previous act was one of the last cases of the century in this country in which antiscrip legislation was held to be in violation of the principle of freedom of contract. In Kansas the constitutional philosophy of the judges of the supreme court, insofar as labor legislation is concerned, appears to have changed considerably in the past thirty years. Indeed, since the date of the decision discussed above, the U. S. supreme court has upheld the constitutionality of an antiscrip law.⁶⁷ It would therefore appear that the constitutionality of the Kansas act would be upheld by the courts. The abuses against which the legislation was directed have disappeared.

It may be well to take up at this point a related problem. In the coal mining regions of southeast Kansas regular pay days come twice monthly. It has long been customary, however, for miners to draw on their earnings between pay days. For this privilege the companies have as a rule discounted the cash drawn by ten percent. Assuming that the average length of time for which these earnings were advanced was one week, the discount amounted to 520 percent per annum.

The court of industrial relations discovered this practice in an investigation of the coal industry made in 1920 and 1921. Recognizing that some expense was involved in extending the privilege, still the court thought the discount too high. It therefore ordered the following practice. A minimum charge of twenty-five cents was allowed, to cover the expense of making and recording the payments. Where sums drawn exceeded a nominal amount, "like ten or fifteen dollars," a maximum of two percent could be added to the minimum charge. Expressed in terms of rates, the maximum was raised from 570 to 1,700 percent, and the minimum lowered from 570 to approximately 150 percent on large advances. The court realized that this arrangement involved a high discount, but thought it would tend to have a beneficial effect in discouraging workers "from drawing between pay days," which it considered as being "not a frugal, prudent way to do," but necessary in certain circumstances.⁶⁸ Since it was customary for miners to draw small sums for odd purposes, the practical effect of the order was to deprive them of the privilege by making the cost prohibitive. Some companies altogether discontinued the practice of making advances in cash after the order.

67. *Knoxville Iron Co. v. Harbison*, 183 U. S. 13.

68. "Orders of Court of Industrial Relations," Docket No. (3253) 1, pp. 1A and 1B, MS.

CONCLUSION

The problems of time, basis and medium of wage payments have been solved reasonably satisfactorily in Kansas. Improvements in detail could, of course, be made, and some of the detail is important. For example, wage preference laws are of little use when a bankrupt employer's assets are negligible. The principal wage problems now confronting Kansas are different in character and more complex than those herein discussed. But legislation extending preferences and safeguards to wages will continue to be of basic importance.

Bypaths of Kansas History

STEAMBOATING DOWN THE KANSAS RIVER

From *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 2, 1855.

Having a day of leisure, and finding the *Emma Harmon* at our Levee last Monday morning advertised for Kansas City, Mo., we jumped on board as she was leaving her moorings at eight o'clock in the morning, and in a moment after found ourself, with several friends, gliding at a rapid rate down the Kansas river. Immediately after leaving Lawrence we found both banks of the river densely wooded, presenting a lovely appearance, such as the mind naturally infers to be peculiar to rivers of the tropics.

The banks of the river we found to be high, and the bed of the same uniform width the entire distance. One peculiarity of the tributaries was, that at their confluence with the Kansas their mouths were very narrow, and said to be quite deep. Not a foot of low, marshy ground is seen along the river. The current sweeps on at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and presents a darkish mud color, contrasting quite forcibly with the clayey appearance of the Missouri. This difference in the shade of colors between the two rivers is so great that on passing out of the mouth of the Kansas into the Missouri it seems as if a bed of clay was spread out before us, and we observed that this distinguishing difference was preserved in the Missouri down to Kansas City; the waters of Kansas river retaining the southern shore, and preserving its darkish hue the entire distance, it being near two miles.

The steamer rounded to about eight miles below Lawrence, and tied up to the tree, while the crew loaded on from the shore some ten cords of wood, which the Delaware Indians had cut and piled up there for sale. We were happy to observe that the vices of the whites had not corrupted them in one respect, and that in relation to measure. They had marked off by stakes the number of cords they claimed, and in every instance had given more than full measure. Capt. Wing concluded that the Delawares were strictly honest, and hence took the whole pile. Casting loose again after a detention of one and a half hours we passed the mouth of the Wakarusa on our right, and immediately below it a beautiful town site, with a high bluff, and a rocky shore, so straight and nicely formed it seemed as if art had been there with her implements and trimmed the whole to her taste. As soon as the lands at this point are in a position that titles can be acquired they will be selected for a town site by some enterprising capitalist.

A few miles farther on, probably fifteen below Lawrence, on the north side, there is another lovely prospect for a town; we believe the most enchanting we ever saw. The bank is about fifty feet high, gradually sloping back to an altitude of some seventy-five feet. The shore, like the point at Wakarusa, is straight and resembles a well built wharf in many of the prosperous places on the Eastern canals, with the exception that the elevation above the rocky shore is more precipitous, and better adapted for a town site. The earth was decked with a luxuriant garb of wild grass, and a grove of native trees decorated the landscape, and made the whole truly enchanting. If the

river shall remain navigable until the fourth of July next, we propose a picnic party to this lovely place, now the property of the Delawares, and the future site of the most important point between Lawrence and the mouth of the Kansas river.

Some forty miles below here, on the south side of the river, is an Indian village, known as Delaware. It is also a commanding position, and when Yankee enterprise shall be able to gain a foothold, and commence improvements we may expect to see it more frequently alluded to in our public journals.

Wyandot is on the north side of the river, and located at its mouth. Since the title to the soil has been conveyed to the occupants in severalty by government we have no doubt but enterprise will get possession, and we apprehend Kansas City will find in her a powerful rival.

The *Emma Harmon* arrived at her landing in Kansas City at a few minutes past three o'clock P. M., making the trip, aside from the time consumed in wooding, in less than six hours. The scenery, along the river, the smiling faces, kind expressions, and warm hearts of the officers and crew, and the entire freedom from coarse and vulgar language on board the boat made this, our first trip down the Kansas river, one never to be forgotten. It was the first trip *down* the river this season.

On Tuesday Captain Wing took on board about fifty passengers, and something over a hundred tons of freight and on Wednesday evening tied up at our wharf, having made rather slow progress on account of the rapid current, and the loss of her rudder from having run into a snag the night previous.

We take this occasion to express to the captain, clerk, and in fact the entire officers and crew, our thanks for the uniform courtesy exhibited by them to us, as well as all on board on both our downward and upward passage. By an advertisement in another place it will be seen that the *Emma Harmon* is advertised as a regular semiweekly packet between this point and Kansas City. We trust she will be liberally sustained, and that the proprietors will never have occasion to regret their acquaintance with the Kansas river.

KANSAS AND LAWRENCE SEMIWEEKLY

Packet Steamer *Emma Harmon*, J. W. Wing, Master, will leave Kansas City every Monday and Thursday; returning will leave Lawrence every Wednesday and Saturday.—The public may depend upon this steamer being prompt and regular, also that she will continue in the trade for the season. Every effort will be made to give satisfaction. In consideration we solicit the patronage of shippers and passengers. For freight or passage apply on board, or to

June 2, 1855.—6m.

HUTCHINSON, HARLOW & Co., Agt's.

THE IOWA INDIANS PUT ON THE DOG

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, March 25, 1858.

GREAT TIME AMONG THE INDIANS—HEAP DOG!—A grand Dog Feast came off among the Iowas, on last Sunday. Although the Indians do not fancy dog meat much, yet when they wish to have an extra occasion, they feast on a dog. The circumstances which brought about this "love feast" were about as follows:

On the first of the present month, the Iowas made a law among themselves, that if any member of the tribe drank whisky or got drunk before their crops were all in the ground, he should be whipped. [*Mem.* We would recommend this law to many of the whites. Perhaps provisions would be cheaper and times easier, in that event.] Now, Elisha Dorian, their interpreter, or 'Lish, as he is commonly called, has about as good a head for whisky as any of his neighbors, and he thought to come a sly touch over his brethren. He and another red-skin took a private snifter together; but somehow their gauge had been set in the wrong notch, and they got too much "whisk" into them, and became glorious "big Injins." The tribe decided that they must be whipped; but 'Lish thought to come old Buck over them, and bribe them off. He came to town, bought a big dog, a number of sacks of flour, some sugar, and lots of good things, and offered the tribe a grand feast. But they refused to partake of his feast, and, to escape the whipping, he crossed to the other side of the river. But alas! the Indians are becoming almost as corrupt as congressmen. Negotiations commenced, the Indians agreed to accept the feast, and 'Lish returned from his banishment. On Sunday the feast came off, and 'Lish's back remained sound.

Tuesday seemed to be a grand holiday among the Iowas. The whole tribe—men, women, children, horses and dogs, were in town, and they carried home a very large quantity of flour. We have heard that they also obtained this through the bounty of 'Lish, but cannot say as to whether it was or not. But the occasion was an extra one, for most of the Indians (even including the women) had on clean clothes! A majority of the women had papposes, which they carried at their backs, in their blankets, with their bare heads sticking out above, exposed to the hot rays of the sun. And we noticed that those women who had no papposes, carried young pups at their backs, with their heads sticking out, in the same manner that they carry their children! They had quite a large number of these pups along; but what they meant by it, is beyond our comprehension—as old Leather-Stocking would say, "the Indian's gifts are not our gifts." One effect of their temperance arrangement was plainly observable—they attended to their business in short order, and then went home, without hanging for a whole day about the whisky shops.

Wednesday was another flour day with the Indians, and they carried off "dead loads" of it. We have learned that they obtained it through the bounty of Mr. Roy, at the rate of four or five dollars per sack, when they get the money. We saw a wagon drawn by oxen, containing about half a load, and just behind the wagon was an old squaw, some fifty or sixty years of age, toddling along with a large sack of flour strapped to her back! We saw a number of squaws carrying sacks on their backs, while the *braves* rode home on horseback!

BEAR HUNTING IN EASTERN KANSAS

From the *Emporia News*.

Mr. John J. Greenhalgh, of Madison Center, on the Verdigris river, about twenty miles south of this place, saw two young bears while on his way from that place to Emporia on Tuesday morning last with the mail. This is the first instance we have ever heard of bears anywhere in this region of country.

Mr. G. pursued the animals for some distance, but being entirely unarmed he was unable to capture either of them. Several times he came within five or six feet of the bears, when they would stop, turn on him, and throwing themselves upon their hind feet, evincing a desire to give him a "hug" which he would not soon forget. Mr. G. tried to give the people of Emporia a surprise by killing one of them and bringing it to town. He drove them half a mile or more in this direction, but they finally made their escape through the tall grass.—July 13, 1861.

We learn that Messrs. Fisher, Jonathan Wood and other citizens of Chase county killed a large black bear, a few days ago, on the Cottonwood, just this side of Cottonwood Falls. The bear was wandering through the country alone, and no one could tell where it came from. Some suppose it to have been an escaped pet from somewhere up the Cottonwood. It was first discovered near Mr. Fisher's residence. He got his gun and snapped the last cap at him he had about the premises, without getting his gun to "go off." Mr. Wood and other neighbors were informed, when "bruin" was soon brought down.—October 20, 1866.

FINIS FOR A HORSE THIEF

From *The Big Blue Union*, Marysville, August 1, 1863.

"LEFT HERE.—A young man who has been stopping here for some days, left this place Thursday night, in the dark. A saddle and bridle, belonging to a soldier, left at the same time. Singular coincidence."

This "coincidence," as mentioned in last week's *Union*, was the first intimation the people had here that a horse thief was among them, and not until the Sunday following was it ascertained that a horse was stolen from this vicinity, at which time it was found that Judge Brumbaugh, of this place, was the sufferer. Knowing that the valley of the Big Blue had been the ground of past operations of the suspected thief, immediate preparation was made for pursuit, and hitching a span of horses to his buggy, the judge invited us to accompany him to Manhattan. The exigency demanded speed, and we (not editorially and singularly "we" alone, but the "we" constituting the judge and ourself) set sail on our Sunday mission immediately.

THE BLUE VALLEY

The first night was passed at John Wells', on the Vermillion, where we found comfortable fare and accommodations, and early Monday morning found us on our way down the Big Blue valley, forty-five miles of which still lay between us and Manhattan. The day was delightful.—The aroma from the red cedars and wild flowers was wafted to our senses by a gentle breeze. The defiles of "dumpling"-shaped hills, rearing themselves like sturdy sentinels each side of the Blue, ribbed and crowned at their tops by splendid specimens of limestone, as neatly arranged and divided into blocks as if done by the stone-cutter's hand; the ravines and abrupt cannons penetrating the bluffs, skirted by shrubbery and scattering forest trees; the tall cottonwood and majestic oak watching the shining waters; the bottom lands waving with luxuriant grass, improved and interspersed here and there by an opened farm—

the wheat field nicely shaven and the corn tassels waving in the wind;—the whole spread out before us like a panorama scene, enlarging as we descended the stream to its mouth. The few farms which we passed were promising a most abundant crop. The Indian lands or "floats" are a great hindrance to this one of the finest valleys in the West. Every acre is capable of cultivation, and on a trip through one frequently finds himself revolving the idea of what a vast population the valley is capable of sustaining when it shall have been improved and the "hum of busy industry" is heard its entire length.

THE THIEF NABBED—TRIAL, ETC.

At the house of Mr. Pierce, about twelve miles north of Manhattan, and where we obtained our dinner, we were informed of the arrest of a notorious horse thief and that his examination and trial was progressing at the latter place. We hurried on and found the person arraigned in a citizens' court and before a jury of twelve, the thief sought for. His eye dropped as we entered the court room, and after being sworn and giving our testimony in the case the fellow hardly raised his head again.—The case was a clear one and was soon decided by the jury bringing in a verdict of guilty on all of the charges. He was then remanded to jail to await further action, after which, at his request, a committee was appointed to hear his confession, which consisted in not only acknowledging the theft in the present case but of all his operations extending through more than two years' time and embracing various degrees of crime and theft. He also implicated other parties. After the confession the meeting was called together according to previous adjournment, a committee appointed to fix the sentence and when and where it should be executed. The committee reported hanging, and after a short time allowed the culprit he was taken the same night across the bridge of the Blue into Pottawatomie county, a short distance east from town, and there publicly executed.

THE GALLOWS

Consisted of a wagon drawn under a leaning willow tree from which was suspended the rope. The cord adjusted around the victim's neck, he was asked if he had anything he wished to say. His reply was simply "No"; and a little further time being occupied in the preparation, he continued, "Go ahead; G-d"—whether the last word was the commencement of an oath or the imploring for mercy we could not determine, tho we thought it an expression of impatience to be out of his misery, from which he was evidently suffering intensely. But the final drop came at last and the soul of Monroe Scranton passed from time to eternity.—The night was black with dark, heavy clouds, the elms and willows bowed beneath a strong wind and large drops of rain fell, as if Heaven was closing the scene by weeping over the crimes of man.

THE PROCEEDINGS

Throughout were of the most orderly nature. The people were calm, but determined, and when Mr. Brumbaugh made a request that the thief might be brought back to this county to be dealt with by the people here, they replied that his past operations in Riley and Pottawatomie counties were sufficient to condemn him, and that they must make him an example before their community.

The circumstances of the capture of the thief, the regaining of the stolen property and incidents connected therewith all seemed providentially ordered.

COMING HOME

The horse recovered, the thief hung, and all accomplished within four days from the time of the perpetration of the crime, we started on our way home rejoicing.—We returned by the way of the settlements on Mill, Fancy, Fawn creeks and the Little Blue, passing some fine country, but no incident worthy of note, with the exception of a sudden rise of the Blue, occurred to hinder or give variety to our trip.

From the *Wyandott Herald*, October 15, 1874.

A Milwaukee paper says: "What is wanted in Kansas is more telegraph poles, or stronger ones. The average pole holds only about four horse thieves comfortably."

MORE NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SANTA FE RAILROAD

A. T. & S. F. R. R. TIME TABLE

Superintendent's Office,
A. T. & S. F. R. R.,
Topeka, June 23, 1869.

The above railroad will be opened for business on Monday, June 28th, 1869, between Topeka and Carbondale, at which point trains connect with stages for Burlingame and Emporia. Trains will run daily (except Sundays) as follows: Mixed train leaves Topeka at 6:15 a. m., arriving at Carbondale 7:45 a. m. Passenger leaves Carbondale 10:10 a. m. arrives at Topeka 11:30 a. m., and connects with east and west trains on Kansas Pacific. Returning leaves Topeka at 1:00 p. m. arriving at Carbondale 2:00 p. m. Mixed train leaves Carbondale 4:00 p. m. arriving at Topeka 5:45 p. m.

T. J. PETER, Supt.

[Advertisement in the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 25, 1869.]

WESTWARD HO!—The first regular train left the A. T. & S. F. depot 6:15 yesterday morning, with a half-dozen or more through passengers.

All the southwest stage lines have discontinued running to this point, and are now connecting with the trains on the Santa Fé road at the end of the track.

Passengers for Burlingame, Emporia, Neosho Valley, and other points southwest, should come to Topeka, take the Santa Fé railroad to the end of the line, and thence by stage, saving time, money and lumber-wagon rides.—*Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 29, 1869.

The A. T. & S. F. railroad has been open for business since the 1st of July. Cars have been running to Carbondale, eighteen miles distant, since then. One engine, one passenger coach, one express and baggage car, and twelve flat cars comprise the rolling stock up to the present time. There are on the road hither, direct from the manufacturers, two engines, two passenger coaches, twelve flat cars and twenty coal cars. The earnings of the road during the month of July were as follows:

From passengers, \$939.20; from freight, \$745.94. Total earnings, \$1,685.14. The earnings for the month of August will be over three thousand dollars, and

the superintendent says they will continue to double for the next three months. There are seven employees on the road, as follows: conductor, Wm. Hagan; engineer, Geo. E. Beach; fireman, Britt Craft; brakemen, Wm. Bartling, Albert Dugan; stage agent, Geo. Draper; express messenger, J. Eager; news boy, William Beach. We publish these details, minor as they may appear, for future reference. They will look curious a few years hence!—*Commonwealth*, August 21, 1869.

Two car loads of cattle were shipped for the East today from Burlingame, the first shipment of the kind over the A. T. & S. F. R. R. This is but the small beginning of what is to be a source of great income to the railroad when it shall have been completed.—*Commonwealth*, October 1, 1869.

At the opening of the year 1870 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad Company had no buildings in Topeka except the depot, an engine house with two stalls, and a small blacksmith shop. The close of the year finds considerable change. The machine shop now about completed is built substantially of wood, and is sixty-two feet wide by one hundred feet long. The two story, or front building, is thirty by sixty-two feet. This building contains a blacksmith shop and a carpenter and machine shop proper. There are also a pattern maker's shop, and the office of the master mechanic. The shop is provided with an engine of twenty-five horse power, and is fitted up with a fine drill press, built in Philadelphia, lathes, planers, and everything necessary for any work in wood or iron that may be called for.—*State Record*, January 4, 1871.

The A. T. & S. F. R. R. Co. have received two new engines lately, but yet have not enough to do business without borrowing of the K. P.—*North Topeka Times*, October 12, 1871.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railroad is assessed on seventy-one locomotives, thirty-six passenger cars, five sleeping cars, nine express and mail cars, four hundred and thirty-four box cars, four hundred and seventeen cattle cars, five hundred and seventy-five platform and coal cars, one hundred and fifty-eight hand cars, two wrecking cars, two pay cars, thirty cabooses and nine baggage cars. Total valuation of its rolling stock, \$715,700.—*Osage County Chronicle*, Burlingame, copied in *The Kansas Methodist*, Topeka, July, 1879.

COUNTY BOUNDARY TROUBLES

During the session of the 1877 legislature, Larned people tried to induce the legislature to slice off a segment of Pawnee Rock township from Barton county and add it to Pawnee county. Upon a final vote, however, the plan failed. The Great Bend *Inland Tribune*, of February 24, 1877, had the following to say regarding the proposed legislation:

If our Pawnee county friends will occupy and improve the thousands of acres of land now lying vacant in their county, and not seek to grow rich and prosperous "all of a sudden, like," by lopping off the rich and populous

portions of Barton, it would look better. It will have a very bad effect, gentlemen, on Pawnee county, when it is discovered that you need a portion of Barton to aid you in building your county buildings. If the worst comes to the worst, our relations with your county are such, that Barton will loan you a few county bonds for a court house, if you don't get too naughty. . . .

The following petition, signed by about 100 persons (regardless of political bias), was sent to the legislature Tuesday night:

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of Kansas.

Whereas, Pawnee county is desirous to obtain a portion of the territory now included within the county of Barton; and

Whereas, when a man asks our coat we become immediately anxious to give him our cloak also; and, whereas, Pawnee county has no court house for the safe keeping of her records, and the court house of Barton county is of ample dimensions for both us and them, and

Whereas, the county officers of this county are fully competent to transact the business of both counties, thereby curtailing expenditures.

Therefore, the undersigned residents of Barton county, in the generosity of their noble hearts, respectfully petition your honorable body to pass an act attaching the whole of Barton county to that of Pawnee, and making Great Bend the county seat, and the officers of Barton the officers of said new Pawnee county.

TOWNS ON ROLLERS

From the *Wallace County Register*, Wallace, October 9, 1886.

They are preparing for a combination of towns in Sherman county. The parties chiefly interested are Itasca and Sherman Center. They would like to drag Voltaire into the net also, but as yet that has not been accomplished. The other two will probably tie up on a new site near the present site of Sherman Center and then there will be a grand roller skate parade across the prairie of the two towns. This town business is a fine thing for the fellow that wins, but it's death to hold the losing card.

There is also some skirmishing down in Greeley, and Tribune and Greeley Center are each trying to gobble the four or five little shanties that have been mustering under the proud title of "Hector." It's the name they are after we presume.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Forty years of banking in Glasco was reviewed by L. Noel in the *Glasco Sun*, May 13, 1937.

Reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Blass, early residents of Fredonia, were reported by Belle C. Lyon in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, July 5, 1938.

One of the oldest advertising bulletins of the city of Parsons, a broadside printed in October, 1871, when the town was some six months old, was discussed in the *Parsons Sun*, August 12, 1938.

The story of "Allen G. Campbell's Rise to Wealth," as told by John T. Bristow, was published in the *Holton Recorder*, December 19 and 26, 1938. Mr. Campbell was noted as a pioneer mining operator, principal benefactor of the old Campbell University at Holton, and Nemaha county's first millionaire.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans featured in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* include: "Class of Three a Century Ago Started Training of Teachers [Kansas joined the movement in the Civil War period]," by G. H., July 3, 1939; "William Allen White Remembers Walt Mason ['rhyming reporter'], 'a Real Old-Timer,'" July 6; "A Bishop [Francis Clement Kelley] Who Grew Up With West Jots Down a Story of Progress," by D. P., July 8; "Old Central City [Colo.], Revived by Art, Started Its Career 80 Years Ago," when the new territory of Kansas extended westward to the Rockies, July 9; "A Visiting Kansan [Jack Harris, publisher of the *Hutchinson News and Herald*] Looks at London," July 16; "The Old Covered Bridge [near Springdale, in Leavenworth county, spanning Big Stranger creek] Still Stands," by M. W., July 23; "Old Baptist Missions in Kansas Mark the Trail of Settlement," by Cecil Howes, July 26; "All Quiet on the Turkey Creek Front of Our Own Home Guards," by H. V. B., July 28; "Rise of American Newspaperwomen Hailed By a Veteran Journalist [Florence Finch Kelly, who started her newspaper career in Topeka in 1880]," by J. D. W., August 12; "Spickardsville, Mo., Crusaders Stormed Ahead of Carry Nation," by William R. Denslow, August 16; "Literary Talent Shown By Raider [Capt. William H. Gregg] Who Led Quantrill to Lawrence," by E. R. S., August 21.

Included among Victor Murdock's historical feature articles in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* were: "Performance of Prairies [in

yield of wheat] Over Fifty Year Period Shown in [C. Q.] Chandler Table," July 4, 1939; "Memory of Buffalo Wallow Marking a Favorite Spot With Bison on the Prairies," July 13; "Following [D. S.] Munger Family Who Had First Big Home in the City of Wichita," July 14; "Revolution Is Revealed When New Prairie State Is Contrasted With the Old," July 19; "How the Growth of Wichita Has Transformed Farms Into Multiple Town-Lots," July 21; "Experience of Sidney Dellaplain, Five Years Old at the Time, When Old Man Ryan and His Hosts Engaged Dick Yeager and Ike Black in Battle," August 1; "Sod-House Construction Given in Exact Detail By H. S. Judy, a Pioneer," August 3; "What Estell Gates Palmer, Whose Life Has Been Passed Along No. 54, Has Witnessed in Expansion in This Corner of the Country," August 12; "Wichitan's [Henry York] Close View of Everything Offered on the Prairie Program," August 17; "First Plane Name-Plate Turned Out in Wichita Preserved By W. R. Snook," September 1; "One Quiet Night in June [1917] Which Will Always Linger in a Wichitan's Memory," September 5; "Why Wichita Has Edge in Making of Macaroni Over All Other Localities," September 8; "Experience of a Wichitan, George T. Bailey, South of the State Line Below Anthony When the Cherokee Outlet Was Opened Forty-Six Years Ago," September 15; "Walking Sixty Odd Miles Across Kansas Prairies To Locate a Homestead," September 23; "With Abilene's Birthday Comes Memory of Three Men, McCoy, Myers and Hersey," September 25; "Heroes of the High Plains Who Are Manning Outposts in Great Prairie Battle," September 26.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans printed recently in issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* include: "Kansas Constitution Was Formed at Wyandotte Eighty Years Ago," by Cecil Howes, July 5, 1939; "Bishop Fenner [new Episcopal bishop of Kansas] Charts His Course With the Accuracy of an Engineer," by Paul I. Wellman, July 21; "The Old Frankensteins of Kansas Journalism Make Their Last Stand," by Cecil Howes, August 10; "New Trees on Kansas Prairie Carry on an 80-Year Struggle," by Cecil Howes, August 15; "Country Realizes Immense Profit From [Dr. David Fairchild, dean of America's plant explorers, who spent his boyhood days in Kansas] Plant Explorer's Adventure," by Dwight Pennington, August 17; "William Allen White Expresses His Confidence in the New West," September 14.

An "Honored American Mother," Mrs. Louisa Schwindt of Holton, died July 13, 1939, at the age of ninety-five years. *Capper's Weekly*, Topeka, of July 22, featured her picture with the information that in the past two years she had received third honors, based on the number of direct living descendants, in Sen. Arthur Capper's "All American Grandma" contest. Mrs. Schwindt was the wife of a union soldier who came to Kansas following the Civil War. At the time of her death she had 209 living, direct descendants—nine children, 65 grandchildren and 135 great-grandchildren. "This was the same number which last year gave Mrs. Terence McCabe, Cresco, Iowa, first award as 'Honored Mother of America,'" *Capper's Weekly* reported.

Commemorating its sixty-seven years of service to Wichita and the Southwest, the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* issued a ninety-six page anniversary edition on July 30, 1939. Included among the articles of historical interest were a reprint of a description of the city of Wichita, written in April, 1876, by Col. M. M. Murdock; an article entitled "The *Wichita Eagle*, Its Course in Developing This Region Over a Period of Sixty-seven Years," and stories picturing Wichita as the chief wheat and stock market, and the business, industrial and athletic center of southwest Kansas. Other articles were devoted to aviation, the cultivation of wheat, and sorghum grains, the development of the industrial resources of the community, the city's transportation system, and its civic and cultural interests.

The *Manhattan Morning Chronicle* and *Mercury* issued a special "Town and College 1939 Progress Edition," July 30 and 31, 1939, respectively. In it were featured the attractions, advantages and progress of the town, and Kansas State College.

An account of the prehistoric Indian burial pit near Salina, which is being excavated by Mr. and Mrs. Guy L. Whiteford and son, Jay Dee, was published in *Winners of the West*, St. Joseph, Mo., in the August, 1939, issue. The excavation, which has been in progress for three years, was described by Mr. Whiteford at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society on October 18, 1938.

Phases of the early history of the Kansas Indians, especially pertaining to their occupancy of the Missouri river region and their meeting with the military expedition commanded by Maj. Stephen H. Long, which was sent in 1819 for the protection of fur traders, was related by George J. Remsburg, in the *Leavenworth Times*, August 3, 1939. Biographical information on Wom-pa-wa-ra,

known as White Plume, a Kaw chieftain, who was the great-grandfather of the late Charles Curtis, was included in the article.

Historical data concerning the village of Dispatch, in Jewell county, were compiled by Mrs. Joe Beeler from the reminiscences of Peter DeBey, a pioneer settler of the community, and printed in the *Downs News*, August 3, 1939.

The Herington *Times-Sun* issued a special twenty-eight page "Golden Anniversary Edition," August 3, 1939. An article entitled "The *Times-Sun* Mirrors the Community for Fifty Years," was featured on the front page. Other articles of historical importance were: "St. John's Lutheran Church First to Bring Gospel Here," "It Pays to Advertise' Said Herington Merchants in 1889," "First Community Post Office Established at Aroma in '69," "Enthusiasm of M. D. Herington Brought Rock Island Here," "First Newspaper in County Appeared At Detroit in 1870," "Bert Harris Recalls Quarter Century on Herington *Times*," "Herington a Way Station on Map in 1887, Population 300," "Herington's Business Men" by A. M. Crary, "Seventy Years of Journalism in the Tri-County Community," "Kansas in '54," "Mrs. Minnie Koepke Recalls the Kansas of the Sixties," "Skiddy, the Only Town By That Name in United States," "Perspective Drawing Gives 'Bird's Eye View' of the City of Herington As It Appeared Fifty Years Ago," "Twenty-One Herington Firms in Business Over 40 Years," "Juan De Padilla Mysteriously Murdered Near Here in 1542," "First Kansas Press Brought to State 105 Years Ago By Baptist Missionary," "Notes of 1889," "Railroads and Prosperity Came to Herington Together," "Kansas Oil Could Supply the Demand of the Entire Nation," "First Hello Girl," and "A Change in Newspaper Style Since Vol. 1, No. 1 of the *Times*."

Recollections of an Osborne county pioneer, John Kaser, were printed in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, August 3, and reprinted in the *Clyde Republican*, August 10, 1939.

The *Concordia Blade-Empire* on August 15, 1939, sketched briefly the founding of the Elm creek colony in 1860, the first permanent settlement in Cloud county.

"Hats Off to the Builders of Lincoln County" is the title of a series of historical articles by Thelma J. McMullen in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*. The stories, consisting chiefly of biographical material relating to early settlers in Lincoln county, have appeared each week since August 31, 1939.

The Dickinson County Community High School at Chapman has had fifty-one years of progress, reported the *Chapman Advertiser* in a special souvenir edition August 31, 1939.

A description of the annual Quad-County Old Settlers' Reunion, held at Mulvane on August 31, appeared in the *Mulvane News*, September 7, 1939. Photographs of the pageant and parade were republished from the *Wichita Beacon* of August 31, and the *Wichita (Morning) Eagle* of September 1.

Biographical sketches of pioneer Johnson county residents were included in a twenty-page souvenir edition issued by the *Olathe Mirror*, August 31, 1939, in connection with the forty-second annual reunion of the Johnson County Old Settlers Association on September 2.

The *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Salem, Ore., for September, 1939, published portions of the diary of William T. Newby as edited by Harry N. M. Winton. Newby emigrated to Oregon from Dadeville, Dade county, Mo., in 1843, passing through northeastern Kansas en route. His journal records that he and his party were five days in reaching the "Caw" river from Westport (Kansas City), and that six days were required to carry the party across the river because it was necessary first to build a boat. Probably the crossing was made in the vicinity of Papan's ferry, on the site of present Topeka; possibly rates of ferriage were more than the cost of provisioning the party for a week. "The Caw Indians," Newby reported incidentally, "is tollerably theaveish."

The nineteenth anniversary of the *Wichita Booster* was the occasion for a special sixteen-page anniversary edition issued September 1, 1939. An article of historical interest in this edition was entitled "Recollections of the Pioneer Days of West Wichita," by G. R. Dominic, an early settler. The article was continued in the issues of September 8, 15, and 22.

A special two-section, eighteen-page edition of the *Howard Citizen* on September 13, 1939, announced plans for the annual fall festival and Elk county old settlers' reunion September 28 to 30. The second section was largely devoted to an article, "Pioneer Days . . . in Elk County," by F. C. Flory. Mrs. W. P. Heisler also contributed a story entitled "Howard's First Sunday School."

The Hebron Mennonite church east of Buhler, Reno county, celebrated its sixtieth anniversary on September 10, 1939, according to the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, Newton, September 13.

The Burden *Times* on September 14, 1939, announced preparations for the opening of the forty-sixth annual Eastern Cowley County Fair and the sixtieth anniversary celebration of the founding of Burden, on September 20, 21 and 22. Photographs of early buildings in the town were reproduced, and an article, "Early History of Burden, Kansas," compiled by Edith D. Collins of Wichita, reviewed the history of the community and listed names of pioneers. Settlers who lived in the county in 1889 or earlier were especially honored. Featuring the program on September 20 and 21, according to the *Times* of September 28, was a historical pageant consisting of nine episodes in which the history of Burden during sixty years was depicted.

W. G. Goenner, a pioneer resident of Rochester township, Kingman county, began a series of articles on the history of Zenda in the Kingman *Leader-Courier*, September 15, 1939.

An article, "Cherokee Run Lives in Memories of Pioneers," by Col. Herman Edwin Mootz, appeared in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, September 17, 1939.

Reminiscences of a pioneer resident of Newton, A. L. Egy, were printed in the Newton *Journal*, September 21, 1939.

Announcement of plans for observing the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Swede Creek Community Church, located in Riley county, was made in the Manhattan *Mercury*, September 21, 1939. Programs were scheduled for September 28, 29 and October 1. The church was organized in 1864 by the Rev. S. W. McKeelson, and its first building was constructed in 1876. A similar announcement appeared in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 25. The Waterville *Telegraph*, of September 28, published a short history of the church, with a list of the ministers since 1864, and reported that a souvenir booklet had been printed.

Names of the eighty-eight persons who migrated from Franklin county, Pennsylvania, to the Rinehart neighborhood south of Chapman, Dickinson county, between 1873 and 1880, were listed by W. H. Hollinger and Emery Diehl in the Abilene *Daily Chronicle*, September 22, 1939. Mr. Hollinger is the oldest of the thirty-two surviving members of this colonizing group.

The Pittsburg *Headlight* on September 25, and the Pittsburg *Sun* on September 26, 1939, published their eleventh annual "coal issue," in which the coal industry of Pittsburg and southeastern Kansas was discussed.

On September 26, 1939, Dickinson county's first annual Pioneer Day was held in Abilene, celebrating the seventieth anniversary of the city's incorporation. A pioneer society was organized and the following officers were elected: Ed. Arnold, Chapman, president; Dave Naill, Herington, vice-president; Bert Ramsey, Solomon, secretary. Fred H. Staatz of Woodbine, introduced as the oldest man born in the county, was chosen honorary president. Historical articles and reports of Pioneer Day events appeared in the Abilene *Daily Chronicle* and *Daily Reflector* in issues contemporaneous with the celebration.

A special edition of the *Canton Pilot* was issued under date of September 28, 1939, for the first annual Canton frolic, held September 26 and 27.

"Propaganda and the Kansas-Missouri War," an address delivered by Lloyd Lewis, of Chicago, at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia on April 25, 1939, was published in *The Missouri Historical Review*, in its October issue. Missouri lacked press agents, reported Mr. Lewis. "To match the tremendous energies and inventive zeal of this [the Kansas Antislavery] corps of propagandists, the Missourians on the border had but one active correspondent, Henry Clay Pate, a lazy, windy, adventurous arrival from Virginia, editor of Westport's *Star of Empire* and representative of the *Missouri Republican*. Pate could write well, but he possessed something that will ruin any propagandist—a sense of humor. Once he led Missourians over the line to fight Old John Brown who was in insurrection against Kansas law. There was a battle, and the Antislavery correspondents wrote reams about the atrocious Border Ruffians invading the humble fields of an honest settler. Pate wrote for the outside world a short, matter-of-fact description of the fight and ended with the cryptic finale, 'I went to take Old Brown and Old Brown took me.' "

Mrs. Ida White, a resident of Arkansas City since 1880, described the city in the 1880's in an article printed in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 4, 1939.

Celebrating the completion of fifty years of continuous publication, the Colby *Free Press-Tribune* on October 4, 1939, issued an illustrated twenty-eight page anniversary edition. The history of the paper from its founding in 1889 by Joseph A. Borden and Sam W. Edwards was told in a feature article. Other material of historical interest in the first section included biographical sketches of early

settlers and prominent citizens of the community, and sidelights on events in Colby during 1885-1886 as taken from the *Thomas County Cat*, an early newspaper. Articles in the second section narrated the histories of Colby's churches, the county fair, and the schools of the town and county. Names of pioneer settlers in the county, compiled in 1907, were also printed. In the third section stories of the Thomas county farm bureau and the Colby experiment station, and an article on the Foster farms, widely known as breeders of Hereford cattle, were of special interest.

The story of pioneer days near Turon as experienced by John Fulks, the oldest living person in the community, was related in the *Turon Press*, October 5, 1939. In the same issue were published the recollections of "Judge" J. M. Pound, of Turon, who came to Kansas in 1875.

The Rooks County Pioneer Settlers' Association met October 6, 1939, at Stockton. W. W. Marshall was elected president, F. N. Schruben, vice-president, and Mrs. John Cole was reelected secretary and treasurer. The *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, reporting the meeting in its issue of October 12, printed a list of those present who had lived in the county for fifty years or longer.

Early residents of Mount Hope, Sedgwick county, met October 7, 1939, for the seventh annual reunion and homecoming celebration, according to the Mount Hope *Clarion* of October 12. The *Clarion* published a list of the pioneers who attended, with the dates of their first arrival in the community.

From a scrapbook of newspaper clippings and pictures prepared by Mrs. D. A. Crist, *The Gove County Advocate* of Quinter, October 19, 1939, featured extracts dealing with the history of the community from its beginnings in 1885.

On October 19, 1939, the Sedgwick *Pantagraph* issued a special "pink" edition in connection with the Sedgwick homecoming festival which was held on the following two days. Historical articles and reminiscences of early days were written for the *Pantagraph* by C. L. Foster, Mack Cretcher, Mrs. Lucy Doty, C. L. Pollard, W. E. Kiser, Mrs. J. P. Fry, W. S. Utz, Mrs. T. J. Cooper, C. A. Seaman and Mrs. Emmeline Wiley, all early settlers. Histories of local churches, clubs and other community organizations were also included.

Kansas Historical Notes

Kansas, A Guide to the Sunflower State (New York, The Viking Press), an illustrated volume of 538 pages compiled and written by the Kansas division of the Federal Writers' Project, was published in September, 1939, as one of the units in the American Guide Series. The book is a description and survey of the state. Following an introduction by William Allen White is a chapter on the topography, climate and geology of the state, and its natural resources and their conservation. A discussion of archeological research and a chapter on the Indians of Kansas precede the formal narrative of the state's history since 1541, when Coronado sought Quivera. Agriculture, transportation, and industry, commerce and labor are reviewed from their earliest introduction into the state, and Kansas folk-lore, education and religion are also treated in separate chapters. Recreational and cultural activities are summarized in chapters on sports and recreation, journalism and journalists, literature, art, music and the theater, and architecture, with which the *Guide's* first general section, entitled "The State and Its People," is concluded. The second section, "Cities and Towns," is composed of historical sketches of eighteen of the larger Kansas cities and their points of interest. "Highways and Byways," the third section, consists of directions for seventeen tours through the state, with descriptions of significant or unusual points encountered. Special features of the *Guide* include a section of "General Information," which lists railroads operating in Kansas, highways, air lines, a digest of the motor vehicle laws, and other information likely to be of interest to tourists as well as residents of the state; a "Calendar of Events" occurring annually in the cities of Kansas; a chronology of Kansas from 1540 to 1938; and a topical bibliography arranged to correspond with the successive chapters. In addition an eight-page index supplements the volume. Harold C. Evans was chief editor of the *Guide*.

The annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society was held at Cottonwood Falls, September 23, 1939. Claude W. Hawkins of Clements, who had previously served as president of the society, was reelected. Other officers chosen were George M. Miller, Cottonwood Falls, vice-president; Mrs. W. W. Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; George T. Dawson, Elmdale, treasurer, and Mrs.

Clara Hildebrand, Cottonwood Falls, chief historian. Changes in the constitution and bylaws were authorized. Mrs. Hildebrand, who for several years has been working on a county history, reported that much of the material for volume one was ready for the printer.

Alfred E. Gledhill was elected president and Bert Headley was reelected secretary of the Smith county old settlers' organization at the annual meeting held at Smith Center on September 27, 1939. A. C. Coolidge was the retiring president. Thale P. Skovgard, state senator, was principal speaker.

Officers of the Riley County Historical Society were elected at a meeting held in the city park at Manhattan on October 2, 1939. Mrs. Medora Flick was chosen president; Mrs. Bessie Murdock, vice-president; Mrs. Gertrude Failyer, secretary; Mrs. Caroline Smith, treasurer; George Failyer, custodian of the log cabin in the park, and Mrs. Smith, assistant custodian.

The Twentieth Kansas Regiment Association, veterans of the Spanish-American war, held its thirty-ninth annual reunion at Topeka October 8 and 9, 1939. The following officers were elected: Lewis E. Coffield, Yates Center, president; Homer Limbird, Olathe, vice-president; Harry W. Brent, Topeka, secretary-treasurer, and Jerry Springstead, Topeka, historian. Officers chosen by the ladies' auxiliary were: Mrs. Homer Limbird, Olathe, president; Mrs. Minnie Dicker, Lawrence, vice-president; Mrs. Bessie Hopkins, La-Cygne, secretary; Mrs. Julia Gibson, Topeka, treasurer; Mrs. Hattie Taylor, Baldwin, chaplain, and Mrs. Edwin Barrett, Topeka, reporter.

At a joint meeting of the Horton Kiwanis Club and the Horton-Kennekuk Historical Society held in Horton on October 9, 1939, the following Kansans were awarded life memberships by the Oregon Trail Memorial Association: W. P. Lambertson, Fairview; Kirke Mechem, Topeka; George A. Root, Topeka; W. J. Dieker, Hanover; Mrs. James Montgomery, Marysville; Dr. Samuel Murdock, Sabetha; Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, Merriam; Mrs. A. V. Fuller, Merriam; Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence; Mrs. Lena M. Owen, Lawrence; Charles S. Travelute, Marysville; Dora Adriance, Seneca; Forrest J. Henney, Horton; William E. Smith, Wamego; Charles T. Guise, Oketo, and Russel C. Triplett, Troy.

More than two thousand persons attended the pageant celebrating the centennial of the establishment of Shawnee Methodist Mission on its present site, which was presented at the Shawnee Mission

High-school stadium, Merriam, on October 14, 1939. The pageant was written and directed by Mrs. Lida Weed Myers of Topeka, and was presented by the Kansas State Historical Society in coöperation with the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and the Daughters of the American Colonists.

A bronze tablet commemorating the Santa Fé trail, the Oregon trail, the military road to Fort Scott, and the expeditions of Frémont and Doniphan, all of which "between the dates 1827-1890 crossed or used Fort Leavenworth," was presented on October 14, 1939, to the commandant of the post for the United States government by the Kansas National Old Trails committee of the Capt. Jesse Leavenworth chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. As part of the program Mrs. Effie H. Van Tuyl, chairman of the committee, sketched the history of the fort and the trails.

The annual meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society was held on October 23, 1939. The following officers were elected to serve during 1939-1940: Mrs. Jack Weems Quarrier, president; Mrs. Ross Smith, vice-president; Mrs. O. Wendell Shepard, recording secretary; Mrs. Walter B. Gresham, corresponding secretary; Mrs. C. F. Terry, treasurer; Mrs. X. O. Meyer, historian; Mrs. John W. Sanders, curator of the society's museum at the Shawnee Methodist Mission; Frank C. Wornall, supervisor, and Mrs. Ross Smith, parliamentarian. Mrs. M. Y. Griffin was the retiring president.

Addendum to Volume VIII

Page 140, paragraph two:

The Iowa Indians were still living on their lands in northwestern Missouri in 1835, when missionary work among them was begun by the Presbyterian church. In the summer of 1837 the tribe was removed to a new tract in the northeastern part of present Kansas and the mission was then established near present Highland, Doniphan county, by Samuel M. Irvin, who had been sent to the tribe by the Presbyterian Board of Missions in the spring of that year, and had removed with them to the new location.

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