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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1903-1904;

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS, MISCELLANEOUS
PAPERS, AND A ROSTER OF KANSAS FOR
FIFTY YEARS.

Compliments of

Kansas State Historical Society.

Geo. W. Martin,
Secretary.

VOL. VIII.

TOPEKA:
GEO. A. CLARK, STATE PRINTER.
1904.

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EDITED BY GEO. W. MARTIN, SECRETARY.

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PREFACE.

KANSAS has closed the first half century of her organized existence. As this publication goes to press a general observance of the anniversary of the passage of the bill creating the Territory of Kansas, May 30, 1854, prevails throughout the state, in the schools and clubs, and miscellaneous gatherings of the people. Wonderful results followed the opening of this fair Territory, consigning to our pioneers the greatest issue that ever confronted the nation for settlement through the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty. A writer in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* says this was one of the most portentous pieces of legislation ever placed on the national statute-book. "That day, in 1854, was a great date-mark in the history of the country," he tells us. "The act which organized those two territories [Kansas and Nebraska], and which at the same time repealed the Missouri anti-slavery compromise of 1820, was responsible for a good many very important things that came afterward. It killed the Whig party, created the Republican party, precipitated civil war in Kansas, split the Democratic party in the Charleston convention of 1860, made Lincoln's election certain in that year, and this sent eleven states into secession and war against the government, all of which brought emancipation and several other things of consequence to the country." ". . . . According to Atchison, the Stringfellows, and some of the other leaders of the proslavery side, the division of the proposed territory into Nebraska and Kansas, in the act which Douglas pressed and which Pierce signed, was with the tacit understanding that the North was to have the upper territory and the South the lower. When the free state men began to send settlers into Kansas, the Southern leaders called their conduct a breach of faith and hence the raids across the border from Missouri." It not only caused all this confusion in the world's history, but in a generation and a half, it has transformed a barren and uninviting waste into a commonwealth of wonderful proportions, wealth and enlightenment, one of the most conspicuous of peoples and governments known on the earth, with an activity of thought and action never surpassed.

Hence the absorbing interest everywhere and at all times in the history of Kansas. How the people love to linger and revel with the story of the territorial days of Kansas. What an interminable history

this people have made. Examine the papers in this volume and then consider how lightly they touch the semi-centennial period. There are forty-seven contributions in this publication, embracing three of a prehistoric character, fifteen territorial reminiscences, six relating to our Indian predecessors, six treating of John Brown and the territorial conflict; of the civil war six; five of reminiscences since statehood, and six of a biographical nature. The Historical Society would gladly lead contributors to the consideration of events since statehood, but people generally seem to consider that with which they are familiar as not history—they love to delve into that which is old and unsettled. Every state administration should have a chapter in these Collections. Our territorial history was marked by factional and personal bitterness, and there will be adherents of all views for generations to come. Hence it is the purpose of the Society, so far as in its power, to place first things on record. There is a great quantity of material on file with this Society, which is not regarded as something to be carefully locked away in pigeon-holes, but of right belongs to the public.

There are quite a number of citizens of Kansas still living who participated in the territorial struggles, and these witnesses are entitled to be heard, for soon all living testimony will be closed. It is a great blessing to be a citizen of Kansas, but how wonderful to have been a participant in her creation from territorial days down to the present.

The Society is under great obligations to a number of friends at various points in the state for able and conscientious contributions on different subjects of state history. Especial credit is due to Frank H. Hodder, professor of history in the State University, for three papers of great practical importance, contributed by young lady students—members of his class in history. In the seventh volume is an address by Miss Rosa M. Perdue, entitled "The Sources of the Constitution of Kansas." In this volume are two papers, one entitled "Indian Reservations in Kansas, and Extinguishment of their Title," by Anna Heloise Abel, of Salina, and "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas," with maps, by Helen G. Gill, of Vinland. These papers, prepared under the direction of Professor Hodder, are of infinite value to the students of history, and show that the people have a very practical teacher of history at the State University. They involved great labor and application upon the part of the young ladies, who have thus made their mark in Kansas history, and naturally suggests, the first thing, what are the young men doing? Hon. D. W. Wilder writes, concerning Miss Abel's paper: "Miss Abel has a great but neglected field. I cannot recall any paper in the Society's proceedings that

equals it in matter and manner. I have not read every page, but have looked at them all with high respect for the author. We need such writers in all the states." We know of several instances where lawyers have consulted Miss Perdue's work on the constitution. And we are sure the public will regard Miss Gill's work as of exceeding value and satisfaction.

The roster of Kansas for fifty years is as complete and perfect as can be made. There has been no systematic method of keeping such a record, and the sources from which obtained are in a much scattered condition. This list of names recalls many historic characters, and is suggestive of incidents, untold, of value and interest in forming conclusions as to the purposes and accomplishments of those who have gone before. As this Historical Society has grown practically to be the record for all the departments of state, as well as of the people at large, there should be more definite legislation concerning public records.

G. W. M.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS DELIVERED AND READ AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

UNITED STATES LAND-OFFICES IN KANSAS.

An address delivered by ALBERT R. GREENE,* of Leocompton, before the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society.

BY act of Congress approved July 22, 1854, the territory of Kansas was created a land district, with provision for the location of a land-office at the temporary seat of government.

Before a land-office could be put in operation, however, the country would have to be sectionized, for public surveys must precede private entry. This involved an immense amount of detail and the expenditure of much time as well as money. Advertisement for bids for surveys, the letting of contracts, the execution of the work in the field, the office work on the returns, and the inevitable delays incident to the approval of the completed surveys in Washington and the issuance of the proclamation opening the lands to entry, were some of the preliminaries.

On August 4, 1854, John Calhoun† was commissioned surveyor-general of the

*ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE was born in Mt. Hope, McLean county, Illinois, January 16, 1842. He is the fifth son of Elisha Harris and Lucy Stacy Greene, of Pawtucket, R. I., and Saco, Me., who were married December 10, 1832, and removed to Illinois in 1837, and to Kansas in April, 1857. The subject of this sketch attended the district school in Illinois during the winters until he was fifteen. He lived at Mt. Hope and Metamora, Ill., until April, 1857, when he came to Kansas with his father's family, and settled on a claim in Weller (now Osage) county, in Wakarusa (now a part of Ridgway) township, on Elk creek, three miles west of Twin Mound post-office, in Douglas county. He has been engaged as a farmer, merchant, newspaper correspondent and publisher, and from August 20, 1862, until July, 1865, he was a soldier in company A, Ninth Kansas cavalry. He has served as postmaster at Richland; alternate to the Republican national convention, 1880; private secretary to Congressman Dudley C. Haskell; state senator from Douglas county, 1881 to 1885; inspector general land-office, 1883 to 1885; state railroad commissioner, 1887 to 1893; private secretary to Congressman R. W. Blue, 1895-'96; inspector general land-office, 1897 to 1901; chief forestry division, January to August, 1901; special inspector Department of the Interior, August, 1901, to date. He was also department commander, Grand Army of the Republic. He was married August 31, 1865, to Julia Annie Coblenz, and has had six children, five of whom are living. His father had a personal acquaintance with James G. Birney, Owen Lovejoy, David Davis and Abraham Lincoln in anti-slavery work. Mr. Greene is located at Portland, Ore., temporarily, in the service of the government.

†THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY has a manuscript entitled "A Vindication of John Calhoun." He was born October 14, 1806, and died at St. Joseph, Mo., October 13, 1859. He had moved his family to Nebraska City, where he had permanently located, but had spent the summer at Springfield, Ill., his former place of residence, having gone there to settle his affairs, which, by the mismanagement of a dishonest agent, had become greatly deranged. He left for Nebraska in quite a feeble state. At St. Joseph he was so ill he could go no further, and a physician was called, who pronounced his illness a case of exhaustion. On the tenth day after his arrival at St. Joseph he complained of being more unwell. He was given a prescription to take at ten P. M. Very soon after taking it he was seized with excruciating pains, and a little before twelve expired. He died from the effects of strychnine. Physicians in Cincinnati investigated the matter and said he had taken enough to kill six men. His family and friends took a charitable view of the matter, and accepted it as one of those inexplicable casualties that cannot be fathomed. John Calhoun was president of the Leocompton constitutional con-

twin territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and *ex officio* register of filings for the land-offices soon to be opened in them. Soon after this he opened an office in Wyandotte and commenced operations. His first report of completed surveys was made October 20, 1856, and was addressed to Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, commissioner of the general land-office. At this date the area surveyed and approved was 1,864,141 acres. The estimate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1857, was 2,830,000 acres.

The approved surveys comprised a strip of country extending along the Missouri river to the Nebraska line, and embraced for the most part the counties of Atchison, Doniphan, Brown, the east half of Nemaha, a small corner of Jackson, the greater part of Jefferson, and all of Leavenworth and Wyandotte except Indian and military reservations.

Extensive surveys south of the Kansas river as far as Fort Scott had been completed in the field, but the office work was not finished at the time of this report, and not a single township had been reported to the commissioner for approval.

The base line, *i. e.*, the dividing line between Kansas and Nebraska, had been surveyed as far west as the sixth principal meridian, 108 miles from the Missouri river, and standard parallels from first to fifth, inclusive, had been established south from the base line and west to the sixth principal meridian. Or, to state it in another way, the area included in the exterior lines which had been run at the date of this report had for its northeast corner the corner of the territory; for its northwest corner a point 108 miles west of this, and not far from where is now the village of Mahaska; for its southwest corner almost the identical location of Wichita, and for its southeast corner a point on the Missouri line opposite Fort Scott. It was 108 miles long on its north line, and 150 miles on its west and south lines. This was Kansas for the time being.

I have before me Calhoun's map of the two territories at that time, and note that Kansas had but three towns which he considered worthy of a place—Atchison, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte. But Kansas was three times better off than Nebraska, which had not so much as one town or post-office shown on the map. The only watercourse shown in Kansas, except the Missouri, is a section of the Kansas extending as far west as the eastern boundary of the Pottawatomie

vention, and this vindication by a brother, A. H. Calhoun, shows that he was in favor of submitting the entire constitution to a popular vote. His brother says: "It was the design of the Southern element in that body to fasten slavery upon the people of Kansas, and to that end they embodied a clause establishing the institution and proposed its adoption without submission to the people. This Mr. Calhoun strenuously opposed, and advocated the plan of submitting the whole constitution to the popular vote. He was in favor of a constitution based on that of Massachusetts; indeed, he would have adopted the bay state fundamental law almost literally, as he told me after he had been chosen a delegate and before the convention convened." This is substantiated by the testimony of A. J. Isaacs and H. L. Martin in the report of the Covode investigating committee, page 175. The candle-box episode was due entirely to L. A. MacLean, the chief clerk in the surveyor's office. His proclamation of the result of the election gave offense to the administration at Washington, and he was dropped from thence on, as Reeder, Geary, Walker and Stanton had been, his biographer says. John Calhoun was surveyor of Sangamon county, Illinois, in 1833. In Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln," page 115, we find: "Looking about for a young man of good character, intelligent enough to learn surveying at short notice, his attention was soon attracted to Lincoln. He offered young Abraham a book containing the elements of the art and told him when he had mastered it he should have employment." Edward D. Baker, who was in command of a brigade and killed at Ball's Bluff, October 21, 1861, defeated Calhoun for Congress in 1841. Lincoln was at that election a candidate for presidential elector. Calhoun was made surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska by Stephen A. Douglas. At a state fair in October, 1854, Calhoun and Lincoln had a debate. John Calhoun and Abraham Lincoln were warm friends until the end of life. *Id.*, pp. 90-118.

reservation. A large part of the surface of this small portion of Kansas which was then for the first time coming into the occupancy of white men was covered by Indian reservations and trust lands. The latter were, of course, to be opened for settlement, but upon conditions which were more exacting than those prescribed for the public domain. The country west of the Missouri border had for a generation before the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska been the common dumping-ground for the half-civilized Indian tribes which had surrendered their lands in the East, and hence, when the white men came, they found the choicest locations covered by the reservations of these people. These lands comprised the following areas, approximately:

Sacs and Foxes.....	350,000
Sacs and Foxes of Iowa.....	16,000
Sac and Fox trust lands.....	75,000
Otoes.....	28,000
Kickapoos.....	140,000
Pottawatomies.....	575,000
Delawares.....	350,000
Delaware trust lands.....	700,000
Shawnees.....	500,000
Kansas.....	200,000
New York (the part included in the above-stated area).....	1,000,000
Miami trust lands.....	400,000
Peoria and Kaskaskia trust lands.....	100,000
Piankeshaw and Wea trust lands.....	150,000
Ottawas.....	30,000
Ottawas of Roche de Bouf.....	50,000
Chippewas.....	10,000
Wyandottes.....	75,000
	4,749,000

It was a big slice to take out of the Kansas pie, but the very fact that these lands had been selected by the Indians, the acknowledged best judges of land in the country, made the emigrants all the more anxious to possess the remainder. Besides, a reservation line has little terror for a land-grabber anyway.

There had been several "temporary" seats of government previous to the selection of Leocompton, in August, 1855, but no occasion for the opening of a land-office, for the reason stated at the beginning of this paper. When a selection had been made, however, which bade fair to become permanent, on the ground of a compromise between the rival candidates of Douglas, five miles down the river, and Tecumseh, ten miles up the river from the new location, and when Congress had made an appropriation of \$50,000 for a capitol building, a real land-office was considered necessary to complete the felicity of the aspiring metropolis of the young commonwealth.

After the designation of Leocompton as the territorial seat of government, the provision of law referred to found expression in an order for the establishment of a land-office there, to be called the Pawnee land-office. The first register was Ely Moore, of New York, and the first receiver was Thomas C. Shoemaker, whose appointment was coincident with that of Register Moore, but who served but little more than one year, so that he was receiver only in name, for the office was hardly opened for business at the time he was succeeded by Gen. William Brindle.

Accompanying the commission of Register Moore was an order from the commissioner of the general land-office, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, directing him to erect with all possible dispatch a suitable building in which to transact the business of the office—"the locating of military bounty land-warrants, preemptions, sale of lands, and filings, as well as rooms for the adjudication of contested land cases."

This was easy enough to dictate from the comfortable distance of Washington, but the execution of such an order was something of an undertaking, with

the base of supplies 500 miles away and the Missouri and Kansas rivers blocked with ice.

When the materials had finally reached the mouth of the Kansas river, it was found that the water of that stream had followed the ice into the Missouri, and the only alternative was to freight the stuff by ox team the remaining sixty miles to Lecompton. It was just fourteen months from the time the order was given until the contractor, Antionet, had the building ready for occupancy. It was a two-story affair, with the land-office domiciled below and the legislative house of representatives above. This building has since gained a national reputation as Constitution hall. It is now owned by the Odd Fellows, and is used for fraternal-society purposes.

In May, 1856, the first filings were received in the Lecompton land-office, although there had been a large number of filings in the office of the surveyor-general, who had acted prior to this time as a sort of *ex officio* land-office on his own account. These latter made no small amount of trouble for officers and settlers alike when they came to be transferred to the regular books of the land-office, as the numbers were irregular, often duplicated, and not infrequently called for lands not open for settlement. Also, the plats were incomplete in many instances, there being no lot numbers, and the areas being incorrectly stated, showing carelessness, and incompetency as well.

It was fortunate for the government and litigants that so able a man as Ely Moore had been selected for the responsible and arduous duties of register of this land-office. A brief biographical sketch may be permitted, although it will be impossible to accord to many other of the land officers of Kansas more than a mention of their names.

Ely Moore was born in Sussex county, New Jersey, July 4, 1798, and died in Lecompton, Kan., January 27, 1861. He came of revolutionary stock, his father being Capt. Moses Moore, who distinguished himself at the battles of Long Island, Monmouth, and Trenton. The son had a remarkable career. He commenced as a printer in New York city, and was at one time proof-reader on an edition of the Bible when Horace Greeley was copy-holder. He served in Congress from 1834 to 1838, and won national fame in his reply to Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, when the senate did him the honor to attend in a body to listen and applaud. After retiring from Congress he was surveyor of the port of New York from 1839 to 1845, when President Polk appointed him marshal for the southern district of New York. In 1853 President Pierce offered him the position of minister to England, but he declined, and preferred, on account of his health, to take an Indian agency in what was soon to become the territory of Kansas. It is a part of the unwritten history of that time that he was to have been the first territorial governor, but his health forbade, and he recommended his friend, Andrew H. Reeder.

With the retirement of Receiver Shoemaker, in September, 1856, Gen. William Brindle, of Maryland, was appointed to the place, and held it until March, 1861. He is still living, his home being in Washington, D. C., a courtly gentleman of the old school, and honored by a wide circle of friends.* Of deliberate, even

* GEN. WILLIAM BRINDLE died at the university hospital, Philadelphia, December 4, 1902, aged eighty-four years. He was a resident and large property-owner at Gloucester City, N. J. He was born at Muncy, Pa., and served in the war against Mexico as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Pennsylvania volunteers. He was made a brigadier-general by act of Congress for gallantry. After a residence during his term of office in Kansas he returned to Pennsylvania and served a term in the legislature of that state. About 1882 he became a citizen of New Jersey. For several years he was superintendent of schools in that city, and was at one time the Democratic candidate for Congress from the first New Jersey district. He was a student and writer on economics. For a year or so he was editor of the *Kansas National Democrat*, at Lecompton.

plodding modes of thought, tenacious to obstinacy in his political and religious convictions, and utterly oblivious to the influences of public opinion, he was the very antipodes of the brilliant, impulsive and fiery Moore. But they were alike in sterling honesty, and in those troublous times when human character, like human life, was cheap, were never the subjects of an aspersion or a sneer. Intense partizans though they were, politics never tempered their official action.

Brindle was editorial writer on the Lecompton *Democrat*, the administration organ of the territory. He was a Presbyterian and doctrinarian of the most pronounced type. His spicy squibs, of three and four columns in length, on foreordination, predestination, abolitionists, damnation and the divine right of slavery left nothing to be added in the way of sectarian and partizan fervor. But if he left his politics out of his official life he carried his religion squarely into it, and it is refreshing to recall, in these days of contemptuous reference to the Deity in administering an oath in many of our land-offices, the solemn obligation this man compelled those to feel who uncovered and held up their right hands in his presence to be sworn. Sometimes he rather overdid the matter, however, as I remember, when waiting my turn to appear as a witness for a neighbor, and being impatient to be done with it and off for the tramp of seventeen miles across the prairies to my home. William Brown was the express messenger on the stage between Kansas City and Lecompton, and appeared with his witnesses and papers to make proof on his preemption claim. Everything was ready, and Moore being busy in another part of his office, the duty of administering the oath devolved upon Brindle. Here is the way he went at it:

BRINDLE: "What is your name, sir?"

BROWN: "Brown—William Brown."

BRINDLE: "Now, Mr. Brown, look me in the eye, sir. Raise your right hand, William Brown—yes, sir, your right hand. I am about to administer an oath to you, sir. Are you ready? This is a very important act in your life, sir. You do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and this you swear under the pains and penalties of perjury, as you shall answer at that great day."

When Brindle got within sight of the judgment Brown broke, and landed up against the register, with a remark which, coming down through the dim vista of years, recurs to me as something like he "be d—— if he didn't hunt some one else" to swear him.

Moore put him over a shorter catechism, much to his delight, and we went away singing an improvised adaptation of "Nora McShane:"

"'Tis true I've no money, but then I've no sorrow:

My heart it is light and my head has no pain:

And if I but live till the sun shines tomorrow,

I'll be off to old Johnson and Billy Brown's claim."

These were the men who presided over the destinies of the first land-office and sat in judgment in the thousands of cases that arose between rival claimants for the coveted Kansas lands.

The first man in line on the day of the opening was Jacob Myers, and, upon consulting the blotter maps, it was found that there was a contestant in the person of one James G. Blunt. After long and acrimonious litigation Myers won, and Blunt went to the war and became a major-general and a national figure.

The office force was as follows:

REGISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

Head clerk: Chas. W. Otey, Lynchburg, Va. Deceased.

Entry clerk: Maynard M. Chambers, New York city. Deceased.

Assistant entry clerk: Henry Rauser, Germany. Deceased.

General clerk: John Haggerty, Cork, Ireland. Deceased.
 Filing clerk: T. J. B. Cramer, West Virginia. Deceased.
 Examiner: Thomas B. Price, Baltimore, Md. Deceased.
 Contest clerk: George Fred, Pentecost, Greencastle, Ind. The great evangelist, later.*
 Assistant to above: Andrew P. Walker, Alabama. Deceased.
 Docket clerk: David Bailey, Pennsylvania. Deceased.

RECEIVER'S DEPARTMENT.

Head clerk: Hardman Peterkin, Pennsylvania. Killed at Antietam. (Union.)
 Evidence clerk: Henry W. Peterkin, Muncy, Pa. Deceased.
 General clerk: Edward W. Wynkoop, Pa. Deceased.

The jurisdiction was coextensive with the boundaries of the territory and extended from the Missouri line to the summit of the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Grande. Roughly speaking, it contained eighty million acres of land. Today it contains a population of two million souls. Denver, Golden, Blackhawk, Georgetown, Colorado Springs, Leadville, Pueblo, Cripple Creek, Aspen, Victor, Salida, Buena Vista, Canon City, Del Norte, Trinidad and a hundred lesser towns were destined to spring from its gold-seamed mountains and fertile plains, far beyond the dreams of urban settlement when its boundaries were first defined.

As its eastern portion was dotted with Indian reservations, so its southwestern corner was marked with Spanish grants, which had been made as concessions to adventurous spirits who had come up from the land of the Montezumas. And while the prairies and valleys of the Kansas river and its tributaries were being overrun with a rush of emigrants to occupy the virgin soil, the upper Arkansas, the historic Huerfano, the Rio Grande and their tributaries were resting in the indolent contentment of pastoral settlements which had existed for a century or more. Coronado had dedicated these valleys to the cross long before the Pilgrims "sought a faith's pure shrine" on the shores of New England. Four majestic rivers, the Platte, the Kansas, the Arkansas, and the Rio Grande, all found their sources in this same jurisdiction. The crystaled towers of the Spanish Peaks, of Pike's Peak, of Sierra Blanca, the loftiest in all the Rocky Mountain chain, and of Harvard, from whose summit the sunlit crests of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming are plainly visible—all these were within the jurisdiction and belonged to Kansas. And over this older Kansas, this truly historic Kansas, they looked down on a fair land that had been acquired from France in part, from Spain in part, and for a part of which the heroes of the Alamo had laid down their lives.

*"Who's Who in America" — GEORGE FREDERICK PENTECOST, clergyman-author, born at Albion, Ill., September 23, 1842; son of Hugh L. and Emma (Flower) Pentecost; apprenticed to printer; private secretary governor of Kansas territory, 1857, and clerk of the United States district court, 1858; entered Georgetown University (A. M., Hamilton, New York; D. D., Lafayette College, Pennsylvania); left college to join Union army; chaplain Eighth Kentucky cavalry, U. S. volunteers, 1862-'64; married, October 6, 1863, Ada, daughter of Dr. Augusta Weber, Hopkinsville, Ky.; pastor Greencastle, Ind., 1864; Evansville, Ind., 1866-'67; Covington, Ky., 1867-'68; Brooklyn, N. Y., 1868-'71; Boston, 1871-'80; Brooklyn, 1880-'87; evangelical work in Scotland, 1887-'88; special mission to English-speaking Brahmins in India, 1889-'91; minister Marylebone Church, London, 1891-'97; pastor First Presbyterian Church, Yonkers, N. Y., 1897-1902; now in evangelical work in Japan, China, and the Philippines. He is the author of *The Angel in the Marble*, *In the Volume of the Book*, *South Window*, *Out of Egypt*, *Bible Studies* (ten volumes), *Birth and Boyhood of Christ*, *Forgiveness of Sins*, *Systematic Beneficence*, and *Precious Truths*. His address is Northfield, Mass. "Pente" set type for some time on the *Kansas National Democrat*, at Leocompton, in 1857-'58.

The Spanish-American settlements comprised in whole or in part the following grants, the area stated being that portion in Kansas territory, viz.:

Beaubien and Miranda: Made January 11, 1841, by Manuel Armijo, governor of New Mexico, to Charles Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda, "for faithful and patriotic services to church and state," in the stilted language of the parchment.....	322,560.00 acres.
Sangre de Christo: Made December 30, 1843, by Governor Armijo to Luis Lee and Narciso Beaubien, "for faithful and patriotic services to church and state".....	770,144.23 "
Rio Las Animas: Made December 9, 1843, by Governor Armijo to Cornelio Virgil and Cerain St. Vrain, "for faithful and patriotic services to church and state".....	126,720.00 "
Rio Don Carlos: Made December 1, 1842, by Governor Armijo to Geracio Nolan, "for faithful and patriotic services to church and state".....	184,320.10 "
Baca location No. 4: Made by Congress, June 21, 1860, to the heirs of Luis Maria Baca, in lieu of lands confirmed to the pueblo of Las Vegas, New Mexico.....	99,280.39 "
Total area Spanish grants in Kansas.....	1,502,588.72 acres.

Surveyor-general Calhoun states, in the annual report referred to, that "the number of preemption filings registered in this office to date, for the territory of Kansas, is 3036." Probably no equal number of filings in any known land-office on the face of the earth ever led to so much litigation, expense and bad blood as these same mentioned. And all because Calhoun undertook to do something before he was ready, and about which he knew absolutely nothing.

On November 29, 1856, Commissioner Hendricks made his annual report to the secretary of the interior, and, under the heading of "Kansas" makes the following remarks:

"The returns of the surveys of public lands, Indian trust lands and permanent Indian reservations show that they have been prosecuted with great dispatch, considering the severity of last winter, which forced the deputy surveyors to abandon field operations. Besides this, the disturbances in the country and the intricacy of surveys under Indian treaty stipulations, which had devolved upon the surveyor-general, tended to retard the progress of the business. These accumulated causes deferred the preparation of the Iowa, Delaware and other trust lands for market as early as had been contemplated, and consequently no public lands, although surveys to the extent of hundreds of thousands of acres and plats of the same are prepared, could be brought into market. The eastern portion of the Delaware trust lands of about ten townships were, however, proclaimed for sale, to take place on the 17th of the last month."

This explains, diplomatically, why a surveyor-general, with a force in the field for more than two years and ample funds at his command, had failed to have an acre of land on the market!

In March, 1857, Congress provided for additional land-offices at Doniphan, Fort Scott, and Ogden.

The first register at Doniphan was Gen. John W. Whitfield, who served from March, 1857, to April, 1861. He had been a delegate in Congress, and was a prominent person in the early days of the territory.

The first receiver of public moneys at Doniphan was Daniel Woodson, who also served from March, 1857, to April, 1861. He had been acting governor under a commission as secretary of the territory much of the time, under two or three of the governors.

Ashael Low succeeded Register Whitfield, and served from April, 1861, to December, 1863, when the office was consolidated.

Ira H. Smith succeeded Receiver Woodson, and also served from April, 1861, to December, 1863.

The Doniphan office was removed to Kickapoo December 3, 1857, and to Atchison September 6, 1861. In December, 1863, it was consolidated with the Topeka office and cease to exist.

The first preemption entry made in Kansas was by Julius G. Newman, of Atchison, the record in the Washington archives being as follows, in the abstracts from the Lecompton office: "No. 1. Julius G. Newman, SW 1-4, Sec. 25, Tp. 5, S. R. 20, E. April 21, 1857."

In June, 1857, Calhoun removed the surveyor-general's office from Wyandotte to Lecompton, occupying the log house on the river bank built and used as a residence by Sheriff Jones for a few weeks, until a frame house he had ordered from St. Louis in the "knock down" could be got ready for occupancy. There was considerable delay, and the work of extending the public surveys was still further retarded in consequence, the office work being altogether suspended for several weeks. One good result of this move was to shut off Calhoun's mania for taking filings as a sort of branch land-office.

The opening of the land-office was delayed and greatly embarrassed by a failure to receive the books and supplies promptly. The safe also added to the tribulations of the officers. This had been billed to Kansas City but by some mistake was carried to Leavenworth. In unloading it from the boat the stage broke and precipitated the safe into the river. When it had been fished out and hauled to Lecompton the lock was found to be full of Missouri river mud. An expert safe man had to be brought from St. Louis to open and repair it, and while all this was being done there was no place for the funds other than a drawer in the desk of the receiver.

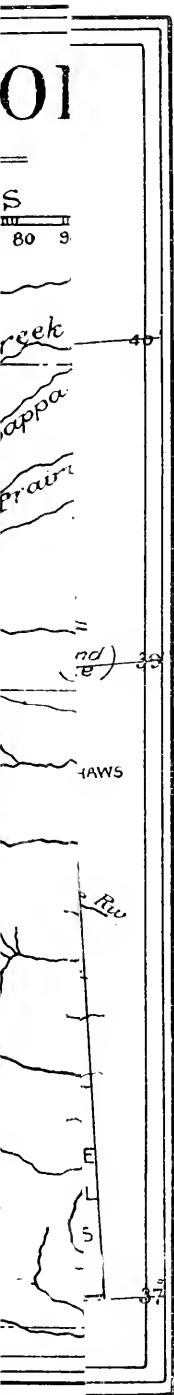
Notwithstanding there were four land-offices in Kansas in 1857, the only lands sold during the fiscal year ending June 30 of that year were in the Lecompton district. These amounted to 17,350.86 acres, and brought into the treasury the sum of \$21,688.85.

The Fort Scott land-office was removed to Humboldt, in September, 1861 where it was raided by guerrillas, and the treasure taken; whereupon it was removed to Mapleton, the county-seat of Bourbon county at that time, on October 3, 1861. It was again removed to Humboldt, May 15, 1862, where it remained until December 15, 1870, when it was removed to Neodesha; and on October 3, 1871, it was removed to Independence, where it remained until February 28, 1889, when it was consolidated with the Topeka office and ceased to exist.

The list of officers from first to last is a long one, and includes many well-known and important names.

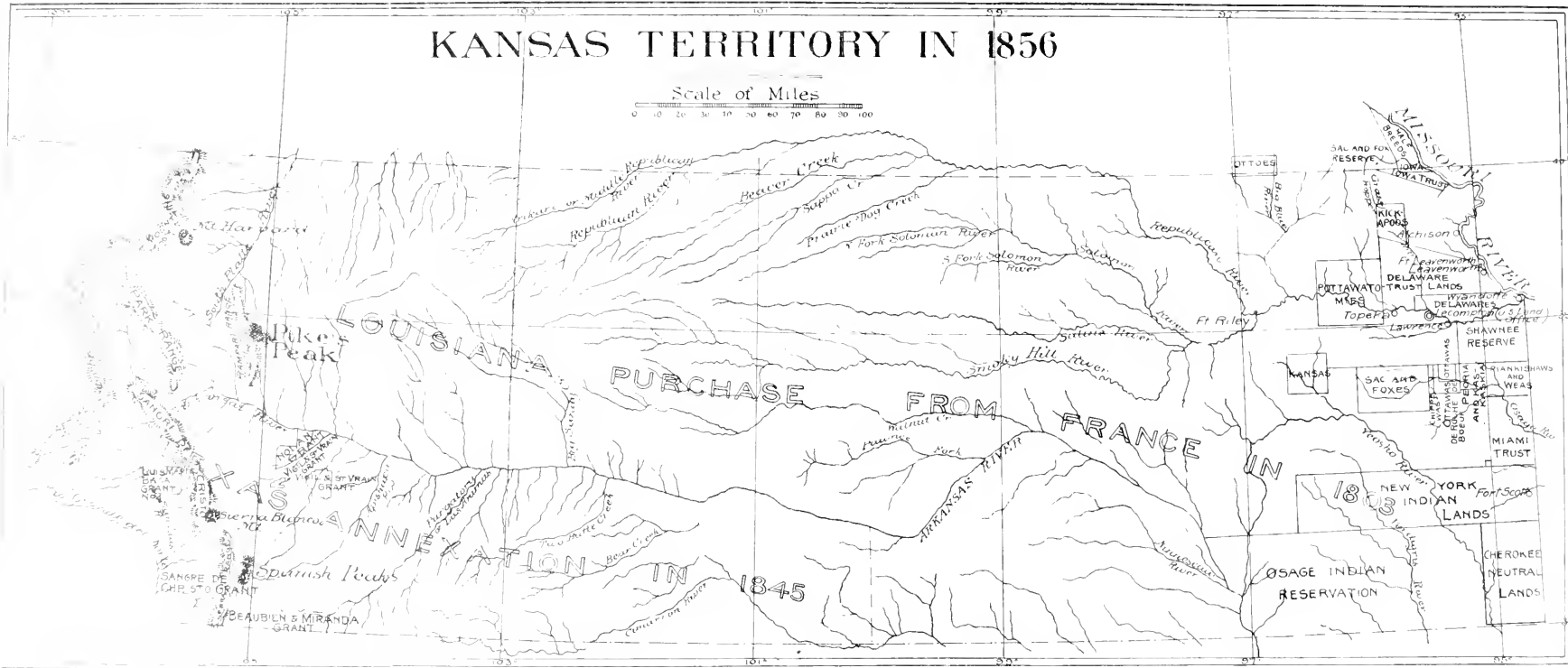
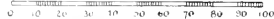
The first register was William H. Doak, who served from March, 1857, to May, 1858, when he was succeeded by Jesse Morin, who served until April, 1861. Morin was a Kentuckian, and had settled in Platte county, Missouri, in 1837, was twice elected to the legislature, was clerk of the circuit court, and a major in Colonel Doniphan's regiment in the Mexican war. At the outbreak of the rebellion he returned to Missouri, and was immediately offered a brigadiership in the confederate army. He returned the commission to the governor, saying that he could not fight against the flag under which he had won such a good name.

After Morin came Jonathan C. Burnett, who served to March, 1865, and gave way to Watson Stewart, who held the position of register until December, 1866, and was succeeded by Olin Thurston, who held it until April, 1867, and turned it over to Nathaniel S. Goss, who held the place until April, 1869, and was succeeded by Watson Stewart again, who surrendered it to P. B. Maxson, who was register until March, 1873, and was succeeded by W. W. Martin, who held the place until July, 1877, and was followed by Melville J. Salter, who held it until July, 1885, and was succeeded by Clate M. Ralston, who held the position until February, 1889, when, as has been said, it was consolidated with the Topeka office.



KANSAS TERRITORY IN 1856

Scale of Miles



The receivers of public moneys at this office, which had such a varied history, were as follows:

Epaphroditus Ransom, from March, 1857, to January, 1860.
 George W. Clarke,* January, 1860, to April, 1861.
 Charles W. Adams, from April, 1861, to March, 1863.
 Francis E. Adams, from March, 1863, to April, 1864.
 Josiah C. Redfield, from April, 1864, to April, 1867.
 David B. Emmert, from April, 1867, to October, 1871.
 Joseph J. Wood, from October, 1871, to December, 1871.
 Milton Wellington Reynolds ("Kicking Bird"), 1871 to March, 1873.
 E. S. Nichols, from March, 1873, to December, 1873.
 Henry W. Waters, from December, 1873, to October, 1885.
 Henry Wilson Young, from October, 1885, to February, 1889, when the office ceased to exist.

The first homestead entry made in the Fort Scott office was while it was on duty temporarily at Humboldt, and is recorded as follows: "No. 1. Melkes J. Martin, NE 1-4, Sec. 29, Tp. 23, S. R. 25 E., 6th P. M. Jan'y 1, 1863."

The Ogden office was removed to Junction City October, 6, 1859, to Salina May 1, 1871, and was consolidated with the Topeka office December 31, 1893.

The registers of this office were as follows:

Frank Emory, March, 1857, to May, 1858.
 Ira Norris, May, 1858, to March, 1859.
 Samuel B. Garrett, March, 1859, to April, 1861.
 Robert McBratney, from April, 1861, to March, 1865.
 George W. Martin, from March, 1865, to October, 1866.
 John Willans, October, 1866, to March, 1867.
 James R. McClure, March, 1867, to April, 1869.
 George W. Martin, April, 1869, to April, 1871.
 Thomas L. Bond, April, 1871, to April, 1880.
 John M. Hodge, April, 1880, to August, 1886.
 Smith M. Palmer, August, 1886, to May, 1889.
 John M. Hodge, May, 1889, to December, 1893, when it ceased to exist.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

James P. Downer, March, 1857, to May, 1858.
 Findlay Patterson, May, 1858, to April, 1861.
 Samuel D. Houston, April, 1861, to April, 1871.
 Daniel R. Wagstaff, April, 1871, to July, 1879.
 Lewis Hanback, 1879, to February, 1883.
 Harper S. Cunningham, February, 1883, to August, 1886.
 Oscar F. Searl, August, 1886, to September, 1889.
 Charles W. Banks, September, 1889, to December, 1893, when it was consolidated with the Topeka office and ceased to exist.

The first homestead entry in this office was as follows: "No. 1. Robert G. Titus, NE 1-4, SW 1-4; W 1-2; SE 1-4; NE 1-4; SE 1-4 Sec. 34, Tp. 13, S. R. 2, E., 6th P. M., January 1, 1863. 160 acres minimum land, \$1.25."

The Lecompton office was removed to Topeka in September, 1861, where it still remains, and to which have been added from time to time other offices, as has been shown. All the outlying land-offices in the state will eventually be consolidated with this one, and when there is no longer sufficient business for the maintenance of a land-office in Kansas the records of all the offices will be removed to Washington, where application will have to be made for the entry of any remaining tracts of land in the state.

*There is some conflict regarding the date of General Clarke's receivership of the Fort Scott land-office. In 1856 he resided at Lecompton, and was long reputed as the murderer of Barber. Later he was one of the principal instigators of the troubles in southeast Kansas between the free-state and pro-slavery men. In 1858 Goodlander mentions him in his "Early Days of Fort Scott" as receiver of the Fort Scott land-office. Wilder says that in September, 1858, he was appointed a purser in the United States navy.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

Ely Moore, March, 1855, to February, 1860.
 James R. Jones, February, 1860, to April, 1861.
 Franklin G. Adams, April, 1861, to November, 1863.
 Ira H. Smith, November, 1863, to April, 1873.
 W. H. Fitzpatrick, May, 1873, to January, 1882.
 John J. Fisher, January, 1882, to April, 1886.
 John L. Price, April, 1886, to April, 1890.
 James I. Fleming, April, 1890, to April, 1894.
 Herman von Langen, April, 1894, to August, 1895.
 John S. Richardson, August, 1895, to March, 1898.
 George W. Fisher, March, 1898, to May, 1902.
 Charles H. Titus, May, 1902, to —.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

Thomas C. Shoemaker, March, 1855, to September, 1856.
 William Brindle, September, 1856, to March, 1861.
 Charles B. Lines, March, 1861, to April, 1865.
 David W. Stormont, April, 1865, to March, 1867.
 Joel Thurston, March, 1867, to March, 1871.
 George Merrill, March, 1871, to January, 1875.
 Charles B. Lines, January, 1875, to April, 1877.
 Charles S. Martin, April, 1877, to September, 1877.
 David W. Finney, September, 1877, to December, 1877.
 Harrison Kelley, December, 1877, to September, 1878.
 George W. Watson, September, 1878, to February, 1883.
 John Q. A. Peyton, February, 1883, to July, 1885.
 Charles Spaulding, July, 1885, to January, 1890.
 J. Lee Knight, January, 1890, to February, 1894.
 James J. Hitt, February, 1894, to January, 1898.
 Rudolph B. Welch, January, 1898, to April, 1902.
 Joshua G. Wood, May 1, 1902, to —.

On June 11, 1870, an additional land-office was opened at Augusta. On February 20, 1872, it was removed to Wichita, and on February 28, 1889, it was consolidated with the Topeka office and ceased to exist.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

Andrew Akin, June, 1870, to July, 1872.
 W. S. Jenkins, July, 1872, to May, 1875.
 H. L. Taylor, May, 1875, to March, 1879.
 Richard L. Walker, March, 1879, to July, 1885.
 Frank Dale, July, 1885, to May, 1888.
 James G. McCoy, May, 1888, to February, 1889, when the office was consolidated.

The list of receivers of public moneys is as follows:

William A. Shannon, June, 1870, to July, 1872.
 Josiah C. Redfield, July, 1872, to December, 1876.
 James L. Dyer, December, 1876, to October, 1885.
 Samuel L. Gilbert, October, 1885, to October, 1888.
 Robert F. Coates, October, 1888, to February, 1889, when it was consolidated.

On July 7, 1870, an additional land-office was opened at Concordia. It was consolidated with the Topeka office February 28, 1889.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

Amos Cutter, July, 1870, to March, 1874.
 B. H. McEckron, March, 1874, to March, 1883.
 S. Hollister Dodge, March, 1883, to March, 1887.
 Samuel Demers, March, 1887, to February 28, 1889, when it was consolidated.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

Thomas J. Sternberg, July, 1870, to August, 1870.
 Evan J. Jenkins, August, 1870, to January, 1884.

Thomas Wrong, January, 1884, to June, 1886.

A. A. Carnahan, June, 1886, to February 28, 1889, when it was consolidated.

In June, 1872, an additional land-office was opened at Cawker City, and on January 4, 1875, it was removed to Kirwin, and on September 11, 1893, it was consolidated with the office at Oberlin.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

A. A. Thomas, June, 1872, to April, 1876.

Frank Campbell, April, 1876, to June, 1878.

Thomas M. Helm, June, 1878, to March, 1883.

John Bissell, March, 1883, to March, 1887.

Henry A. Young, March, 1887, to October, 1889.

Webb McNall, October, 1889, to April, 1892.

Lafayette F. Smith, April, 1892, to September 11, 1893, when it was consolidated with Oberlin.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

Thomas Plowman, June, 1872, to May, 1874.

J. M. Hodge, May, 1874, to June, 1878.

Lewis J. Best, June, 1878, to May, 1882.

Robert R. Hays, May, 1882, to July, 1886.

Amos J. Harris, July, 1886, to August, 1890.

William H. Caldwell, August, 1890, to September 11, 1893, when it was consolidated with Oberlin.

On June 20, 1874, an additional land-office was established at Hays City, and in October, 1879, it was removed to Wa Keeney, where it still is in existence.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

John H. Edwards, July, 1874, to December, 1874.

Luther F. Eggers, December, 1874, to October, 1877.

Benjamin J. F. Hanna, October, 1877, to May, 1886.

W. C. L. Beard, May, 1886, to September, 1889.

Lee Monroe, September, 1889, to September, 1893.

Abram Frakes, September, 1893, to September, 1897.

Isaac T. Purcell, September, 1897, to June, 1902.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

John C. Carpenter, July, 1874, to December, 1874.

Andrew J. Vickers, December, 1874, to November, 1877.

William J. Hunter, November, 1877, to August, 1880.

W. H. Pilkenton, August, 1880, to April, 1888.

John Schlyer, April, 1888, to March, 1891.

Hill P. Wilson, March, 1891, to February, 1894.

Simpson S. Reynolds, February, 1894, to January, 1895.

William E. Saum, January, 1895, to June, 1898.

Frank W. King, June, 1898, to 1902.

On June 20, 1874, an additional land-office was established at Larned. On January 25, 1894, it was consolidated with the Garden City office, and on February 10, 1894, the consolidated office was removed to Dodge City, where it still remains.

The list of registers of this office is as follows:

Charles A. Morris, July, 1874, to June, 1883.

William R. Brown, June, 1883, to October, 1885.

W. R. Brownlee, October, 1885, to June, 1888.

Henry W. Scott, June, 1888, to April, 1890.

Harlan P. Wolcott, April, 1890, to January 25, 1894, when it was consolidated with Garden City.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

Eli Gilbert, July, 1874, to December, 1877.

Henry Booth, December, 1877, to May, 1885.

Henry M. Bedell, May, 1885, to June, 1889.

Edward L. Chapman, June, 1889, to January 25, 1894, when the office was consolidated with Garden City.

In May, 1881, an additional land-office was established at Oberlin, and on February 5, 1894, it was removed to Colby, where it is still in operation.

The list of registers at both places is as follows:

Thomas H. Cavanaugh, May 1, 1881, to March, 1883.
 A. L. Patchen, March, 1883, to December, 1886.
 Frank Bacon, December, 1886, to October, 1889.
 Cyrus Anderson, October, 1889, to January, 1894.
 James N. Fike, January, 1894, to January, 1898.
 Kleber E. Willcockson, January, 1898, to April, 1901.
 William E. Ward, April, 1901, to —.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

E. C. Chandler, May, 1881, to June, 1885.
 Tully Scott, June, 1885, to April, 1889.
 James B. McGonigal, April, 1889, to January, 1894.
 Thomas J. McCue, January, 1894, to January, 1898.
 Cyrus Anderson, January, 1898, to January, 1902.
 Charles C. Evans, January, 1902, to —.

In May, 1883, an additional land-office was established at Garden City, and on February, 1894, it was removed to Dodge City, where it still remains.

The list of registers at both places is as follows:

H. P. Myton, June, 1883, to March, 1885.
 C. F. M. Niles, March, 1885, to October, 1889.
 Daniel M. Frost, October, 1889, to January, 1894.
 John J. Lee, January, 1894, to January, 1898.
 William A. Scates, January, 1898, to January, 1902.
 Henry F. Milliken, January, 1902, to —.

The receivers of public moneys were as follows:

A. J. Hoisington, June, 1883, to July, 1885.
 Samuel Thanhauser, July, 1885, to July, 1889.
 Jesse Taylor, July, 1889, to January, 1894.
 George T. Crist, January, 1894, to April, 1895.
 Albert B. Beerer, April 1, 1895, to March, 1898.
 Lewis J. Pettyjohn, March, 1898, to 1902.

This completes the list of Kansas land-offices, and traces the official history of each to its merging in the present four offices at Topeka, Wa Keeney, Colby, and Dodge City. It will be seen by the above that the Topeka office, which is the original Lecompton office, no new office ever having been established in Topeka, contains the fourteen series of books of the offices of Atchison, Doniphan, Kickapoo, Fort Scott, Humboldt, Mapleton, Neodesha, Independence, Ogden, Junction City, Salina, Augusta, Wichita, and Concordia: Colby contains the records of the former offices of Cawker City, Kirwin, and Oberlin, besides its own; Wa Keeney has the records of the Hays City office besides its own; and Dodge City has the records of the former offices of Larned, Garden City, and a part of the old Wichita and Augusta offices.

The Topeka office was destroyed by fire (November or December, 1869) a number of years ago, and all of the original records of the Lecompton, Doniphan and the older offices went up in smoke. These have been duplicated in part from the files in Washington for business purposes, but the old papers and signatures of the notable men in the Kansas struggle, which would be interesting historical relics, are gone forever.

Among a mass of misinformation in the official records which have been con-

sulted in the preparation of this paper are many amusing things, but want of space forbids their mention here. I will, however, give one or two, at the risk of having them pruned out when the editorial knife is applied.

Here is a sample of the correspondence that whitens the hair of the average land officer, for it is an inflexible rule that every communication must have a courteous answer.

"Hon. RegesTer find enclosed fortен monnie audor and my filing Papers. if Dejected for eny caus Plas Stat causIf Filed upon Previous State Wher and When and By Hoom filed Pleas Let Me Her from you at onc." [No description of the land accompanied the filing papers.]

But it is not alone the illiterate who make a misfit in history. The following is from a former commissioner of the general land-office who undertook to do Kansas a friendly turn in a description of her natural advantages:

"The Kansas, the principal river, is formed by the confluence of the Republican and Smoky Hill forks which rise in the Rocky Mountains and flow, the former southeast and latter almost due east, uniting at Fort Riley: it continues thence east to the Missouri river, being navigable to Fort Riley. . . . With the exception of the Kansas, none of her streams are navigable, having generally broad, shallow channels."

Accompanying this article is a map of Kansas territory as it was when the first land-office was established, showing boundaries and natural features, to which I have briefly referred.

In closing, I desire to express my grateful thanks to Hon. Granville N. Whittington, chief clerk of the central land-office, for valuable assistance in collecting the data for this paper. His thirty years' service in that position fits him in an eminent degree to become the colaborer with any man in the compiling of records pertaining to the public lands.

But it must be left for a Wilder or a Gilmore or a Stillwell to elaborate and correct this, so far as the personnel of the offices here mentioned is concerned. I shall feel flattered if they are constrained to notice the paper to that extent.

THE STORY OF THE SEVENTH KANSAS.

An address made before the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, December 2, 1902, by S. M. Fox,* Adjutant General.

THIS it not intended to be a history, but is a sketch, based, from a lack of sufficient records, on a memory which at times may be at fault. From the conditions, the story can but be rambling and incomplete. The history of a cavalry regiment that nearly every day during its four years of active service was in the saddle would fill many volumes with stories of adventure and hardship and then be a tale half told.

* SIMEON M. FOX was born in Tompkins county, New York, August 28, 1842. When he was eleven years old he moved with his family to Elmira. He was educated in the high school at Elmira and the Genessee college at Lima. His father came to Kansas in 1855, and located at Highland; the mother came later, and the son remained East attending school. In the spring of 1861, upon the close of school, the son came to Kansas, immediately enlisting in company C, Seventh Kansas regiment. He served nine months as a private, then was made a corporal, a regimental sergeant-major, and then first lieutenant and adjutant, which place he held until mustered out. At the close of the war he settled in Manhattan, and engaged in the book business. He was appointed adjutant general of the state in 1895, serving during the administration of Governor Morrill, and was reappointed by Governor Stanley in 1899, serving six years.

The Kansas regiments during the civil war have a disjointed and very imperfect record of their service. There is a wide-spread impression that their service was practically limited to

At the beginning of the civil war Kansas had just been admitted as a state, the machinery of government was hardly in working order, and the people were very poor; yet when the call of the president for troops came the response was immediate, and always in excess of every demand. Eight regiments were organized and placed in the field during the year of 1861. Much confusion existed in the organization of these regiments, resulting from the action of the War Department at Washington in giving Senator James H. Lane authority to raise troops and organize regiments of volunteers in Kansas independent of state authority. The first two regiments were, however, practically organized before Senator Lane appeared, armed with a brigadier general's commission, to begin his independent recruiting. These two regiments had been ordered on the 23d of May to rendezvous, one at Leavenworth and one at Lawrence. The regiment rendezvoused at Leavenworth was mustered into the United States service on May 30 as the First Kansas volunteer infantry, under the command of Col. George W. Deitzler, and immediately ordered into the field. The secretary of war, deeming the draft too heavy for so young a state, hesitated about mustering in the second regiment. When, however, General Lane arrived in Kansas, on Friday, June 7, Governor Robinson sent his quartermaster-general, George W. Collamore, post haste to Washington, who after persistent urging finally secured the following order.

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 17, 1861.

To his Excellency Charles Robinson, Governor of Kansas :

SIR—This department will accept, for three years or during the war, two regiments of volunteers from Kansas, in addition to the one commanded by Colonel Deitzler and mustered already into service, said regiments so accepted to be the ones commanded by Colonels Phillips and Mitchell, respectively; and the mustering officer ordered by the adjutant general to muster them into the service is hereby directed to make such requisition as may be necessary to supply them with arms and ammunition, clothing, etc., they may require, and also to supply any deficiency that may exist in Colonel Deitzler's regiment.

SIMON CAMERON, *Secretary of War.*

The Second Kansas volunteer infantry was mustered into the United States service for three years at Wyandotte immediately thereafter, under the command of Col. Robert B. Mitchell. Many recruits had enlisted in this regiment with the understanding that it was for three months' service; they expressed dissatisfaction, and the regiment was finally ordered to be mustered out on October 31, 1861, but nearly all its members soon after joined other regiments. The Second Kansas cavalry, organized later, May 7, 1862, was practically a new organization, although commanded by Colonel Mitchell and retaining in its ranks a number of the officers and men of the old Second Kansas infantry.

The Third and Fourth Kansas volunteers were regiments of mixed arms, and were organized by General Lane. These two regiments, with the Fifth Kansas

patrolling or bushwhacking along the border, or leisurely camping on the plains. Because of the controversy between Gov. Charles Robinson and Senator James H. Lane, the organizations of some of the regiments read like chaos. The directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, prompted by the military pride of the people, and their observation of the value of patriotic ancestry, determined to gather the story of the state's soldiery as complete as possible, in justice to the descendants of those who made a record as brilliant as that of any of the nation's defenders. Adj. Gen. S. M. Fox, who served with the Seventh Kansas during its entire enlistment and was mustered out as regimental adjutant, at the solicitation of the Society, prepared "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," herewith published, which shows a strenuous service at the front, and which it is hoped may be an incentive and guide to the members and friends of other regiments. The Kansas State Historical Society has the story of the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third, also well told. See volume 6, Historical Collections. For further sketch and muster roll of the Seventh Kansas, see Adjutant General's Report, reprint 1896.

cavalry, constituted what was known as "Lane's brigade." The Third was mustered into the United States service at Mound City on July 24, 1861, under the command of Col. James Montgomery. This regiment took the place of the third regiment authorized by the secretary of war in the order of June 17, previously quoted. The Fourth Kansas volunteers was mustered into the United States service about the same time, under the command of Col. William Weer. The Fifth Kansas cavalry was mustered in under the command of Col. Hampton P. Johnson, who was killed in action at Morristown, Mo., on September 17, 1861, and was succeeded in command by Col. Powell Clayton.

The Sixth Kansas cavalry was mustered in at Fort Scott on September 10. It was commanded by Col. William R. Judson.

The Seventh Kansas cavalry was mustered into the United States service as a complete organization at Fort Leavenworth on October 28, 1861, under the command of Col. Charles R. Jennison.

The Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry was organized with eight companies during October, 1861, and commanded at its organization by Col. Henry W. Wessels.

It will be remembered that in June the secretary of war was hesitating about authorizing a second regiment, for fear of making too great a draft on a young and sparsely settled state, yet four months later eight regiments had been organized and were in the field, and all this was done without one dollar being offered or paid by the state to secure enlistments.

I have given this brief sketch of the eight regiments recruited in Kansas in 1861 as preliminary to the story of the Seventh Kansas, and to show the patriotic conditions that existed when this regiment was organized. All these regiments helped to make history, and have left records of unfading glory. The First and Second Kansas fought on the bloody field of Wilson Creek, and their heroism there has given a luster to the name of Kansas that time can never dim. One hundred and six men was the death record of the First Kansas alone during that terrible day, and this regiment marched off the field in perfect order when the battle was lost. The Second Kansas, although not suffering so great a mortality, left a no less brilliant record for bravery and discipline. The Third and Fourth Kansas regiments were never complete organizations, but, with the Fifth Kansas cavalry, did excellent service along the Missouri border, and their presence there undoubtedly saved Kansas from rebel invasion when, after the dearly bought and doubtful victory at Wilson Creek, the Confederate general, Sterling Price, marched north to Lexington, in September, 1861. The Third and Fourth Kansas volunteers were broken up in February, 1862, and assigned to other regiments. The infantry companies were consolidated, and became designated thereafter as the Tenth Kansas volunteer infantry; the cavalry companies were transferred to the Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Kansas cavalry, and helped to complete the organization of those regiments. The Fifth and Sixth Kansas cavalry regiments served to the end of the war in Missouri, Arkansas and the Indian Territory with great credit, and took part in all the principal battles west of the Mississippi fought after Wilson Creek. The Eighth Kansas infantry served in the army of the Cumberland. The regiment lost heavily at Chickamauga, and was one of the first regiments to reach the summit of Missionary Ridge, in the famous charge of Wood's division at the battle of Chattanooga.

In the absence of records, it is difficult at this late date to know under whose authority some of these regiments of 1861 were organized. Governor Robinson resented the interference of the War Department in sending General Lane to Kansas to raise troops independent of the state government, and when General

Lane began to recruit, and usurp what the governor considered his constitutional rights, he went ahead and raised troops himself and ignored Lane as far as possible. The governor also made matters as uncomfortable as possible for him: he started a fire in his rear by appointing Fred P. Stanton to fill the vacancy assumed to have been created in the senate when General Lane was confirmed as a brigadier general, and the senator general was given much trouble to maintain his seat. The First, Second, Seventh and Eighth regiments were clearly raised under state authority, and the Third and Fourth regiments by General Lane; the Fifth cavalry, while a part of Lane's brigade, was practically organized under state jurisdiction; the Sixth cavalry originated under authority of General Lyon, who authorized the organization of several companies for the defense of the border near Fort Scott; additional companies of the Sixth were organized by order of Major Prince. This action seems to have been approved by Governor Robinson, and the Sixth was practically organized under state authority.

It was natural that a state made up of the hardy settlers who came to Kansas to make it a free state should be patriotic. The men all had convictions, and they knew that the war was inevitable, and expected when the time came to take a hand in the game. Military companies began to report to the state government as soon as Kansas became a state, and before the end of June, 1861, there was scarcely a hamlet that did not have its military organization that met nearly every night for drill. Leavenworth city alone had twenty-three companies; Atchison and Doniphan county and the settled counties to the westward were organized and asking for arms. The border counties from Wyandotte to Bourbon kept their old companies, organized for the protection of the border, alive, and organized others in addition. All through the state, as far west as Junction City, these companies were drilling and preparing for the trouble to come. Many of these organizations enlisted in the United States service in a body and were the nucleus of the permanent volunteer regiments. Whenever a company so enlisted, another company was organized to take its place at home. There is one thing that must be said: many of the soldiers in the Kansas volunteer regiments came from other states, directed here by motives that were various, but this class was mostly made up of men of abolition belief who wanted to help strike a blow at slavery in the name of Kansas. They left states where large bounties were being offered and enlisted in Kansas, a state too poor to pay an additional bounty, and composed of a class of citizens so patriotic that no such inducement to enlist was ever required.

It will be observed that the Kansas regiments were numbered consecutively without reference to the arm of service they represented.

About the 1st of August, 1861, Governor Robinson gave authority to Dr. Charles R. Jennison to raise a regiment of cavalry. Something of a glamour surrounded Jennison in those days; he had been conspicuous as a leader in the early days of border troubles, and his "jayhawkers" had inflicted damage on the pro-slavery sympathizers that ranged all the way from blood to loot; indeed, he carried the latter to such an extent that the pedigree of most Kansas horses, it was said, should have been recorded as "out of Missouri by Jennison." So when Jennison began to raise his regiment the organization became immediately known as "the jayhawkers," a name that followed through its whole history, as the war records will show. Much conjecture as to the origin of the word "jayhawker" has been indulged in; one story is that it was a modification of "gay Yorker," an appellation applied to Doctor Jennison when he first came to Kansas, he having been of sportive proclivities and hailing from the Empire state. There are always persons who take a great deal of trouble to explain or account

for a very natural or commonplace thing. The predatory habits of the jayhawk would indicate that the name as applied to Jennison's men was singularly appropriate and one need not speculate as to what suggested the application. The "jayhawkers" did not certainly originate then, for as early as 1849 a little band of Argonauts from Illinois, who made the overland journey to California, called themselves "the jayhawkers"; they were lost in Death valley, and the thrilling story of their suffering and final rescue has often been told.* I have seen it somewhere, but I cannot now recall where, that the name was of common application in Texas during the struggle for liberty, but of this I am not sure.

Colonel Jennison was commissioned as such on September 4, 1861, and recruiting began immediately. Burning placards were posted in the villages offering inducement in way of proposed equipment that would have made every man a portable arsenal. The recruit, in imagination, saw himself bristling with death

*The most interesting party that ever crossed the plains, the discoverers of Death valley, of silver in Nevada and of the great niter deposits in the desert east of California were the "jayhawkers of '49." The party was made up at Galesburg, Ill., from which place they started, April 5, 1849. They crossed the Missouri river at Omaha. Since 1872 the survivors of this party have held annual reunions. The first was held that year in Galesburg, Ill., and the last one was at Lodi, Cal., February 4, 1903. On the 4th of February, 1850, John B. Colton, who now resides in Kansas City, Mo., saw the first sign of vegetation, and on that day thirty-two of the thirty-six emerged from Death valley terribly emaciated wrecks. Seven of the party are now known to be alive. The Historical Society has had letters from three of them, one being from Mrs. Juliette W. Brier, the only woman in the party, now past ninety years old. When the party reached a Spanish ranch, big, strong men were nothing but wrinkled skin clinging over visible skeletons. Their teeth showed in outline beneath clinging parchment cheeks. At the last reunion but three attended, Mr. Colton, from Kansas City, a gentleman from San Jose, and the hostess, Mrs. Brier. Mr. Colton has a newspaper scrap-book, containing as much as 3000 columns of reading-matter, about the "jayhawkers of '49," and yet the world cannot get away from the impression that the word originated in a Kansas raid on Missouri. John B. Colton, of Kansas City, Mo., in a letter, gives the origin of the word:

"For the information of the Bostonese, who is endeavoring to fix the origin of the word 'jayhawker,' I will say that it was coined on the Platte river, not far west of the Missouri river, in 1849, long before the word 'Kansas' was known or heard of. I cannot tell him why, but I was there. Some kind of hawks, as they sail up in the air reconnoitering for mice and other small prey, look and act as though they were the whole thing. Then the audience of jays and other small but jealous and vicious birds sail in and jab him, until he gets tired of show life and slides out of trouble in the lower earth. Now, perhaps this is what happens among fellows on the trail—jaybirds and hawks enact the same role, *pro* and *con*—out of pure devilment and to pass the hours of a long march. At any rate, ours was the crowd that created the word 'jayhawker,' at the date and locality above stated. Another thing: in the mountains and mines of California, in those early days, words were coined or born, climatic surroundings materially contributing. The words were short, like the latter-day 'tenderfoot'; 'shorthand' meant a line, a sentence, and perhaps a whole page. I have heard a word that meant a whole lifetime to the other fellow. Now, when these Argonauts of early times returned to the states, those shorthand words clung to them and were distributed among the surroundings, and they took them up and perpetuated them. Possibly an early-timer, in the troublous times of new Kansas, when they were settling difficulties in promiscuous ways, may have known or heard the word 'jayhawker' from the far West, and knew it was a winner, and so adopted it as a talisman. So far as Kansas is concerned, the word was borrowed or copied; it is not a home product. I knew many of the leaders in jayhawker times of early Kansas '50's, and have met them at Leavenworth and other points frequently in those days."

Mr. U. P. Davidson writes from Thermopolis, Wyo.: "In answer, I will state that our company was made up from schoolboys at Galesburg, Ill. We formed an order of our own. One of our party suggested the name of 'jayhawk,' so that was adopted. Our company has gone by that name ever since." A few days out from Salt Lake the jayhawkers left a large party and took a different course. In a day or so more they were joined by Rev. Mr. Brier, wife, and three little boys. When Mrs. Brier reached the ranch at the end of their march through Death valley, the Spanish women cried piteously and hugged her to their bosoms as though she were a child. Mrs. Brier writes that "they (the company) took upon themselves the name jayhawker when they started for California."

and desolation, mounted on an Arabian barb, breathing flame as he bore his rider to victory. All this was in strong contrast to the pitiful equipment that was at first in reality issued.

The field and staff of the Seventh Kansas at organization was as follows:

Colonel.....	Charles R. Jennison.
Lieutenant-colonel.....	Daniel R. Anthony.
Major.....	Thomas P. Herrick.
Major.....	Albert L. Lee.
Adjutant.....	John T. Snoddy.
Quartermaster.....	Robert W. Hamer.
Surgeon.....	(vacancy).
Assistant surgeon.....	Joseph S. Martin.
Chaplain.....	Samuel Ayers.
Sergeant-major.....	William A. Pease.
Quartermaster sergeant.....	Eli Babb.
Commissary sergeant.....	Lucius Whitney.
Hospital steward.....	John M. Whitehead.
Hospital steward.....	James W. Lansing.
Chief bugler.....	George Goss.
Chief bugler.....	John Gill.

Company A was organized the last part of August, 1861, principally in Doniphan county, although the northern tier of counties supplied recruits from as far west as Marshall. The original officers were:

Captain.....	Thomas P. Herrick.
First lieutenant.....	Levi H. Utt.
Second lieutenant.....	Thomas H. Lohnes.

The company was recruited by Captain Herrick, of Highland, in conjunction with Lieutenant Utt, of White Cloud, and was mustered into the United States service at Fort Leavenworth on August 27, 1861. When the regiment was organized, on October 28, Captain Herrick was made a major, and Lieutenant Utt was promoted to captain, and Sergt. Aaron M. Pitts was commissioned a first lieutenant to fill the vacancy. Second Lieutenant Lohnes remained in his original grade until his resignation, February 13, 1862. Major Herrick became lieutenant-colonel on September 2, 1862, and colonel on June 11, 1863. Captain Utt had served under General Lyon in Colonel Blair's First Missouri infantry and was a proficient drill master. He molded the company, and it was through his first training that the company became and always remained the most efficient and reliable organization in the regiment; and there is no disparagement to the other companies in saying this; all were good, but company A was a shade better. Let me say here that the military nomenclature of the civil war differs from the present; the word "troop" as now applied was not then used; "company" was, at the beginning of the war, applied alike to cavalry and infantry; later, in 1863, the name "squadron" became the designation of a company of cavalry. The word "squadron" as applied to cavalry, as the equivalent of "battalion" as applied to infantry, is of much later date.

Captain Utt was one of the most fearless men that I ever saw: when in the greatest hazard he seemed entirely unconscious of danger. He lost a leg at Leighton, Ala., April 2, 1863, while charging a battery with his mounted company: his horse was killed under him. As soon as the stub healed sufficiently, he outfitted himself with a wooden leg and came back to the command of his company. He was promoted major November 17, 1864, which rank he held until finally mustered out with the regiment. Although a young man, the name "old timber toes" became his familiar appellation.

First Lieut. Aaron M. Pitts was appointed captain of company D Octo-

ber 3, 1862; the vacancy created was filled by the promotion of Sergt. Basil C. Sanders to first lieutenant. Second Lieutenant Lohnes resigned February 13, 1862, and Jacob M. Anthony was appointed to the vacancy from civil life. On the promotion of Captain Utt to major, Lieutenant Sanders, who had gallantly commanded the company while Utt was disabled by wounds, became captain, and under his command the company always maintained its reputation for efficiency. Lieutenant Anthony was promoted to captain and assigned to company I on May 16, 1863, and Sergt. Dewitt C. Taylor was promoted to the vacancy. Sergt. Henry C. Campbell was appointed a first lieutenant to fill the vacancy created by the promotion of Sanders.

All these officers proved themselves to be brave and efficient. Lieutenant Lohnes was, however, a deserter from the regular army, but no question as to his bravery was ever raised: for cold-blooded nerve he was not often equaled. After his resignation he followed the regiment as far as Rienzi, Miss. From there he went back to Kansas and indulged in a little "jayhawking" on his own hook. He was captured, but while under guard at White Cloud, one cold winter night, when all the guards had come in to the fire in an old building where he was confined, he raised up as if to stretch himself, and with a remark about hard luck, suddenly jumped through the window, carrying away sash and glass. The guard rushed out but their prisoner had vanished. He was heard from in 1865, and was then living in Nova Scotia.

Company B was organized by Capt. Fred Swoyer, of Leavenworth: it was composed of men recruited in Leavenworth and Atchison counties, except about thirty men brought from Chicago by Lieut. Isaac Gannett. The company was recruited during September, 1861, and partially organized with two officers, First Lieut. Fred Swoyer and Second Lieut. William S. Moorhouse. Early in October, when Lieutenant Gannett arrived with his recruits from Chicago, the organization was completed, with the following officers:

Captain	Fred. Swoyer.
First lieutenant	Isaac Gannett.
Second lieutenant.....	William S. Moorhouse.

Captain Swoyer commanded the company until he was killed, January 3, 1863. He was succeeded by Capt. William S. Moorhouse, promoted from second lieutenant. Lieutenant Gannett was absent from the regiment on staff duty during most of his term of service and lost out on promotion in consequence. Moorhouse was succeeded as second lieutenant by Charles L. Thompson, advanced from first sergeant. Lieutenant Thompson deserted February 18, 1863.

Captain Swoyer was a man of great physical courage, but exceedingly reckless. In the winter of 1861-'62 he did a little steeple-chasing down Delaware street, in Leavenworth, and while putting his horse over a sleigh loaded with cord wood, standing across the street, the animal fell and broke the captain's leg. He limped through the rest of his life. His death was the result of his recklessness, but he was brave and patriotic and did splendid service while he lived. After the death of Captain Swoyer the company was temporarily commanded by Capt. Bernard P. Chenoweth, of the First Kansas infantry, who was with the company for a short time; after his departure Moorhouse was made captain, as above stated. Captain Chenoweth was a gallant officer, who had done splendid service at Wilson Creek with his regiment. He was very punctilious, and exceedingly neat in his dress: he always wore a black regulation hat with a long white feather trailing down his back, but you can be assured that, like the white plume of Navarre, it would always be seen dancing in the forefront of

battle when the fight was on. Moorhouse became captain April 22, 1863, and Chenoweth returned to his old regiment. Moorhouse commanded the company most efficiently until he was mustered out, March 7, 1865.

Sergt. John A. Middleton, a member of company B, who deserted at Germantown, Tenn., in February, 1863, gained a later notoriety; he was the desperado, "Doc" Middleton, who terrorized a portion of Nebraska some twenty years ago.

Company C was recruited in Leavenworth city by its first captain, William S. Jenkins. About twenty-five men recruited in Doniphan and Brown counties completed the organization. Recruiting began September 5 and the organization was perfected at Kansas City on October 10, with the following officers:

Captain.....	William S. Jenkins.
First lieutenant.....	Francis M. Ray.
Second lieutenant.....	James Smith.

Captain Jenkins commanded the company until his promotion to major, May 27, 1863. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 21, 1864, and resigned November 14 of same year. Lieutenant Ray resigned December 8, 1861, and was succeeded by First Lieut. James D. Snoddy, appointed from civil life. Lieutenant Snoddy was later temporarily transferred to company G, and left the service in December, 1862. Snoddy was succeeded by Lieut. John A. Tanner, promoted from second lieutenant of company F. Lieutenant Tanner resigned July 23, 1863, and was succeeded by the promotion of Second Lieut. Bayless S. Campbell. Captain Jenkins was succeeded by Capt. James Smith, promoted from second lieutenant July 1, 1863. Lieut. Bayless S. Campbell, promoted from sergeant, filled the vacancy created by the advancement of Smith; when Campbell was promoted to first lieutenant he was succeeded by Second Lieut. John H. Wildey, promoted from first sergeant.

Captain Jenkins was an efficient officer and deserved his promotions. Lieutenant Ray and First Sergt. John H. Gilbert were the original drill-masters of the company. They had both served in the regular army, and were efficient, and soon had the company whipped into excellent shape. Lieut. James Smith, later captain, was a native of the East Tennessee mountains, and had an intense hatred for a rebel. He was a big, awkward fellow, with very light hair, which he always wore close cropped; he never escaped the name of "Babe," given him at his first enlistment. He was perfectly fearless and would fight an army rather than retreat, and, when he held the command of the company, had always to be watched and ordered back in a most peremptory manner or he was liable to stay too long. He would have died any time rather than surrender, as the story of his death will attest. After his discharge from the service he went to southern Kansas, where he jumped, or rather took possession of, a claim deserted by the original preemtor; a party of men who considered him an interloper rode out to drive him off. He did not drive, and when they opened fire he promptly returned it, and killed two of their number before he himself fell. As one of the posse bent over him to ascertain if he was dead, he suddenly raised his pistol hand and sent a bullet through the brain of his inquisitive enemy, and with a look of grim satisfaction joined him on his unknown journey. Poor old Jim! His men always loved him, and when he was twice deprived of promotion by the appointment of officers from outside the company over him, they made it so uncomfortable for the intruders that they were glad to be transferred to more agreeable surroundings. Lieutenants Campbell and Wildey were brave men and made good officers. Lieutenant Campbell commanded the artillery detachment attached to the regiment in 1863.

Ex-Gov. E. N. Morrill was a member of this company during the first year of its service. He served as company commissary sergeant until he was promoted to captain in the subsistence department.

Company D was recruited in Bureau county, Illinois, and vicinity. It was organized at Wyanet, by Capt. Clark S. Merriman, in August, 1861. The company had not been assigned when it came to Fort Leavenworth on escort duty, and was induced to cast its fortunes with Jennison's regiment, then organizing at that post. The company was made up of a fine lot of men and was always considered a great acquisition. The officers at organization were:

Captain Clark S. Merriman.
 First lieutenant..... Andrew Downing.
 Second lieutenant..... Isaac J. Hughes.

Captain Merriman was promoted to major October 3, 1862, and resigned July 13, 1863. Lieutenant Downing remained with the company until the close of his original term of service, September 27, 1864. Lieutenant Downing was writing poetry then, as he is to-day, and I have a printed sheet of his poems of 1861, written under the *nom de p'unc*, "Curley Q., Esq." Second Lieutenant Hughes was not a success, and resigned June 2, 1863. Hughes was at first familiarly known as "Shang Hai," which was soon abbreviated into "Shang." He once had an exceedingly narrow escape from death. At Coffeyville, Miss., he was in command of his company, and, when it was dismounted and ordered on the firing line, sent it in under command of First Sergeant Hinsdale, while he personally took charge of his lead horses in the rear. The gallant Hinsdale was killed. The vacancy created by the promotion of Captain Merriman was filled by the advancement of Lieut. Aaron M. Pitts, of company A, who commanded the company until its final discharge. When Lieutenant Downing was mustered out, First Sergt. William Henry was promoted to first lieutenant to fill the vacancy. No appointment was made to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Second Lieutenant Hughes. Lieutenant Henry was an exceptionally fine officer, absolutely fearless, and, although a boyish-appearing, smooth-faced young fellow, had a remarkable control over men.

Company E was originally organized at Quincy, Ill., in the month of August, 1861, by Capt. George I. Yeager. The members of the company were mostly from Chicago. The company arrived at Fort Leavenworth on September 22 and moved immediately to Kansas City, where it joined the other companies of the regiment recruited up to date, that were temporarily stationed there. The original officers were:

Captain George I. Yeager.
 First lieutenant..... Charles H. Gregory.
 Second lieutenant..... John Noyes, jr.

Captain Yeager became very unpopular with his men, and was forced to resign on October 8, 1861, and First Lieut. Charles H. Gregory was commissioned captain, and First Sergt. Russell W. Maryhugh was appointed first lieutenant, on October 18, 1861. Captain Gregory was promoted to major April 8, 1864, and Second Lieutenant Noyes was promoted captain to fill the vacancy on May 19, 1864; the vacancy in grade of second lieutenant was never filled. First Lieutenant Maryhugh was mustered out October 12, 1864, by reason of the expiration of his term of service, and was succeeded by the promotion of Corp. Edwin T. Saunders, of company A. Captain Gregory was a man of the greatest

bravery and dash and had the knack of doing just the right thing at just the proper time. His gallantry produced brilliant results and much of the credit earned by the regiment was due to him. Noyes and Maryhugh were both sturdy and reliable soldiers. Lieutenant Saunders was little more than a boy, but he never knew what fear was.

Company F was organized by Capt. Francis M. Malone, of Pana, Ill., in September, 1861. The company was recruited largely in Christian county and vicinity. Captain Malone brought his men to Kansas and joined Jennison's regiment in October, 1861. The original officers of the company were:

Captain.....	Francis M. Malone.
First lieutenant.....	Amos Hodgeman.
Second lieutenant.....	John A. Tanner.

Captain Malone was promoted to major August 12, 1863, and to lieutenant-colonel November 19, 1864, and was in command of the regiment during the most of its last year's service. Lieutenant Hodgeman was promoted to captain and assigned to company H June 23, 1863. Second Lieut. John A. Tanner was promoted to first lieutenant of company C, and First Sergt. Edward Colbert was promoted to second lieutenant to fill the vacancy October 31, 1862, and promoted captain October 26, 1863, and was in command of the company until its muster-out. First Sergt. John Clark was promoted to first lieutenant October 26, 1863, and resigned February 15, 1865. First Sergt. John W. Moore was appointed first lieutenant July 17, 1865, and was mustered out with the regiment. The vacancy in the grade of second lieutenant, occasioned by the promotion of Lieutenant Colbert, was never filled.

Captain Hodgeman was a brave officer and was killed in action. Captain Colbert had previously served in the regular army and was a good officer and most excellent in the field.

Company G was recruited in Linn county, Kansas, and vicinity, by Capt. Edward Thornton, and was mustered into the United States service on October 12, 1861, with the following officers:

Captain.....	Edward Thornton.
First lieutenant.....	David W. Houston.
Second lieutenant.....	Christopher C. Thompkins.

Captain Thornton commanded the company during its full term of service. First Lieutenant Houston was promoted captain of company H September 30, 1862, and promoted lieutenant-colonel July 1, 1863. Lieutenant Thompkins resigned February 1, 1862. Sergt.-maj. Harmon D. Hunt was promoted to first lieutenant, to fill the vacancy created by the promotion of Lieutenant Houston. Lieutenant Hunt resigned November 30, 1864, and was succeeded by First Lieut. Zachariah Norris, promoted from second lieutenant January 17, 1865. The vacancy in the grade of second lieutenant created by the resignation of Lieutenant Thompkins was filled by the appointment of Richard H. Kerr from civil life. Lieutenant Kerr was dismissed from the service November 24, 1862, and the vacancy created was filled by the promotion of Corp. Zachariah Norris, who was promoted to first lieutenant as above. Private William A. Pease was appointed second lieutenant to fill the vacancy. Captain Thornton was a generous whole-souled man, and made an excellent company commander. Lieut. Zach. Norris had been a soldier in the old Second Kansas infantry, and had been severely wounded at the battle of Wilson Creek.

Company H was organized by Capt. Marshall Cleveland, of jayhawker fame, and was mustered in at Fort Leavenworth on September 27, 1861, with the following officers:

Captain.....Marshall Cleveland.
 First lieutenant.....James L. Rafety.
 Second lieutenant.....Charles E. Gordon.

The original company was largely made up of members of Cleveland's old band of jayhawkers, that had operated along the Missouri border. Captain Cleveland was one of the handsomest men I ever saw; tall and rather slender, hair dark, beard dark and neatly trimmed. He was very neat in his dress and his carriage was easy and graceful. As a horseman he was superb. A stranger never would get the impression from his appearance that he was the desperate character that he was. His real name was Charles Metz. He was a native of New York state, had been a stage-driver in Ohio, and had served a term in the Missouri penitentiary. After his graduation from this institution he had for a time called himself "Moore," but later settled down on to the name "Cleveland." He did not remain with the regiment long; he could not endure the restraint, and one evening at Fort Leavenworth the culmination came. The regiment marched out for dismounted dress parade; Colonel Anthony was receiving the salute and, as the regiment was formed, took occasion to censure Captain Cleveland for appearing in a pair of light drab trousers tucked in his boot tops. Cleveland immediately left his station in front of his company and advanced directly towards the colonel; all expected bloodshed, but it only culminated in a few characteristic and pointed remarks on the part of the two officers immediately involved, and Cleveland passed on. He mounted his horse and rode away to Leavenworth city, and immediately sent in his resignation, and we saw him no more. He soon gathered a band of kindred spirits about him and began his old trade of jayhawking.* He was quite impartial in his dealings with rebels and Union men at the last, and if there was any question he took the benefit of the doubt. He made his headquarters at Atchison and eluded for a time all attempts to capture him: once or twice he captured the posse sent out after him and, after taking their horses and arms, sent them home on foot, as may be supposed, somewhat crestfallen. He

*JOHN JAMES INGALLS published in the *Kansas Magazine*, April, 1872, an article entitled "The Last of the Jayhawkers." Two paragraphs will suffice:

"The border ruffians in '56 constructed the eccaleobion in which the jayhawk was hatched, and it broke the shell upon the reedy shores of the Marais des Cygues. Its habits were not migratory, and for many years its habitat was southern Kansas; but eventually it extended its field of operations northward, and soon after the outbreak of the war was domiciled in the gloomy defiles and lonely forests of the bluffs whose rugged bastions resist the assaults of the Missouri from the mouth of the Kaw to the Nebraska line.

"Conspicuous among the irregular heroes who thus sprang to arms in 1861, and ostensibly their leader, was an Ohio stage-driver by the name of Charles Metz, who, having graduated with honor from the penitentiary of Missouri, assumed, from prudential reasons, the more euphonious and distinguished appellation of Cleveland. He was a picturesque brigand. Had he worn a slashed doublet and trunk hose of black velvet he would have been the ideal of an Italian bandit. Young, erect, and tall, he was sparely built, and arrayed himself like a gentleman, in the costume of the day. His appearance was that of a student. His visage was thin; his complexion olive-tinted and colorless, as if slicked over with the pale cast of thought. Black, piercing eyes, finely cut features, dark hair and beard, correctly trimmed, completed a *tout ensemble* that was strangely at variance with the aspect of the score of dissolute and dirty desperadoes that formed his command. There were generally degraded ruffians of the worst type, whose highest idea of elegance in personal appearance was to have their moustaches dyed a villainous metallic black, irrespective of the consideration whether its native hue was red or brown. It is a noticeable fact that a dyed moustache stamps its wearer inevitably either as a pitiful snob or an irreclaimable scoundrel."

finally ran up against the inevitable while trying to escape across the Marais des Cygnes, when pursued by Lieutenant Walker with a squad of company E, Sixth Kansas cavalry; he was shot and killed by a sergeant. He sleeps peacefully in the cemetery at St. Joseph. The headstone which marks his grave bears this gentle epitaph:

"One hero less on earth,
One angel more in heaven."

Cleveland was succeeded in command of the company by Capt. Horace Pardee, appointed from civil life. Captain Pardee led a strenuous life during the few months he was with the regiment. He was wounded at Columbus, Mo. He resigned May 15, 1862, and was succeeded by Capt. James L. Rafety, promoted from first lieutenant. Rafety was dismissed August 31, 1862. Capt. David W. Houston, promoted from first lieutenant of company G, was next in succession, and commanded the company until his promotion to lieutenant-colonel, July 1, 1863. He in turn was succeeded by Capt. Amos Hodgeman, promoted from first lieutenant of Company F, July 23, 1863. Captain Hodgeman died of wounds received at Wyatt, Miss., October 16, 1863. Capt. Charles L. Wall, promoted from first lieutenant April 6, 1864, was Captain Hodgeman's successor, and commanded the company until its final discharge.

The first lieutenants of the company were: James L. Rafety, promoted and dismissed as above; John Kendall, promoted from second lieutenant May 15, 1862, and dismissed the service November 22, 1862; and Charles L. Wall, promoted from second lieutenant September 1, 1862. Lieutenant Wall having been promoted to captain, was succeeded by the promotion of Lieut. Samuel N. Ayers from first sergeant, May 28, 1864. Lieutenant Ayers resigned March 20, 1865, and First Sergt. Wallace E. Dickson was promoted to fill the vacancy, and held the rank until the muster-out of the company.

The second lieutenants were: Charles E. Gerdon, who resigned February 11, 1862; John Kendall, promoted as above; Charles L. Wall promoted from sergeant May 15, 1862, and later promoted to first lieutenant and captain; Samuel R. Doolittle, promoted from first sergeant September 1, 1862, and resigned March 3, 1863. Doolittle was succeeded by Joseph H. Nessell, promoted from sergeant April 8, 1863. He was dismissed the service April, 1864, and the vacancy was never filled.

Company H was made up of splendid fighting material, but did not have the proper discipline at first. After Cleveland's resignation, many of his old men deserted and joined the band their old leader was organizing. When Blunt was made a brigadier-general, Jennison, who was an aspirant for the promotion himself, was highly wroth, and made an intemperate speech while in camp at Lawrence, during which he practically advised the men to desert. That night a number of men, principally from company H, took his advice and disappeared. Jennison himself sent in his resignation, which was promptly accepted on May 1, 1862, and the regiment was relieved of a worthless officer. Houston, Hodgeman and Wall were fine officers and brought the company out in excellent shape. Some of the best and most daring men of the regiment were in this company. Capt. Amos Hodgeman did much to discipline and make company H what it eventually became. He was a man of great bravery, and I believe was liked by his men. He was dark, with a countenance that gave him an almost sinister appearance; he rarely smiled and did not talk any more than necessary. He was mortally wounded October 10, 1863, while leading a charge at Wyatt, Miss. A severe fight was in progress between the cavalry forces under General Hatch and General Forrest. As we were forcing the rebels back, they made a determined

stand around a log house on a ridge. A charge had been made and repulsed, and Captain Hodgeman was leading the second assault when he fell, mortally wounded; he died on October 16, 1863. Hodgeman county was named after him. He was born in Massachusetts, and when the war broke out was a carpenter and builder in Leavenworth city.

There is a pathetic story connected with his life that may here be told. After he joined the regiment he married a pretty young woman who served drinks in a Leavenworth beer hall. In the spring of 1863 he brought her to the camp, at Corinth, Miss., and she remained there for a number of weeks. The wives of a number of the other officers were there, but Mrs. Hodgeman made no attempt to push herself into their company; she seemed contented with her husband's society, and busied herself in taking care of his quarters. They were very fond of each other, and that was enough. The camp became liable to attack any day from Forrest, and the women were sent North. After Captain Hodgeman's death, she came to the regiment dressed in deep mourning, and went out with her husband's old company under a flag of truce, secured his body, and took it away for burial. Soon after she entered a military hospital at Cincinnati, Ohio, as a nurse. She was never very robust, but she steadily performed her duties, growing a little less strong each day. She was always patient and gentle, and worked on until she could work no more. She did not have to wait long before death came to her as her reward. Poor Kitty Hodgeman! There are heroes who deserve to be "enskied and sainted" other than those who, striving for principle, go down in the forefront of battle.

One of the members of company H has since become famous—W. F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill." He entered as a veteran recruit, and was mustered out with the regiment.

Company I was recruited by Maj. Albert L. Lee in Doniphan county. Major Lee lived at Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, and a number of recruits came from that city. Lee was made a major at the organization of the regiment, and on May 7, 1862, was promoted to colonel. The company was recruited in October, and was mustered into the United States service October 28, 1861, with the following officers:

Captain.....	John L. Merrick.
First lieutenant.....	Robert Hayes.
Second lieutenant.....	Edwin Miller.

Capt. "Jack" Merrick resigned November 27, 1862, and was succeeded by Capt. Jacob M. Anthony, promoted from second lieutenant of company A. First Lieut. Robert Hayes died of disease at Corinth, Miss., September 20, 1862, and was succeeded by the promotion of Second Lieut. William Weston. Second Lieut. Edwin Miller resigned September 27, 1862, and First Sergt. William Weston was promoted to the vacancy. When Weston became first lieutenant the grade of second lieutenant remained vacant. Company I was steady and reliable at all times, and did splendid service; it was made up of a lot of unpretentious men who came promptly when needed and remained until orders directed them otherwise. Capt. Jack Merrick was something of a character: he was somewhat Falstaffian in his proportions, and used to wear a pair of big cavalry boots that slopped down about his heels. His oft-repeated phrase, "If the court knows herself, and I think she do," rings in my ears yet. Captain Anthony, who succeeded him, was a brother of Daniel R., but he had been molded from more plastic and tractable clay. He had courage and staying qualities, and made up in persistency what he lacked in aggressiveness. He was an excellent company commander,

and I believe that he, of all the officers appointed from civil life who came to the regiment after it went into the field, overcame the resentment of the men and served through to the end.

Lieutenant Weston was a quiet soldier who did his duty always, and the regimental commander always knew that if he was sent to accomplish a purpose it would be done, if within the limits of possibility.

Company K was originally organized at Jefferson, Ashtabula county, Ohio, by John Brown, jr., on September 6, 1861. Captain Brown sent the company on to Fort Leavenworth under the command of First Lieut. Burr H. Bostwick, and remained for a time in Ohio to finish the recruiting. Company K reached Fort Leavenworth on November 7, 1861, and was mustered into the United States service on November 12. The officers at the original muster were:

Captain.....	John Brown, jr.
First lieutenant.....	Burr H. Bostwick.
Second lieutenant.....	George H. Hoyt.

Captain Brown was the son of John Brown of heroic fame. He was with the company very little, on account of ill health: he soon found that he could not perform the service and resigned May 27, 1862. Second Lieut. George H. Hoyt was made captain to fill the vacancy; he was jumped over a man better qualified in every respect for the command of the company. Hoyt had the good taste to resign on September 3, 1862, and Bostwick was given his deserved promotion. He commanded the company during the remainder of its term of service. The vacancy in the grade of second lieutenant was filled by the appointment of Fred W. Emery from civil life, May 27, 1862. Emery was promoted first lieutenant and adjutant October 30 of same year, and Sergt. Thomas J. Woodburn was promoted to fill the vacancy in the company. Lieutenant Woodburn was killed in action at Coffeyville, Miss., on November 5, 1862. Sergt. William W. Crane was appointed second lieutenant August 15, 1863, and first lieutenant September 30 of same year, the vacancy in the grade of second lieutenant remaining unfilled.

As may be supposed, company K was made up of abolitionists of the intense sort. I believe that it was this company that brought the John Brown song to Kansas; at least, I had never heard it until they sang it, immediately after their arrival. For a while after the company joined the regiment the men would assemble near the captain's tent in the dusk after "retreat" and listen to the deep utterances of some impassioned orator; the voice was always low and did not reach far beyond the immediate circle of the company, who stood with heads bent, drinking in every word. The speaker always closed with "Do you swear to avenge the death of John Brown?" and the answer always came back low and deep, "We will, we will"; then would follow the John Brown hymn, sung in the same repressed manner, but after the last verse of the original song was sung it would be followed by a verse in accelerated time, beginning with "Then three cheers for John Brown, jr." This almost lively wind-up of these nightly exercises had the same effect on me as the quickstep that the music plays immediately on leaving the enclosure after a soldier's burial. At first the whole regiment used to gather just outside of the sacred precincts and listen, but soon it ceased to attract, and the company itself became too busy avenging to hold their regular meetings.

Of the officers, Bostwick, Woodburn, Emery and Crane were all efficient. Captain Brown never had the opportunity to show the stuff he was made of, his broken health forcing him to resign very soon. Lieut. Tom Woodburn was

a brave, dashing fellow, with a clean-cut, attractive face: he went gallantly to his death leading his company at Coffeyville. Lieut. Fred Emery was a man of unusual ability and had a strong personality, that would even override the regimental commander if his opinions went counter to the adjutant's idea of matters in question. He was promoted to the staff department as assistant adjutant general June 30, 1863. Captain Bostwick was an energetic officer and fearless of danger. He was quick to execute a command, and in case of a sudden attack his company was under arms and out to the defense before any other. Capt. George H. Hoyt was a combination of ambition and cruelty: posing as a defender of John Brown at his trial at Harper's Ferry he went after and secured a commission as an officer of the young John Brown's company. He did nothing to deserve the promotion that he received over a better and more deserving man. The company and regiment were well rid of him when he resigned.

These ten companies as described made up the Seventh Kansas cavalry. At the beginning of the civil war the cavalry regiment of the United States army was a ten-company organization, and it was only after the war had progressed a year or two that the twelve-squadron organization was adopted. The Seventh Kansas, although making repeated efforts, was never able to secure the privilege accorded to the other cavalry regiments from the state, of recruiting the two additional squadrons. The numbering of the regiment as the "Seventh" was not done until in the spring of 1862: previous to that time the regiment designated itself as the "First Kansas cavalry." In December, 1861, the governor, in making his report to the War Department, designated it as "1st Cavalry or 6th Regiment," and he designated Judson's regiment, which became finally the Sixth Kansas cavalry, as the "Seventh regiment." Some time during the spring of 1862 the numbering was definitely fixed and Jennison's regiment became the Seventh and retained that designation thereafter.

In the beginning I gave the field and staff as first organized. Many changes occurred during the career of the regiment. Colonel Jennison performed some acts worthy of commendation, conspicuous among which was his resignation. Jennison was succeeded by Col. Albert L. Lee, advanced from major. Some trouble arose at the time of Colonel Lee's appointment from an act of Lieutenant-governor Root, who, assuming that he was governor in the absence of Governor Robinson, who had gone beyond the limits of the state, issued a commission to Charles W. Blair, as colonel of the Seventh. Governor Robinson himself, immediately after his return, issued a similar commission to Colonel Lee. Colonel Blair appeared at Fort Riley, where the regiment had been stationed, one morning just as the command was forming for its march to Fort Leavenworth, preparatory to moving South. He assumed command of the regiment, put it in motion toward the Missouri river, and promptly disappeared. The day following Colonel Lee met the regiment and assumed command also: he rode with it a short distance and finally ordered it into camp. He had "assembly" sounded, and, after he had made a speech to the men, vanished also. Colonel Lee went directly to Washington and submitted his case to Attorney-general Bates, who decided the contention a few weeks later in his favor.

Colonel Lee ranked from May 17, 1862: he was promoted a brigadier general November 29 of the same year. He won his star at Lamar, Miss., where the Seventh Kansas alone, although two miles from any supports, attacked Colonel Jackson's Confederate cavalry division over 4000 strong, and routed them with great loss. Colonel Lee was succeeded by Col. Thomas P. Herrick, who had passed through the successive grades of captain, major, and lieutenant-colonel.

Colonel Herrick was not an officer as impetuous as Lee, but he was brave, and a safe and judicious commander and an excellent disciplinarian. He was a lawyer of fine ability, and was in demand when a detail for court-martial service was required. He died of cholera not long after his discharge from the military service. After Colonel Herrick left the service, the regiment was commanded by Lieut.-col. Francis M. Malone, until the final discharge of the command.

Lieut.-col. Daniel R. Anthony commanded the regiment during its early service; Colonel Jennison was nominally in command part of the time, but he was too busy playing poker over at Squiresville, or elsewhere, to find time to take the field in person. Colonel Anthony was equal to the occasion, and the regiment led the strenuous life while he exercised his authority. He resigned September 3, 1862. The succeeding lieutenant-colonel was David W. Houston, who retired from the service on account of disability February 1, 1864. Maj. William S. Jenkins was promoted lieutenant-colonel March 27, 1863, and resigned November 14, 1864. Lieut.-col. Francis M. Malone was next in succession, and held the grade until the regiment was discharged.

The majors who served with the Seventh Kansas were, Daniel R. Anthony, Thomas P. Herrick, and Albert L. Lee, accounted for above. Maj. John T. Snoddy followed next; he was promoted from adjutant July 22, 1862, and resigned March 6, 1863, on account of ill health. He died April 24, 1864. Next in succession was Clark S. Merriman, promoted from captain of company D; he resigned July 13, 1863, and was succeeded by William S. Jenkins, who was promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 21, 1864. Maj. Francis M. Malone came next; he became lieutenant-colonel November 19, 1864. Majors Charles H. Gregory and Levi H. Utt were the last, and were mustered out with the regiment. Gregory was an officer of especial brilliancy and dash, and performed many acts of distinguished bravery. He had splendid judgment, and never failed of success when he made an attack. It was to his dash the regiment owes much for its victory over Jackson at Lamar. Major Utt was also brave to a fault; he had no conception of what fear was, and yet was watchful and a safe officer. He lost a leg at Leighton, Ala.

Lieut. John T. Snoddy was the first adjutant. He was succeeded by Lieut. Fred W. Emery, who was promoted to the staff department. The vacancy was not regularly filled, but Lieut. Harmon D. Hunt acted until the promotion of Sergt.-maj. Simeon M. Fox to the position, which he filled until the regiment was discharged. Lieut. William O. Osgood was battalion adjutant for a time, but was mustered out by order of the War Department in the fall of 1862.

The quartermasters of the regiment were Robert W. Hamer, Ebenezer Snyder, and James Smith, who filled the position successively in the order named.

Lucius Whitney was the original commissary, and held the position during the full term of service.

Maj. Joseph L. Wever was the first regular surgeon; he resigned June 7, 1864, and was succeeded by Maj. Joseph S. Martin, promoted from assistant surgeon. Martin was the original assistant surgeon, and, on promotion, July 18, 1864, was succeeded by Lieut. Joel J. Crook.

The chaplains were Samuel Ayers, who resigned August 31, 1862, and Charles H. Lovejoy, appointed April 19, 1863, and discharged with the regiment.

When Price moved north to the capture of Lexington, Mo., all available troops were pushed forward to the defense of Kansas City. Companies A, B and C being organized, were hurried to Kansas City from Fort Leavenworth and remained

there until all danger had passed; they were later joined by company E and, I believe, by some of the other companies as rapidly as organized. After Price had begun his retreat these companies were returned to Fort Leavenworth by river transport. October 28, 1861, all companies having been recruited, the regiment was regularly organized. Company K was not present, but was on its way from Ohio; it arrived November 7 and was assigned its designating letter. The regiment was mounted and equipped at once: the equipment was disappointing, however, as pertains to carbines; companies A, B and H received the Sharp's carbine, but the other companies had at first to content themselves with nondescript weapons that ranged from the obsolete horse-pistol mounted on a temporary stock to the Belgian musket. Later the Colt's revolving rifle was issued to the seven companies, and it was not until the last year of the war that the regiment was uniformly outfitted with the Spencer carbine. The Seventh Kansas, as soon as the equipment was completed, marched South and went into camp near Kansas City, companies A, B and H on the Majors farm, located about four miles southeast of Westport, and the rest of the regiment on O. K. creek.

On the evening of November 10 Colonel Anthony received information that the rebel colonel, Upton Hayes, was in camp on the Little Blue, about thirteen miles out. He at once moved, with parts of companies A, B, and H, and surprised the camp early on the morning of the 11th. The enemy was driven out and the camp captured, with all the tents, horses, and wagons. The rebels, however, retreated to an impregnable position among the rocks beyond and made a stand; they numbered nearly 300 and Colonel Anthony had but 110 men. The attempt to drive the enemy from the rocks cost the jayhawkers nine men killed and thirty-two wounded. The camp was destroyed and our boys retreated, bringing off the captured property. The fighting was most desperate and lasted several hours, and although not entirely successful caused Up. Hayes to retire from the neighborhood, and, moreover, showed the fighting qualities of the regiment to be all that could be desired.

From Kansas City the regiment marched back towards Leavenworth and went into camp at a point about nine miles south of the city. This camp was named "Camp Herrick," after the major. Here the first pay was received. Camp was broken soon after, and the regiment returned to the vicinity of Kansas City and went into camp on the Westport road, just north of the old McGee tavern, and scouted the country in that section. Independence was raided and the citizens were given a little touch of the misfortunes of war. Colonel Anthony made a characteristic speech to the citizens, who had been rounded up and corraled in the public square.* The secession spirit, which had been rampant in Independence since Price's raid on Lexington, was much subdued after this expedition. The regiment moved from Kansas City and was camped at Independence, Pleasant Hill, and West Point, in the order named, scouting and making it uncomfortable for the guerrillas in the vicinity. On December 24 the command moved from West Point to Morristown, arriving there after night. It was a bitter cold day, and the march was made in the face of a blinding storm. Camp was made in the snow and an uncomfortable night was passed. The win-

*Britton, in his "Civil War on the Border," attempts to give an account of this raid on Independence. He fixes the date as the latter part of September, and places the command of the expedition under Colonel Jennison, whom he accredits with the speech at the court-house square. The facts were that the Seventh Kansas was not organized at that time. The raid was towards the middle of November, and under the command of Col. D. R. Anthony. Colonel Anthony made the speech at Independence. Colonel Jennison was not present, nor was he in personal command of the Seventh Kansas (or First Kansas cavalry, as then known) while doing active service in Missouri at any time while he was colonel of the regiment.

ter of 1861-'62 was spent in tents. New Year's day was devoted to a raid out into the vicinity of Rose Hill and Dayton. The latter town was burned.

On January 5, 1862, a foray was made into Johnson county, Missouri, by a battalion under command of Major Herrick. His force was composed of companies A, B, D, and F. The battalion went into camp at Holden and detachments were sent out to scout the country in different directions. Company A went to Columbus and camped for the night; a considerable force of the enemy was in the neighborhood, but as Captain Utt was on the alert they did not attempt to attack. After company A had moved out company D came up and occupied the town. As Captain Merriam was leaving the village his company was fired on from ambush and five men killed, and he was compelled to retreat. Soon after, Captain Utt, learning of the disaster, returned to Columbus, buried the dead, and burned the town. He remained in the vicinity until nightfall, but the rebels failing to attack, he moved with his company back to Holden. Two days later the entire detachment returned to Morrystown.

On January 31 the Seventh Kansas marched to Humboldt, Kan., where camp was established until March 25. On this date the regiment broke camp and moved to Lawrence, remaining there until April 22. From Lawrence the command proceeded, via Topeka and route south of the Kaw, to Fort Riley, where it was joined by Mitchell's brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The orders were to remove to New Mexico as soon as grass had started sufficient for grazing. On May 18, however, this order was countermanded and the entire brigade ordered to march to Fort Leavenworth and from thence to move by river transports to Pittsburg Landing, Tenn. The command embarked at Fort Leavenworth on May 27 and 28, and was carried as rapidly as possible to its destination. The landing was made at the Shiloh battle-ground and the boys were permitted to see the wreck and desolation that resulted from the great battle recently fought.

A pleasant incident occurred here that will always cling to my memory. While at Morrystown, Mo., the regiment had been brigaded with a battalion of the Seventh Missouri infantry, under Major Oliver. While coming up the Tennessee river our leading transport, "The New Sam. Gaty," had joined in a race with another river steamboat, and our boys in their zeal had burned up all their "sow-belly" to assist in getting up steam. When we arrived at Pittsburg Landing we were hungry and out of rations. An infantry soldier on the levee, who was of the Seventh Missouri and one of our old comrades, discovered this condition and immediately ran down the levee yelling that the jayhawkers were there hungry and out of grub. In half an hour a formal invitation to dinner came, and the entire boat load was fed. The Seventh Missouri had divided their rations and I have no doubt went hungry in consequence.

As our army had occupied Corinth on May 30, the pressing need for cavalry had passed and the regiment was once more ordered on board transports and carried down the river and around to Columbus, Ky. From Columbus it moved south on June 7, as a guard for the working parties occupied in repairing the Ohio & Mobile railroad to Corinth. While performing this duty the regiment was camped for a time at Union City, and while there Colonel Anthony, in the absence of Gen. R. B. Mitchell, was in temporary command of the brigade. During this time he took the opportunity to issue his celebrated order, dated June 18, 1862, and containing the following language: "Any officer or soldier of this command who shall arrest and deliver to his master a fugitive slave shall be summarily and severely punished according to the laws relative to such crimes."

General Mitchell, on returning, ordered Colonel Anthony to rescind this or-

der. Colonel Anthony refused, stating that as he had been relieved from command he had no authority to countermand a brigade order. General Mitchell then said hotly, "I will place you in command long enough for you to rescind it." Anthony then asked, "Am I in command of the brigade?" General Mitchell replied "Yes." Then said Colonel Anthony, "You, as an officer without command, have no authority to instruct me as to my duties." If this order was ever rescinded it was not Colonel Anthony who did it. It will be remembered that the government was handling the question of slavery very gingerly in the early part of the war, and every encouragement was being given Kentucky to maintain her attitude of non-secession. Colonel Anthony was deprived from command, but remained with the regiment until September 3, 1862, when his resignation was accepted. Major Herrick succeeded Colonel Anthony and commanded the regiment until Colonel Lee returned to relieve him.

There was an incident consequent on this order of Colonel Anthony's that should not be lost to history. The regiment was marching towards Corinth when, on July 3, late in the afternoon, tired and dusty, it entered Jackson, Tenn. Gen. John A. Logan was just convalescing from wounds received at Shiloh, and was in command of this post. While the regiment was halted in a shady spot at the south part of town waiting for details to fill canteens at a well near by, an aide-de-camp rode up and said, "General Logan orders this regiment moved immediately outside his lines," and rode away. The regiment did not move with any great degree of alacrity, and was standing to horse, waiting for the canteens to be filled, some twenty minutes later, when the same aide-de-camp dashed up in great wrath and said: "General Logan orders this d—abolition regiment outside his lines or he will order out a battery and drive it out." The men at once passed along the word and were in the saddle instantly, and the answer came promptly back, "Go and tell Gen. John A. Logan to bring out his battery and we will show him how quick this d—— abolition regiment will take it." The officers tried to move the regiment, but the men sat grim and silent and would not stir. No battery appeared, and finally a compromise was made; the regiment was moved around General Logan's headquarters by a street to the rear, and marched back past his front door with the band playing "John Brown." The command moved out and camped on a stream just south of town, but inside of General Logan's lines.

General Logan was no doubt incensed over Colonel Anthony's order and other conditions were irritating to him. As soon as the jayhawkers arrived in the South it became the immediate custom for all depredations committed by other troops to be done in their name, and in consequence the Seventh Kansas was compelled to bear opprobrium largely undeserved. The men averaged with the men of other regiments, and were no better or worse as far as honesty went, but at this time they were bearing the aggregated transgressions of regiments from other states. A day or so previous the Second Illinois cavalry had broken into the railway station at Trenton, Tenn., and had appropriated a considerable quantity of sugar: company A of the Seventh Kansas came up later and also augmented their supply of sweetness. Really not \$100 worth of sugar was taken all together, but the owner made a great outcry, and complained through General Logan to General Grant. In September, when the paymaster came to pay the troops, the Seventh Kansas was informed by a messenger from General Grant that if the men would voluntarily consent to the stoppage of two dollars against the pay of each man, to reimburse for this sugar, the men would receive their money; otherwise they would not be paid. It was disrespectful, but word went back by the messenger for "General Grant to go to hell." The stoppage would have

amounted to over \$1500, and no claim had been made on the Second Illinois cavalry, who were the principal aggressors. The regiment finally received its pay, but it was nearly nine months later when the paymaster made the disbursement.

The First Kansas infantry served with the Seventh in the sixteenth army corps for some time and, of course, sympathized with us, but we never knew how far this sympathy extended until late in the year. While General Grant was making his attempted move toward Vicksburg by way of the Mississippi Central railroad, one morning, as the infantry column was moving south out of Oxford, Miss., the line of march carried it by General Grant's headquarters, and the general himself was sitting on the front veranda smoking and viewing the troops as they passed. Each regiment as it came up was wheeled into line and gave three cheers for the "hero of Donelson." As the First Kansas passed the same program was attempted. The evolution was made all right, but when the cheers were ordered not a sound followed; the men looked up at the sky or away towards the distant landscape, but never at the general, and their lips remained closed. However, as they broke into column and were being led away by their discomfited commander, an old ram in an adjacent corner lot lifted up his voice in a characteristic bleat; the men took it up, and as they marched away down the street plaintive "baas" came back to the ears of the great general.

The regiment arrived at Corinth, Miss., on June 10, and went into camp to the eastward of the town, at Camp Clear Creek. The line of march to camp led by the extensive infantry camps, and the usual interest was manifested. The jayhawkers were something of a curiosity, and as soon as it became known what this passing cavalry regiment was the road was lined by infantry soldiers. The usual badinage was attempted by the lookers-on, but no response was elicited—the Seventh Kansas rode by with their faces set straight to the front, apparently oblivious to the surroundings; they might have been passing through the desert, as far as any expression of their countenances indicated. The jokes grew fewer and finally ceased entirely, and the infantry men became only silent lookers on. As the rear of the regiment passed one big sergeant said, "I'll be d——." That was the only remark that came to our ears. I mention this, for it was a characteristic of the regiment to ignore surroundings of this nature.

Colonel Lee took command of the regiment on the 17th of July, and on the 20th marched it to Jacinto and from thence to Rienzi, Miss., arriving there on the 23d. Rienzi was the extreme southern outpost of the Northern army. The Seventh Kansas was assigned to the second brigade of the cavalry division; Col. Philip H. Sheridan was our brigade commander; he was at that time a diminutive specimen and did not weigh more than 110 pounds. When he (later) was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, Colonel Lee became commander of our brigade. Gen. Gordon Granger commanded the cavalry division. The camp of the Seventh Kansas was at this post until its evacuation, September 30. Typhoid fever was prevalent, nineteen deaths resulting in the regiment during a period of about a month. The Confederate army lay about twenty miles to the south, with their advance outposts at Baldwin and Guntown, and our cavalry was constantly in the saddle. Skirmishes were frequent between opposing scouting parties, and Colonel Lee showed himself to be a dashing and capable cavalry officer. Colonel Sheridan led us on many dashing expeditions, and raids were made into Ripley and through the enemy's lines at Marietta and Bay Springs. At the latter place the Confederate camp was captured and destroyed.

A detachment of the Seventh Kansas had a lively skirmish with a guerrilla leader, who bore the Teutonic name of Funderberger; the affair was always

known in the regiment as "the battle of Funderberger's Lane." It was a dashing, picturesque engagement, fought at dusk and after dark, and the flashing of small arms was exciting and beautiful. It was a running fight, and Funderberger was driven down the lane badly beaten.

On August 26 Faulkner's rebel cavalry drove in our pickets under Captain Eaton, of the Second Iowa cavalry, who were guarding the Ripley road, and charged in nearly to our camp. Most of the command was out on a scout to the south, and matters looked a little dubious for a few minutes. The "sick, lame, and lazy," however, rallied and drove them off. All available men were mounted and started in pursuit; the enemy was routed, and pursued for ten miles. The next day Captain Malone with his company (F) was attacked while scouting on the Kossuth road; he lost four men killed and eight wounded, one of the wounded men dying afterwards. The company rallied and charged the enemy, routing him. Our dead and wounded were recovered, and the Confederates lost three killed. The dead were buried and the wounded brought off the field. About this time Colonel Sheridan received his promotion as brigadier-general and went to Kentucky with Granger's division, and Colonel Lee assumed command of the brigade. Companies B and E took part in the battle of Iuka, fought on the 19th of September, the remainder of the regiment operating on our right flank. General Rosecrans said in his report: "I must not omit to mention the eminent services of Colonel Du Bois, commanding at Rienzi, and Colonel Lee, who with the Seventh Kansas and part of the Seventh Illinois cavalry, assured our flank and rear during the entire period of our operations." Colonel Lee had not only to guard the flank of Rosecrans's army, but he had to prevent the enemy moving on Corinth, then almost denuded of troops.

After the battle of Iuka the Confederates began to organize for a movement against Corinth. Reinforcements were rushed to them, and the 1st of October their advance began. The Seventh Kansas operated on their right flank and harassed the movements of the Confederates, participating in several sharp skirmishes. On the night of October 3 the regiment entered Corinth by the Kossuth road in time to take part in the terrible battle of the next day. When the regiment entered, it was supposed the Kossuth road lay a half mile to the right of the Confederate flank. Lovell, who commanded their right, had, after dark however, extended his lines across the road, it being the Confederate plan to open the battle in the morning by an attack by Lovell on College hill. He did not want to expose the new disposition of his troops, so let us pass through his lines, expecting to have us the next day anyhow. It was a bright moonlight night, and the way appeared innocent enough, but Lovell could have swept us out of existence any moment with the artillery and musketry masked in the brush along our line of march. I have often wondered if the Confederate Colonel Jackson, whose cavalry division, formed on the right, was guarding this road, ever knew that the regiment he permitted to pass by in safety was the same that less than two months later assaulted and decisively whipped his whole division in the Lamar lane. The Seventh Kansas operated mostly on our left flank, and were deployed in the abattis as sharpshooters. The regiment was conspicuous in the pursuit, until it ended at Ripley; it took part in many sharp skirmishes, repeatedly defeating Baxter's rebel cavalry brigade and capturing many prisoners.

The night we entered Ripley, during the pursuit, Captain Houston, with company H, was stationed as picket on the road leading south from town. Suspecting a move on the part of the enemy, he caused a fire to be built, and arranged dummies in imitation of soldiers lying asleep about the smoldering embers, and then posted his company in the brush down the road. Sure enough, about

two o'clock in the morning a Confederate company came stealing up the road and, deploying, moved silently on their supposed sleeping victims. Houston noiselessly deployed his company in their rear and stealthily followed. At the proper distance the Confederates drew a bead on the dummies, and the captain exultingly demanded a surrender. "Had you not better surrender yourself?" said Captain Houston, quietly: the startled Confederates turned and discovered a line of Yankee carbines, with a man behind each one, drawn level at their heads. They promptly obeyed Captain Houston's injunction and surrendered. It was a neat job and resulted in over forty prisoners, including several officers.

Referring to prisoners, I wish to record here that the entire number of the Seventh Kansas made prisoners of war during over four years of active service would not aggregate a score, and in but one instance was ever more than one taken at one time. The exception was Lieutenant Osgood, and, I believe, two men, picked up near Rienzi, Miss., in the fall of 1862. Several times were squads and companies nearly surrounded by superior numbers, but they fought their way out and made their escape.

The battle of Corinth is a matter of history and students of the civil war know how severe the fighting was. Our forces numbered about 20,000 and the Confederates about 40,000. We, of course, had the advantage of position and the chain of redoubts that strengthened our line. The writer was an orderly at General Rosecrans's headquarters during the last day of the engagement, and was privileged in seeing more of a severe battle than usually falls to the lot of one individual. Orders went out thick and fast and staff officers and orderlies rode the lines with rapid frequency. When the victory was achieved, I had the privilege of riding in the train of the great general when he rode along the lines and thanked his regiments for the victory they had given him: The Confederate dead still lay along our front, and, especially in front of Fort Robinet, the slaughter had been fearful.

On its return from the pursuit the regiment went into camp for a few days east of Corinth, on the Farmington road. From this point a raid was made across Bear creek into Alabama, as far as Buzzard Roost station. Roddy's command was met and driven back, badly whipped. A most gallant act was performed here by Sergt. Alonzo Dickson and three men of company H, who led the advance. As they came in sight of the Confederate outpost, although it consisted of about fifteen men, they at once dashed forward, and the rebels mounted their horses and fled in a panic. Dickson and his squad pursued them over a mile, killing over half of their number and capturing several; but two or three escaped.

On the return of the regiment from this expedition, it received orders to move to Grand Junction, where General Grant was concentrating an army for a movement against Vicksburg. The Confederate army, under General Pemberton, was encamped along the Coldwater, about twenty miles to the south. On November 8 a reconnaissance in force was made under the command of General McPherson towards Hudsonville. The Seventh Kansas led the advance on the main road and moved about two miles ahead of the infantry column. Near Lamar it came on the flank of the Confederate cavalry division under the command of Colonel Jackson, General Pemberton's chief of cavalry. Captain Gregory, who held our advance with his company (E), immediately attacked, and was followed by an assault by the whole regiment. The Confederates were completely routed, and fled, leaving their dead and wounded and many prisoners in our hands. They left thirty-six dead and 400 or 500 prisoners, many severely wounded, and nearly 2000 stand of arms. The glory of this victory will appear more pronounced

when it is understood that the attack was made by one small regiment, numbering about 600 men, nearly two miles away from any support, and against a division numbering 4000. This defeat caused the retreat of the entire Confederate army to a point below Holly Springs, and the victory gave Colonel Lee his star. The regiment advanced the same evening to the enemy's lines and drew his artillery fire, but his cavalry were too badly demoralized to offer any opposition. On the return to the camp at Grand Junction the regiment was received by the infantry with cheers.

November 27, 1862, the advance of the army began. The Seventh Kansas led the advance of the main infantry column, and on the morning of the 28th charged into Holly Springs, capturing the pickets on the Hudsonville road, routing the garrison, and driving the Confederates beyond the town. The regiment was given the post of honor and held the extreme advance most of the time during the forward movement, fighting almost constantly from dawn until well into the night, and then finding rest disturbed by the playful shells which the enemy would explode over its exposed bivouac. The Confederates contested every foot of the way between Holly Springs and the Tallahatchie with cavalry and artillery, but the Seventh Kansas steadily pushed them back. Ten miles below Holly Springs a Confederate force supporting a twelve-pound gun was charged and the gun captured. The enemy finally retired within their fortifications that stretched along the Tallahatchie river, and as the jayhawkers came within range of their big guns proceeded to give them the benefit of the concentrated fire of some forty siege pieces. Half an hour later, when the infantry supports came up, the First Kansas infantry led the advance. They came on at the double-quick, and as they piled their blankets and knapsacks and deployed in the field beyond our left each company would give hearty cheers for the jayhawkers and the jayhawkers returned them as heartily, telling them to "Give 'em Wilson Creek." Shells were bursting overhead or ricocheting across the fields, and the Seventh was much relieved when the infantry came up, and it was especially pleasing to have this splendid fighting regiment from our home state come to our support. Several times during this advance would we see an infantry regiment away across the fields tossing their caps in the air and cheering: we knew that it was the First Kansas, who by some infallible means always recognized their brothers from home and sent them greeting.

At nightfall the infantry fell back out of range, and left the Seventh to picket the advance line. During the night scouts were sent forward; Sergeant Henry, of company D, with two men, crept within the forts on the left of the road, and confirmed the suspicion that the Confederates were evacuating. Sergeant Wildey and one man of company C crawled through their pickets and across a cotton field on the right to the vicinity of the bridge, and returned with a confirmation of the report. At daylight the Seventh Kansas advanced and found the earthworks dismantled, the enemy in full retreat, and the bridge over the Tallahatchie destroyed. Again the jayhawkers led the advance on the main road. It had rained heavily during the night and the roads were very muddy, but that did not delay to any great extent. The enemy's rear guard was struck soon, but was easily pushed back until within a mile of Oxford, where they were reinforced, and a strong stand was made, supported by one piece of artillery. They opened at short range with double-shotted canister, and did considerable damage to the oak undergrowth. Lieut. James Smith led company C in a charge directly against the artillery, but they were handling the gun by fixed prolonge and succeeded in dragging it out of reach. At the edge of town the entire regiment dismounted and deployed for the final rush; first, however, Captain

Swoyer led company B in a mounted charge in column down the main street, but, meeting a heavy fire from the public square, was forced to retire. When the formation was complete the order to advance was given, and the men went in with a yell. Strong opposition was met, especially at the court-house square, but this force, seeing that they would be flanked, fell back with the rest, leaving a number of dead and prisoners in our hands. During the fight a man was noticed standing on the observatory of a large house watching our advance through a field-glass. A bullet fired at him struck the railing near by. He disappeared, and in a few minutes was seen galloping away to a place of safety. That man was the Hon. Jacob Thompson, formerly secretary of the interior under President Buchanan.

The next day the regiment pushed forward as far as Water Valley, skirmishing the entire distance and capturing nearly a thousand prisoners, who were straggling behind the retreating army. Late in the afternoon a captured drummer boy was trudging back along our column to take his place with the other prisoners: "Where are you going, Johnny?" was asked him; "Back to the rear to beat roll-call for Pemberton's army," was his prompt answer. That evening, as the regiment was formed in a hollow square around the prisoners, our boys, who had supplied themselves with a bountiful store of tobacco at the expense of the Oxford merchants, discovered that the prisoners were destitute and fainting for a "chaw of stingy green," and so began to pitch whole plugs of "flat," which was a luxury, to the suffering Johnnies. It created a transformation; despondency disappeared and contentment took its place; three cheers for the jayhawkers were given with a gusto, and the little drummer boy of the afternoon came forward and regaled the regiment with the rebel version of the "Happy Land of Canaan," a song much in vogue during the first years of the war. One verse still clings to my memory:

"Old John Brown came to Harper's Ferry town,
 Old John Brown was a game one;
 But we led him up a slope, and we let him down a rope,
 And sent him to the happy land of Canaan."

That night the regiment picketed the main road at the burning bridge across the Otuckalofa. Fording the river early in the morning the pursuit was continued, the Seventh Kansas still leading the advance. Sharp skirmishing continued during the day until after noon, when the resistance grew lighter. The cavalry had pressed forward nearly thirty miles in advance of the infantry supports and the enemy, cognizant of this, had prepared a surprise. About a mile north of Coffeyville, Lovell's infantry division had been posted in the timber with two six-gun batteries masked in the brush, and a large cavalry force on each flank. Companies A, G, I, and K, deployed as skirmishers, were advancing dismounted across an open field when they were received by a withering volley from the rebel infantry and artillery. These companies fell back to the belt of timber in the rear, and rallied on company C coming forward in support; the five companies then fell slowly back, contesting the Confederate advance every inch of the way across a field to the rear until our main line, which was rapidly forming along the edge of the timber on the next slope, was reached. The Confederates numbered from 8000 to 10,000, supported by two batteries, while the Union forces were scarcely 4000 dismounted cavalry, with but two twelve-pound guns, and entirely without reserves: yet our position was maintained for over half an hour, and until the Confederate force had swung around our flanks and had us nearly surrounded. Our loss was heavy but that of the Southerners very much greater. The Seventh Kansas, with detachments of other regiments, made a fine stand at a bridge across

a deep stream to the rear and repulsed the final charge of the rebels. The entire command fell back to Water Valley.

The battle of Coffeyville was fought on December 5, 1862. Our regimental loss was eight killed and about forty wounded. Lieut. Tom Woodburn, a gallant officer, fell at the head of his company: Lieutenant Colbert was wounded and Colonel Lee's horse was wounded beneath him. We lost no prisoners. Our artillery, supported by the Seventh Kansas, was served until the charging Confederates were within a hundred feet of the muzzles and then was successfully dragged away at fixed prolonge, with a sergeant riding the last gun, facing to the rear with his thumb to his nose at the eluded rebels, who sent a shower of bullets after him.

The report of the Confederate general says: "The tactics of the enemy did them great credit." Among our dead was Private Francis Schilling, a German of fine education and great refinement. He came to Kansas from Chicago and joined the Seventh Kansas, led hither by his extreme abolition belief. He was a frequent correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. He fell with his face to the foe, dying for a principle, if ever a man did during the history of this world.

The cavalry division fell back to the Yocknapatalfa and encamped at Prophet bridge. From this point company A scouted back to the vicinity of the Coffeyville battle-field and secured information of the raid against our line of communication, just starting under the leadership of the rebel general, Van Dorn. Securing complete details of the movement, the company returned rapidly and reported to Colonel Dickey. He received the report with incredulity and neglected to report to General Grant until eight hours later. When General Grant finally received the information he instantly ordered all the cavalry by forced marches to Holly Springs. The Seventh Kansas moved out in advance and rode the forty miles with scarcely a halt, and with jaded horses reached Holly Springs at about ten o'clock the next morning, in advance of all the rest, but about an hour after the rebels had destroyed the vast amount of supplies stored there, and had moved north. The delay of Colonel Dickey had been fatal. Had he sent the information forward without delay, reinforcements would have easily reached Holly Springs in time to have beaten off Van Dorn and saved the town, with millions of dollars' worth of stores. The regiment immediately pushed north to Bolivar, Van Dorn's next objective point, reaching there in advance of the rebel raider. The garrison was small, but a determined show of force was made, and Van Dorn feared to attack, and immediately began a hasty retreat. The Seventh Kansas followed, constantly skirmishing with him until he passed south of Pontotoc.

The regiment returned to Holly Springs, and on the 31st of December moved north to Moscow, Tenn., and later to Germantown, where the command wintered. The march north was in the wake of our retiring army: buildings and fences were burning, and frequent detours had to be made to pass places too hot for comfort or safety of ammunition. I wish some of our ultra sentimentalists who are posing at the present day, and whose souls are full of metaphorical tears for the cruel acts of the American army, could have seen some of the gentle touches of the civil war. But most of these gentlemen, if of a suitable age, took extreme care to be absent from the scenes of ignoble strife.

At Germantown Colonel Lee received notice of his promotion as brigadier-general, and took leave of the regiment. He was a fine officer, brave, dashing, and ambitious. General Grant commended him highly, and placed him in command of the brigade when General Sheridan was transferred to Kentucky. In a dispatch to General Halleck, dated November 11, 1862, General Grant said: "Colonel Lee is one our best cavalry officers: I earnestly recommend him for promotion." Lieutenant-colonel Herriek continued in command of the regiment

after Colonel Lee's promotion. While stationed at Germantown the regiment was almost constantly in the saddle, patrolling the roads and scouting far out into the country. A number of sharp skirmishes were fought, with unvarying success to our side.

On the 15th of April, 1863, the Seventh Kansas moved to Corinth, Miss., arriving there on the 17th, and the next morning marched to join General Dodge, who was concentrating a considerable force at Bear creek, preparatory to a movement into Alabama. The army crossed Bear creek on the 24th. At Tusculumbia the regiment attacked the rebels under General Roddy and drove them out of the town, carrying the place by a brilliant charge. The capture of Tusculumbia was followed by the immediate advance of the cavalry brigade, under command of Colonel Cornyn, of the Tenth Missouri cavalry, an impetuous leader, who hated a rebel as he did the devil. The enemy was met a short distance out. He opened up on the Seventh Kansas, leading the advance, with artillery, but was soon driven back to within a mile of Leighton, where he made a determined stand with artillery strongly posted on an elevation to the left of the road. The Seventh held the left of the line and advanced against this position. The Tenth Missouri held the road with a mounted battalion, with the rest of the regiment deployed dismounted in the field on the right. A light mountain battery of five guns, supported by a battalion of the Seventh Kansas, was advanced close under the muzzles of the heavy cannon of the enemy and fairly smothered them with their rapid fire. Captain Utt at the same time led a charge of three companies around the left against their battery. Companies B and H judiciously swerved to the left and opened fire with their small arms from the shelter of the timber, but Captain Utt led company A square in the face of the artillery. It was another case of the sunken road of Ohain; an impassable fence intervened — one of those straight fences bound together with hickory withes. Captain Utt's leg was carried away and his horse killed beneath him by a charge of grape. The company was compelled to retreat.

The whole command then assaulted and the rebels were driven back two miles beyond Leighton. Colonel Cornyn withdrew his cavalry at nightfall to Tusculumbia, where he lay until the morning of the 27th. This engagement was fought against a superior force, but the result was a splendid victory. General Dodge in his official report says, relative to this battle: "The command consisted on our part of the Tenth Missouri and Seventh Kansas cavalry, about 800 in all, driving the enemy eight miles. The enemy's force was 3500, besides one battery. The fighting of the cavalry against such odds is beyond all praise."

A second advance was made on the 27th, led by Cornyn's brigade. The enemy was met in force and driven beyond Town creek. At that stream a severe engagement took place. The infantry supports came up and a heavy artillery duel, which lasted several hours, occurred. From Town creek the entire infantry command fell back to Corinth. The cavalry fell back to Burnsville, Miss., and then moved rapidly to the south. This last movement was in conjunction with the advance of General Grierson, just ready to start on his great raid through Mississippi. Cornyn's brigade moved on the left and in advance of Grierson. The enemy were soon met, and constant skirmishing was kept up until the command reached Tupelo.

At this place, on May 5, was met a strong force under the command of the rebel Generals Gholson and Ruggles. The rebels were preparing an elaborate plan to capture our whole command, and they had the force to do it, but Cornyn did not do his part to make it a success. Instead of deploying at the bridge and being two or three hours forcing a crossing, the Seventh Kansas charged it in

column, was over it in five minutes, and the enemy were caught with their forces divided. Company A of the Seventh came suddenly on the flank of a rebel cavalry regiment moving down under the shelter of some timber to take the Tenth Missouri in a similar manner. Lieutenant Sanders attacked at once, and the surprised Confederates were driven down on the Tenth Missouri, who charged, and the entire rebel regiment was captured. A number were killed and wounded, and many of the prisoners bore marks of the saber that played a conspicuous part in this division of the fight. Company A lost but one man killed, Corp. Edwin M. Vaughn. While this fighting was going on General Gholson, supposing their plan was meeting with success, came up through the timber on the left with his infantry, to catch our column on the flank and rear and complete the conquest. He ran into the Tenth Missouri's mountain battery, supported by companies I and K of the Seventh Kansas, and met a galling fire of double-shotted canister and rapid volleys from the supporting companies. Company C charged in on his right flank and poured volley after volley into his charging lines. Gholson's infantry were largely raw levies and could not stand the cross-fire they were subjected to; they wavered, then turned and fled, in a panic. The timber was strewn with corn bread and haversacks as far as our pursuit extended. They did not attempt to follow when, at night, according to plan, Cornyn fell back, nor did they molest Grierson's column as he passed. The loss of the enemy was heavy in killed and wounded, and the prisoners numbered several hundred, including a large number of officers.

The regiment had permanent headquarters at Corinth after its return until January 8, 1864. The duties performed during the summer and fall of 1863 were arduous—scouting and skirmishing daily, and keeping a constant surveillance over the movements of the enemy. Many severe engagements with Forrest were fought, and the work was always well and bravely done. Until the fall of Vicksburg, constant watch was maintained to prevent reinforcements going to Johnston. On July 11, 1863, Lieutenant-colonel Herrick was promoted to colonel, and Captain Houston, of company H, lieutenant-colonel.

On the 26th of May, 1863, Colonel Cornyn, with a mounted force consisting of the Seventh Kansas, Tenth Missouri, and one battalion of the Fifteenth Illinois cavalry, and the Ninth Illinois mounted infantry, moved towards the Tennessee river. The river was crossed at Hamburg during the night, and the whole force advanced towards Florence, Ala., the Seventh Kansas leading the advance. During the day two companies of the regiment made a detour to Rawhide, out on the left flank, and destroyed the large grist-mill and the cotton and woolen factories located there and employed in manufacturing material for the enemy. The Confederate cavalry were met about ten miles out of Florence. They contested our advance, but were easily forced back. Their pickets were driven in, but the forces composing the garrison of the place were found posted along the west edge of town, supported by artillery. Their cannon were quickly silenced and the place carried by assault, and their entire force, which was commanded by General Villepigue, driven beyond the town. A large quantity of fixed ammunition and a number of shops making war material were destroyed, and seven large cotton and woolen factories were burned; also large quantities of corn and forage belonging to the Confederate government. As the command moved out to the southward after nightfall it was attacked, and a severe encounter took place. The enemy was driven off but returned to the attack repeatedly, and more or less skirmishing lasted during the night. A major and about fifty men were captured by a charge of a company of the regiment; after that the enemy became more cautious. The Seventh Kansas covered the rear while the brigade

was crossing the river on the return, and repulsed several sharp attacks, and, finally, making a countercharge, drove the enemy back over a mile. The brigade returned to Corinth on the 29th. During this raid the Seventh Kansas was in the saddle constantly during five days and four nights, never resting more than two hours at any one time.

Col. Florence M. Cornyn, of the Tenth Missouri cavalry, who commanded our brigade for several months, was a red headed Irishman, absolutely fearless, of iron constitution, and untiring while in the field. He never stopped to ascertain the number of the enemy's force, but attacked at once wherever he was met. His audacity always won out and never failed to score a victory. He was shot and killed by his lieutenant-colonel in a personal encounter in the fall of 1863. The raids that we made under him were dashing and always produced great results, and it used to be said in discussing the forays that he led, that "Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."

It will be too long a story to go into detail in describing all the engagements which the regiment participated in during the season of 1863. It was a year of constant work and weary night marches, through mud and rain or stifling dust, and many sharp encounters occurred with Forrest.

It will be remembered that the year 1863—the turning-point in the war—was a season of great activity. In northern Mississippi Forrest was operating to keep reinforcements from Grant and Rosecrans, and the Union forces, which were really the outposts of Grant's army operating before Vicksburg until after Pemberton's surrender, were constantly employed in scouting and watching to prevent reinforcements going to Johnston. Forrest was the most skilful of all the Confederate cavalry generals. He was almost ubiquitous, constantly on the move, and, operating as he did in a country friendly to the cause of the South, gave us no end of work. Forrest never seemed to think the life of a man of much consequence when he had a purpose to accomplish. He exposed his men recklessly and suffered heavy losses, but at the same time forced the Union cavalry frequently to take desperate chances to offset his movements. In telling the story of 1863, one can give but little idea of the constant strain the little force in northern Mississippi was subjected to. The Seventh Kansas, nominally in camp at Corinth, spent very little time there; the raids into the Tuscumbia valley, to Tupelo, and across the Tennessee river to Florence, already briefly described, are but samples of the work performed until the regiment was veteranized and went North on furlough. After the fall of Vicksburg, every effort was made to hold Forrest with as large a Confederate force as possible in Mississippi and prevent his reinforcing Bragg. Movements to the north and east as well as to the east and south were made, and numerous affairs that entailed more hardship than loss of life resulted from frequent contact with the enemy, and many small encounters of more significance than appeared on the surface will be passed over in this story, in which only the most conspicuous affairs are described.

On March 12, 1863, a fight with Richardson near Gallaway station, Tenn., ended in a rout of the enemy. Colonel Looney, Major Sanford and Captain Bright, of the Confederate army, were captured, together with a considerable number of enlisted men.

On March 16, near Mount Pleasant, Miss., the Confederates were whipped and their rear-guard captured.

On April 2-6 a series of sharp engagements occurred, which resulted in the defeat of the enemy.

On September 30 companies A and C attacked the rear-guard of a Confederate force crossing the Tennessee river at Swallow Bluffs, Tenn. The rear-guard

of the enemy, consisting of a major and thirty men, was captured. The fighting was severe. Our loss was one man killed and five wounded. The enemy lost several killed.

On October 12 and 13 the regiment participated in a sharp battle with Forrest at Byhalia and Wyatt. The Seventh Kansas made a number of brilliant charges, and Forrest was eventually driven across the Tallahatchie with heavy loss in killed and wounded. In this engagement Capt. Amos Hodgeman was mortally wounded, while leading a charge against the enemy. He died on the 16th. The fighting lasted three days, beginning at Quinn's mill, south of Colliersville, and ending with the severe cavalry battle at Wyatt, on the 13th. A number of prisoners, including several prominent officers, were captured.

The cavalry engagement at Wyatt was an affair of considerable magnitude, and during the first year of the civil war would have easily ranked as a battle. Sharp fighting began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted with little intermission until ten at night. Our force consisted of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, the Third, Sixth and Seventh Illinois cavalry, Ninth Illinois mounted infantry, Third Michigan and Sixth Tennessee cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery. The rebel force was a cavalry division numbering about 6000, reenforced with artillery. A severe thunder-storm, with heavy downpour of rain, lasted during the whole time. Our last charge was made by Phillips's brigade, consisting of the Seventh Kansas, Third Michigan and Sixth Tennessee cavalry, and Phillips's own gallant regiment, the Ninth Illinois mounted infantry. The troops were dismounted, and the charge was made at nine o'clock, in pitch darkness, and the enemy's position indicated only by the flashing of small arms and artillery. Over fences, across ditches, and through mud, our men went up and carried the enemy's position, driving him across the Tallahatchie river, and, following close on his heels, prevented the destruction of the bridge, which he attempted.

That grim sense of humor that can see a joke in the face of death found an opportunity for exercise just before this charge began. Major Malone, who was mounted, rode out in front of the regiment, preparing to lead the coming charge, with the remark that "we'll drive 'em to hell!" and then vanished from sight. A smothered and distant voice from the bowels of the earth at last indicated his whereabouts. Halter-straps were spliced and let down, and he was dragged up, considerably jarred, but not otherwise injured. A measurement was made the next morning from the surface to the saddle on the dead horse; the distance was thirty-two feet. The well was dry and not walled, and the caving earth probably broke the fall and saved the life of the major. When we asked him what he thought as he was going down, he said: "Thought? I thought that I was going to hell on horseback."

On December 1 the regiment was engaged at Ripley, with a superior command led by General Forrest in person. The Seventh Kansas had been sent to retard the advance of the rebels on the Memphis & Charleston railroad. The action was severe and full of hardship and danger, but the Confederates were held back and the jayhawkers came off with honor. Maj. W. S. Jenkins was severely wounded in the head in this engagement.

On December 24 a battalion of the regiment defeated a detachment of Forrest's command at Jack's Creek, Tenn.

On the 1st day of January, 1864, while the Seventh Kansas lay in temporary camp below Wolf river, south of La Grange, Tenn., the subject of reenlisting as veterans was taken up. The men were bivouacked in the snow without shelter, and the weather was bitter cold; they were returning from a raid into Mississippi,

and the last two days' march had been made through rain, sleet, and snow. Before night over four-fifths of the regiment had signed the reenlistment papers and stood ready for "three years more." The Seventh Kansas was the first regiment to reenlist in that part of the army, and was the only Kansas organization to enlist as a regiment and maintain, as veterans, the full regimental organization. The regiment at once moved to Corinth. On January 18 camp was broken and the command proceeded to Memphis, where, on January 21, the veterans were mustered, to date from the 1st of January, 1864. The men who did not reenlist immediately became known as the "bobtails." They looked sad as the regiment went aboard the transports to go North to their homes for a month's furlough, and a number, who could stand it no longer, reenlisted at the last moment. The "bobtails" were assigned to other regiments and remained in the field and continued to do excellent service. They joined the regiment again on its return South in June, and served with it until their discharge.

At Cairo the veterans were paid, and then proceeded towards Kansas by way of Decatur and Quincy, Ill., and St. Joseph, Mo.: the objective point was Fort Leavenworth. The men enjoyed themselves on the journey, and made no end of fun. At Decatur, Ill., the men discovered that the landlord of the eating station was charging them seventy-five cents for dinner, while he was charging civilians but fifty. The landlord was up against trouble at once, and, realizing it, fled from danger and hid in the attic. He was soon found and dragged out, and, begging for mercy, promised restitution. Probably not more than a hundred of the men had eaten at his hotel, but the whole regiment suddenly assembled and fell in, and, when payment began, as soon as the man on the right received his twenty-five-cent shinplaster he would drop out and fall in again on the left. Had not the train for Quincy pulled out soon that hotel-keeper must have been a bankrupt. At Weston, Mo., the ferryman refused to cross the regiment to the Kansas side at the expense of the government, because he had had difficulty in collecting pay for similar service. The captain of the boat was promptly set on shore, Lieut. D. C. Taylor took the wheel, while several men manned the engines below. As soon as loaded, the boat swung out, made the crossing, and never knew that it had changed crews.

At the landing above Fort Leavenworth the regiment was met by a delegation of Leavenworth citizens and received with honors. The men were accorded the freedom of the city: formal action in this direction was unnecessary, for the boys would have taken it anyhow.

At the end of their furloughs the men assembled at Fort Leavenworth and again were paid off, and March 12, 1864, sailed towards Memphis. At St. Louis, however, the regiment was halted, and went ashore and remained there in camp on the old Camp Gamble grounds until June 6. Having been reequipped, it moved by river transports to Memphis, Tenn. On the 17th of June the Seventh Kansas left Memphis and moved out along the Memphis & Charleston railroad, to cover the retreat of a portion of Sturgis's command, defeated at Guntown, Miss., by General Forrest.

On July 5 the regiment moved from La Grange, Tenn., as the advance-guard of Gen. A. J. Smith's infantry column, starting south on its expedition against General Forrest. General Smith had detached the Seventh Kansas from Grierson's cavalry division and given them the post of honor with the main column, which it retained until Pontotoc was reached and captured, and then on the never-to-be-forgotten 13th of July was trusted to cover the rear-guard during the movement from Pontotoc to Tupelo. The advance from the beginning was opposed by the enemy in considerable force, but the Seventh Kansas kept the main

road clear, and the march of the infantry column was never retarded; the remaining cavalry force operated on the flanks.

On the 10th a sharp fight was had with Barteau's cavalry, and they were badly whipped and driven back, with the loss of five men killed and left on the field. Approaching Pontotoc on the 11th, the enemy was met in force, and a sharp engagement followed. He was driven back on Pontotoc with heavy loss, but General McCulloch, with a brigade of rebel cavalry, held the town. The Seventh Kansas was reenforced by a brigade of infantry and drove in the rebel skirmishers. Grierson's cavalry attacked at the same time from the east. The Confederates were driven from their position and retreated in disorder, leaving their dead and wounded in our hands. The main force of the enemy was fortified on Cherry creek, about eight miles south of Pontotoc. General Smith rested on the 12th, and gave General Forrest an opportunity to come out and attack, which he failed to take advantage of. Early on the morning of the 13th Grierson's cavalry was pushed rapidly to the east, with instruction to seize a position at Tupelo, about eighteen miles distant. The infantry, followed by the train, pushed out immediately after, leaving the Seventh Kansas drawn up in line of battle waiting for the Confederate advance. The attack came soon after daylight, and the regiment slowly fell back, contesting every inch of the way. Forrest had thrown his infantry forward to the east, on a parallel road to Pontotoc, and sent his cavalry to our rear to pursue. Twice during the day he attacked in force from the right, but was repulsed by the Minnesota brigade guarding that flank of the train.

To the Seventh Kansas, under the command of Colonel Herrick, had been assigned the duty of guarding the rear of the train against a division of cavalry. It was done, but how it was done is difficult to understand: it was the accomplishment of a seeming impossibility. Every point of advantage was seized and held to the last moment. Squadrons were detached and fought in isolated positions on the flanks, to give impression of a stronger force. Early in the day company A was dismounted and placed in ambush, at the risk of probable capture. They caught the Confederate advance coming on too confidently and emptied many saddles, sending their advance regiment back in confusion. Company A regained their horses in safety, and this deed had a restraining influence on the Confederate cavalry during the rest of the day. The enemy immediately brought up artillery and shelled the timber in advance, as a precaution against similar attempts. Company C fought once on the left in an isolated position until nearly surrounded, and then cut their way out and escaped. The Confederate advance was made in three columns; if you checked one the others came on and threatened your flank. The Seventh Kansas covered the rear alone during the whole forenoon; later, Colonel Bouton, commanding a colored brigade, dropped back to its support. During the day three distinct charges were made on the rear of the column, which were handsomely repulsed by the Seventh and Bouton's brigade. Forrest says in his report, relative to the conduct of the Seventh Kansas that day, "He took advantage of every favorable position, and my artillery was kept almost constantly busy."

This tells but little of the constant fighting done by the jayhawkers from five in the morning until nine in the evening, when they passed to the rear of the infantry line of battle, formed to meet the attacks of the following day. Supperless the men dropped to sleep, and lay as dead until the enemy's shells bursting overhead in the early morning caused them to turn, and at last one by one to raise up and utter maledictions at the "man that shot the gun." This day's work was one of the best that the regiment ever did, and Colonel Herrick showed how

much genuine stuff there was in him during the trying time when desperate fighting and skilful maneuvering were necessary to hold a much superior force in check.

The Seventh Kansas with a portion of the cavalry division guarded the right of the line during the battle and was but lightly engaged. The battle of Tupelo was a bloody engagement, and the Confederates suffered terrible losses: some regiments were wiped out of existence.

At noon on the 15th General Smith began to move north by the Ellistown road, the Seventh Kansas taking the advance and skirmishing constantly, until camp at Town creek was reached. On the day following the regiment took the rear, and contended all day with McCulloch's Confederate brigade until Ellistown was approached: here a sharp, almost hand-to-hand engagement was fought, which resulted to the discomfiture of the enemy.

During the afternoon Major Gregory, who had been sent back on an intersecting road with two companies to guard against an attack on our flank, had remained too long, and, as he finally came down through the timber that lined the road to join the main column, discovered that the head of the Confederate cavalry advance was passing the intersection of the roads and was pushing on rapidly after the rear of our regiment. Gregory had not been seen, and could have easily withdrawn his command and, by making a detour, regained the regiment, but that was not his manner of doing things. He instantly ordered his men to draw pistol and charge by file down upon and along the flank of the enemy. The movement was brilliantly executed; the Confederate cavalry was taken absolutely by surprise, and our men rode by, Gregory bringing up the rear, emptying their revolvers into the rebel flank without a shot being returned. Many saddles must have been emptied, but our men were not waiting to count dead Johnnies. With a parting shot they galloped across an intervening ford and rejoined the main column without the loss of a man.

From Ellistown the march was unmolested, and the regiment arrived at La Grange on the 19th of July, 1864.

On August 9 General Smith again moved from La Grange to Oxford, Miss. The Seventh Kansas, assigned to Hatch's division, moved on the 1st to Holly Springs. On the 8th a severe engagement was fought at Tallahatchie river, in which the regiment was engaged. The enemy was whipped and driven across the river in retreat. On the 9th heavy skirmishing continued eight miles to Hurricane creek, where the enemy was found in force occupying the heights on the opposite side. He was driven back with loss and his strong position carried. The pursuit continued to Oxford. At this point the enemy made a stand, supported by artillery; he was again driven back, with the loss of his caissons and camp equipage. Our cavalry force then fell back to Abbeville. During this expedition a considerable portion of Oxford was burned by our troops. Much censure was heaped on General Smith's command for this act of vandalism. I wish to state here that the day this was done Southern newspapers fell into our hands glorying over the burning of Chambersburg, Pa. This was the first news that we had received of this act of incendiarism, and Oxford was burned in retaliation.

On the 13th a second advance was made, and Forrest was again found occupying his former strong position on the opposite side of Hurricane creek. The Seventh Kansas was a part of Herrick's brigade, which composed the left wing. The enemy's right was assaulted and driven back across the stream. In the meantime heavy fighting was going on at the left and center, where the enemy was badly beaten and forced to retire. This defeat caused him to withdraw his

right, and Herrick advanced and occupied his position. The enemy retreated rapidly on Oxford and the Union forces were again withdrawn to the Tallahatchie. This last battle at Hurricane creek was an affair of considerable magnitude: it was purely a cavalry battle, no infantry being engaged.

Grim-visaged war, if not always able to smooth his wrinkled front, must even in times of stress sometimes let a crease or two slip down to the corners of his mouth, to create the semblance of a smile; otherwise the monotony of solemn things would become too serious to be borne. A smile may be permitted here, after twoscore years, and all about a pair of trousers.

Just as this expedition moved from La Grange in the lightest of marching order, Captain Thornton appeared arrayed in a pair of buckskin breeches: "Not regulation," he said, "but durable." We had all recently returned from a similar expedition with trousers showing many a gaping rift, created by the constant friction of the saddle, and he would not be caught that way again, he said, not he. The day before the cavalry fight at Hurricane creek it rained, and we were in the saddle during the downpour and thoroughly wet through, and Thornton's buckskin breeches, soaked and soggy, became a sort of tenacious pulp. That night he improvised a clothes-line and hung them out to dry. At early reveille he sought his trousers; they were there. But you know what can be done with wet buckskin! Some evil-disposed person, under the cover of the night, had stretched them until they looked like a pair of gigantic tongs—they were twenty feet long if they were an inch. The cavalry battle of Hurricane Creek was fought that day, and Thornton led his company, but it was in a costume that must have made pleasant to him the knowledge that the exigencies of war debarred the presence of the female sex. There was a hiatus between the extremity of the undergarment that obtruded below his cavalry jacket and his boots. Thornton was a Scotchman, and we accused him of coming out in kilts. He turned his trousers over to his colored servant in the early morning, and the faithful darcy rode that day in the wake of battle with the captain's breeches wreathed and festooned about his horse, industriously employed in trying to stretch and draw them back into a wearable shape. He reported progress to the captain's orderly (sent back frequently during the day with solicitous inquiries), and by the following morning, after cutting off about five feet from each trouser-leg, the captain was able to appear in attenuated and crinkled small clothes, so tight and drawn that it was difficult to know whether it was breeches or nature that he wore.

About noon on August 23 Chalmers's cavalry division made an attack on our infantry outpost and met a disastrous defeat. The Seventh Kansas went out to reenforce, and, when the enemy was driven back, pursued him to the old battleground at Hurricane creek. Here a fight lasting over two hours took place, the enemy bringing a battery into action, but the regiment maintained its position until ordered back by General Hatch. Here was killed First Sergt. Alonzo Dickson, of company H. A braver man never lived nor one capable of more daring deeds.

On return to La Grange the regiment met orders to proceed immediately to St. Louis. It arrived there on September 17, 1864, and reported to General Rosecrans. It formed a part of the defense against Price, who was advancing north on his last raid through Missouri. When Price turned west, the Seventh Kansas moved out in pursuit, while our forces were being concentrated to drive him from the state. When the troops were organized, the regiment was assigned to McNeil's brigade of Pleasanton's cavalry division. Skirmishing of more or less importance attended the advance across Missouri. On October 22 the enemy

was struck at the Little Blue. He opened up with artillery, but was driven back on Independence, which place was captured by a brilliant cavalry charge. Two cannon complete and over a hundred prisoners were taken. Kansans must remember that the first sound of firing on Pleasanton's advance, that cheered their weary hearts and told them that relief was coming, was the thunder of the two cannon that played upon the Seventh Kansas as it charged in column up that long street through Independence, and, with Winslow, carried the Confederate position and captured the guns. Forty of the enemy's dead were left on the field. After an all-night march the Confederates were attacked near Hickman's Mills, the engagement lasting the entire day, the enemy retiring at nightfall, leaving his dead on the field. On the 25th, at the crossing of the Marmaton, the regiment participated in the cavalry charge that routed the Confederates: it also took part in the subsequent engagement at Shiloh creek, and indeed in all the battles of the pursuit.

From Newtonia, where the pursuit of Price was abandoned, the regiment returned across Missouri to the St. Louis district, where it was divided into detachments and stationed at various points. Guerrillas were quite active, especially around Centerville and Pattison, and the garrisons at these points had plenty to occupy their attention. Capt. Jim Smith swept Crowley's Ridge and sent over twenty to their long home in one day's action. A mere boy, a member of company D, killed the guerrilla leader, Dick Bowles, in open fight, the guerrilla having the decided advantage, being behind a fence with a Winchester, while the boy dismounted under fire and, kneeling in the open road, sent a bullet from his Spencer through the brain of the desperado. Dick Bowles was as conspicuous in his neighborhood as Bill Anderson used to be in his. The headquarters of the regiment was at St. Louis during the winter and until moved to Pilot Knob. Early in July, 1865, the companies were concentrated at Cape Girardeau, and on July 18 moved by transports to Omaha, Neb. From thence the regiment marched up the Platte to Fort Kearney, and went into camp south of the trail to the southwest of the fort.

The Seventh Kansas had fought its battles and its term of service was drawing to a close, but its story would not be complete without a reference to two or three enlisted men who bore a distinguished part in its history. There were a number of men whose fund of humor was never exhausted and whose bravery was always a subject of admiration. Conspicuous among this class was Sergt. Morris Davidson, of company A, familiarly known by his nickname, "Mot." His quaint jokes are as fresh and funny to me to-day as they were twoscore years ago. In 1861 the original pilot bread was issued to the troops; it was modified later and an article of a less flinty sort was issued: but the original article was something to be remembered. It was soon after enlistment when Mot broke a period of unusual silence, while the boys were at mess, with the interrogative remark: "Boys, I was eating a piece of hardtack this morning, and I bit on something soft: what do you think it was?" "A worm," was the answer of the inevitable individual who stands ready with instant information. "No, by G—," said Mot, "it was a tenpenny nail." Mot had a deficiency in the roof of his mouth, and the defect in his speech, like Charles Lamb's stutter, made his sayings seem much funnier than they show up in cold print. He was absolutely fearless.

At Hurricane Creek he was sent with four dismounted men to scout across a gap between our left wing and center; a similar gap existed in the enemy's line, and Mot crossed with his men over the stream and crawled up around the left of

Chalmers's brigade, which opposed us. He opened fire on their left rear from the brush, and the rebel leader, thinking he was flanked, hastily withdrew his whole force and rapidly fell back nearly a mile and formed a new line. As our line advanced and took position across the stream, Davidson and his men were met coming out of the brush, and then the cause of Chalmers's retrograde movement, heretofore a matter of mystery, became evident. "What on earth were you trying to do, sergeant?" was Colonel Herrick's remark, as he stared in astonishment at Mot and his diminutive army. "Trying to snipe 'em," was the sergeant's answer as he took his place in line. He had whipped a brigade. In the winter of 1862-'63, Mot was commanding a picket post of five men on Wolf river, in Tennessee. It was a bitter cold night, and, although the enemy was lurking about, Mot and his men had built a fire in a hollow and were huddled around it trying to keep from freezing, when they received a volley from the brush on the opposite side of the creek, "Twenty-five men with me and the rest hold horses!" thundered Mot as he dashed alone towards the enemy, who immediately fled.

Ira B. Cole, bugler of company H, familiarly known as "Buck" Cole, was another fellow of infinite jest. Colonel Herrick, who never changed expression or smiled when a funny thing was said, nevertheless appreciated a joke in his own way; he used to have Buck detailed as his bugler just to have him near, that he might hear his jokes, and Buck took advantage of the situation and played the court fool to his heart's content. He was notoriously sloven in his dress, but used to say "that he was bound to dress well if he did n't lay up a cent." He was not always amenable to discipline, and once, while he was carrying a log of wood up and down the company line as a punishment, was accosted by the chaplain, who had come for a book he had loaned Buck and had not been returned. The chaplain was a recent appointment, and as yet guileless, and when Buck suggested that he hold the log while he went after the book, the chaplain absent-mindedly took it and, ten minutes later, when the captain appeared on the scene, was pacing up and down, thinking over his next Sunday's sermon, with the stick till on his shoulder. Buck was found peacefully sleeping in his tent; he stated to the captain that he supposed the idea was to have the log carried, and as the chaplain was doing it he thought it would be all right.

There were those who made jokes, and those who enjoyed them, and conspicuous among the latter class was Elihu Holcomb, of company A, known in common as "Boots." No matter how serious and disarranged the surroundings, Boots always saw something to be amused at, and his mirthful laughter would ring out above the din and bring a smile to the face of despair. A marked occasion was at Coffeyville, when the Confederates, after having been whipped and driven for many days, turned the tables on us and sent us back in retreat across the field to our rear. Boots deemed this to be an excellent joke, and during the retreat his laughter was easily distinguished between the crash of volleys, as he gave expression to his enjoyment.

I could go on and fill many pages with the humor that lived to temper the hardships of a soldier's life, and could relate instances of heroic daring that grew commonplace in the frequency. I have only referred to those instances which come uppermost in my mind as I write.

There was one incident that I would like to speak of, simple in itself, but it always left an impression on my mind that I never want to grow less distinct. When the Seventh Kansas entered Independence, Mo., the first time, in 1861, as it rode down the long street from Kansas City, toward the court-house, to our left, a block away, two ladies stood on the upper floor of a double porch waving their handkerchiefs, loyal to the core. Three years later, when the regiment

was charging up that same street against Price's artillery, which was sending shot and shell to meet it, those same two ladies stood on the same porch waving their handkerchiefs, and although we could not hear them, I know they were cheering.

The name "jayhawkers," given the regiment, was possibly a disadvantage, for it was this name that suggested to other regiments to lay their sins on our shoulders. It resulted in the regiment being declared outlaw by Confederate authorities, and a tacit understanding existed that, as far as the Seventh Kansas was concerned, no prisoners would be taken. Once Lieut. B. C. Sanders escorted some prisoners to a Confederate camp in Mississippi for exchange.* This was the ostensible purpose, but the real object was to locate and ascertain the strength of the rebel force. That night, in the rebel camp, under the softening influence of some excellent whisky that our squad had taken along, very cordial relations were established. A Confederate officer, growing frank in his discourse, finally declared that he stood ready to greet any Yankee under like circumstances, excepting one of those d— Kansas jayhawkers; they were outlawed, and death was too good for them. Lieutenant Sanders, who never touched liquor, sat watching and taking notes. He smiled grimly, and in a few minutes, when asked what regiment he belonged to, quietly answered, "the Kansas jayhawkers." The situation looked a little dubious for a few moments, but the Confederates finally decided, in consideration of the excellent quality of the whisky, to make an exception in this instance, and cordial relations were reestablished. As soon as Sanders was out of the rebel camp the next morning on his return, he tore up the flag of truce, saying, "I don't want any white-rag protection; I'll fight my way through from this time on." And he did. While the name "jayhawker" was a reproach among the white people of the South, it was a symbol of deliverance to the blacks, and in their simple minds a jayhawker was a Moses who would lead them out of bondage.

At Fort Kearney orders were received to proceed to Fort Leavenworth for final muster-out and discharge. "Assembly" was sounded at once and the order read

*JAMES SMITH, of Topeka, was one of the squad with Captain Sanders on this occasion. James Smith was born in Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, July 29, 1837. He was the oldest son of Robert and Sarah (Wray) Smith. The mother died in 1860 and the father in 1892. The father and seven sons were in the Union army in the war of the rebellion—James, John, William, Matthew, Daniel, Elder, and Henry. Another, Robert, was on the plains freighting, while the ninth son, George, was too young. All the sons except James were in the army of the Potomac. John was a prisoner at Andersonville, exchanged, and killed at Petersburg; Matthew died in the service, and William was severely wounded at Malvern Hill. James Smith was educated at Elder's Ridge Academy, Indiana county, and afterward graduated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. After graduation he taught school in Mississippi, and in 1860 emigrated to Kansas, settling in Marshall county. In 1861 he enlisted in company A, Seventh Kansas cavalry, serving as a private until 1864, when he reenlisted as a veteran. Upon his discharge, September 30, 1865, he resumed work on the farm. In 1865 he was elected a member of the house of representatives. In 1869 he was elected county clerk of Marshall county, reelected in 1871, holding for four years. In 1873 he was elected county treasurer, and reelected in 1875. Before the expiration of his second term he was nominated for secretary of state, in 1876. He was reelected in 1878, and again in 1880, serving six years—through the administrations of John P. St. John and George W. Glick. He next served four years as private secretary to Gov. John A. Martin, following this with four years in the same capacity for Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey. During the receivership of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe he was expert accountant for the master in chancery. He was appointed quartermaster-general of the state militia by Gov. William E. Stauley, which position he now holds. January 23, 1867, he was married to Miss Jane Edgar, of Marshall county. Capt. James Smith, of company C, was another person. Capt. B. C. Sanders is still living, in Cloud county, near Concordia, where he settled upon the close of the war. William H. Smith, a brother, has held various positions in Marshall county, and has been a member of the legislature several sessions. He was president of the State Historical Society for the year 1902. Five of the Smith brothers, James, William, Robert, Henry, and George, settled in Marshall county. James served for some time as quartermaster of the Seventh regiment.

to the men. In less than an hour thereafter camp had been struck and the regiment was moving down the river on its final march toward home. Fort Leavenworth was reached on September 14, and on the 29th of September, 1865, the companies formed on the parade-ground for the last time. They were formally mustered out, and the following day received their last pay and final discharge. Their tour of duty was ended.

I have called this "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," but the story of the Seventh Kansas will never be written—can never be written. The story of a few battles—not a tenth part told; a sketch of many skirmishes—but briefly related, are mere suggestions of four years of energetic action, of hardship and suffering, and of gratification that strength had been given to endure it all. I have not told the story of marches under a midday sun that beat down and seemed to shrivel up the brain as you grasp for breath in the dust beaten up by the horses' feet; of marches through mud and never-ceasing rain that soaked you, saturated you, until you felt that you had dissolved into a clammy solution yourself; of marches through winter storms of sleet and driving snow, without hope of shelter or rest; of struggles against almost irresistible drowsiness when sleep had been denied you for days and to sleep now would be death; of weeks of tossing in the fever ward of a field hospital, where the oblivion of stupor came to you as a blessing; of thirsting for water when only brackish, slimy pools festering in the sun were near to tantalize you—this part of the story has not been told. The thrill and excitement of battle were wanting in all this; it was only plain, monotonous duty, made endurable by the grim humor that jeered at suffering and made a joke at the prospect of death.

Winter or summer, a cavalry regiment in the field has no rest. Picketing, patrolling, scouting, it is the eyes of the army, and must not sleep. It leads the advance or covers the rear; far away to the front, the infantry column, moving along without interruption, hears the dull jar of cannon, or the popping of carbines; it is the cavalry sweeping the road. The fences torn down in gaps along the wayside indicate that the enemy had grown stubborn and the cavalry had been deployed. A dismounted skirmisher can lie down and take advantage of cover; a mounted cavalryman is an easy mark for a sharpshooter as he advances; but he must take his chances; it is his duty. A cavalry regiment does not usually suffer a heavy loss in any one engagement; it is one here, two or three there—a constant attrition that is ever wearing away the substance; it is the aggregate that tells the story. The dead are scattered here and there, buried by the wayside where they fell. Few have been gathered into the national cemeteries, but they rest as well, and the same glory is with them wherever they may sleep.

SHERMAN COUNTY AND THE H. U. A.

An address by E. E. BLACKMAN,* of Roca, Neb., before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-seventh annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

SHERMAN COUNTY, as you will learn by consulting a map of this state, is situated in the extreme western border, and one county south of the north line. It is in what is commonly called the arid belt, and people have long since found to their cost that the cattlemen told the truth when they said it was fit only for range. The mad rush of immigrants, nearly twenty years ago, thought different then, but they have learned a lesson which they will not soon forget.

A more beautiful country to look at is hard to find. As the prairie-schooner began its westward sail from Colby or Oberlin, the heart of the immigrant gladdened as he beheld the almost level surface and saw the dark, rich-looking soil. The larger portion of Sherman county was entered at the land-office in the winter of 1884-'85, and the claims near the center of the county were deeded or proved up as soon as possible, that the county-seat might be located at that particular point, and the owner find himself rich in a single day.

People settled in the north part of the county first—a number of ranches could be "proved up," and the town of Voltaire was laid out on one of these ranches. Voltaire was four miles north of the center, but it was an active candidate for the county-seat at an early day.

Itaska was near the center of the county, but not exactly so; Gandy established a town not far off. In time these two towns moved together on new land and pooled their interests, calling the place Sherman Center.

Early in the spring of 1885 a number of men, with P. S. Eustis and O. R. Phillips at the head, organized the Lincoln Land Company, and laid out the town of Eustis.

This put three towns in the field actively striving for the county-seat. The history of intrigue and fraud practiced by the "other towns" would fill volumes; those of you who have passed through a county-seat fight know, and those who have not are in luck. We will not try to tell the history—others can do it better—but you have a glimpse of the field as it stood in the autumn of 1886. Voltaire had won one election, Eustis claimed the second election, but Sherman Center was growing and bid fair to win in the autumn of 1887, when the next election would take place. In that case, the question would be submitted once again. At best, the settlement seemed a long way off.

Sherman Center had its set of officers and was running the county in its own way. Eustis had its set of officers, and was contracting debts. Voltaire, I think, was running the public affairs its way. Between them all, one did not know where to pay his taxes, and few tried to learn; as usual, the honest man was the victim, and in not a few cases he lost all he had in the mad shuffle.

*ELMER ELLSWORTH BLACKMAN was born August 16, 1862, in Scott county, Iowa. He was educated in the common schools. In 1885 he was teaching school in Sanborn, O'Brien county, Iowa, when he visited Sherman county, Kansas. He intended to return to his duties as school-teacher in Iowa, but he was so pleased with the natural beauties and future possibilities of the new country that he preempted the southwest quarter of section 1, township 10 south, range 41 west, and lived there until 1889. He sold out and moved to Lincoln, Neb. There he taught school until 1901, when he was called to the position of archaeologist of the Nebraska State Historical Society. August 19, 1903, he married Miss E. Margaret Woods, of Fort Calhoun, Neb. His home is at Roca, Neb.

While all these town affairs were agitating the minds of speculators, out in the surrounding precincts the actual settlers were trying to make a home and subdue a farm. The cattlemen had held undisputed possession of these range lands so long, that great herds of range cattle roamed at will over the settlers' crops as well as the unbroken prairie. A herd of 500 head of cattle would come down on a settlement and in one night all the fodder for the settler's little bunch of stock would be destroyed.

No herders were with the cattle; they were "rounded up" once a year and the branding was done. The owners of the stock never saw the cattle—their pasture was from Texas to Manitoba, and not a few settlers thought it no sin to kill a beef once in a while. How much of this was really done is not possible to tell, but some cattle were killed in the winter of 1886-'87.

The cattlemen sent cowboys out to protect the cattle and punish the culprits. However, it is safe to say they did not catch the settlers killing cattle. Those who knew how the cattle were killed say that five minutes was time enough to kill and dress a beef on a foggy night—the braud was cut out of the hide and then proof of ownership was lacking.

The cattle men offered \$500 for evidence to convict a man of killing range cattle; this came pretty near home. Every community has some one or two men who, under some circumstances, will give their best friends away. The people, who bought the range beef were as liable as the one who killed it, and there were very few of the settlers not guilty of eating range beef that winter. A man would kill one of his own yearlings and sell twenty quarters of beef to his neighbors. One man who had sold beef to a company of bachelor neighbors began to get alarmed and the boys proposed that the settlers organize for protection.

I am not sure who first proposed the matter, nor do I know much about the first meetings held in an informal way, but there was a man in the neighborhood whom they suspected of a design to wreak vengeance on this man who had sold beef and they wished to give him a scare.

The three or four prime movers in the organization I knew quite well, but the real cause of the move—the man most interested—I never knew personally, and was never sure which one of two or three it might be.

Billy Blackwood, Frank Oldham, Douglas Sylvester and two or three others on their corner were the prime movers.

I had a very graphic description of the first real secret meeting ever held. It was in a dugout belonging to Mr. Stahm. The Homesteaders' Protective Association had been the talk for some days, and a select few were asked to join. The one particular man that they wished to scare into secrecy was one of those invited. He was taken through many oaths—not to contest a neighbor's claim during his absence, not to tear down the house of a neighbor while he was away, and many other ostensible reasons for the "protective association," until the last, most solemn oath of all: "I do solemnly swear not to tell anything that may in any way lead owners of cattle which are running at large contrary to law and destroying the settlers' crops to discover who has killed or crippled or in any way injured these same cattle, when driving them away from the crops or at any other time. If I do, then I shall expect this society to use me thus"—here a straw man, with a rope around his neck, was suspended before the astonished candidate, who said "I do" so quickly he bit his tongue. Let me say right here that he never told anything for money after that. The society prospered, others came in, and new lodges were organized throughout the county.

I was a notary public and did a little land business. I was pushing the interests of a little town in the western part of the county, and when I asked to

join the society they rolled the black balls against me—ostensibly because I was obliged to contest claims for other people, as I practiced before the land-office; so I was not eligible to membership.

They bought a case of Winchester rifles and held meetings all winter. When thirteen lodges had been organized and the Homesteaders' Protective Association had assumed proportions never dreamed of by the originators—when the first reason for the organization had passed away and the range cattle had all been rounded up—Billy Blackwood, who seemed to be spokesman for the organization, came over to my shack and gave me the whole story of the organization, and asked me to join. "If you will join, we will organize a central lodge and settle this county-seat fight." At first I was inclined to give the organization a wide berth, but I knew most of the leading members, and I saw the great need of active measures to prevent speculating town companies bankrupting the county by contracting debts that we would have to pay or repudiate—and either horn of the dilemma meant ruin.

A mass meeting of H. P. A.'s only was called. The password was taken at the door. The building was thoroughly guarded, and a very enthusiastic meeting was held.

This meeting was called to order by Douglas Sylvester June 18, 1887, in the town of Eustis. A. M. Curtis was chosen president, and E. E. Blackman secretary.

The thirteen lodges existing at this time had each a different constitution and by-laws. All that held them together was the general password and secret grip and signs. They were really thirteen separate units. The object of this meeting was to cement these thirteen units into one strong unit, that the strength might be felt and pressure brought to bear on the county-seat question. It was an open secret that the whole energy of the organization should be directed toward a settlement in some manner of this vexing question. Every member of these various thirteen lodges had a financial interest in this settlement.

Some had lots in one of the three towns; some had friends who had property or business interests there; some lived near one town or the other, and, should that particular town succeed, the price of their land would double; others were paid tools of one town or the other, who joined the lodge to keep the various town companies posted on the secret workings. This last number was few, however, and the earnestness of the association soon carried the petty interests to the wind and the best interests of all became the single aim. The majority were honest in their endeavors and spent time and money unsparingly for the cause.

There was a general feeling of distrust in the mind of almost every one; each member watched the movements of his neighbors with suspicion, and some of the leaders were accused, from time to time, of working for the interests of the town of their particular choice.

In an old community, where every one had a history, and where that history was known, such an organization could never be effected. Here all were strangers. Scarcely a man knew the power or the nature of his neighbor. This uncertainty of material gave a strength to the organization which became a wonder to the student of sociology. The wise heads said, "They will not stick together." Scarcely a single person expected to see the association accomplish anything. I have yet to hear of a like instance in all history. I think the fact that all were strangers to each other had more to do with the success than anything else. Then there were a few strong intellectual men in the lodges who directed the forces and who guided the destinies of the organization from a subordinate posi-

tion. The chairman, A. M. Curtis, was a strong character and did much to bring success. The feeling of distrust worked his defeat at the second election, but I am certain it was unfounded. He declined reelection and this feeling of distrust prevented the society urging him to accept: he labored in behalf of the organization behind the scenes and much of the ultimate success is due to his efforts and good judgment.

But this is not a history of people, and I aim to mention as few names as possible. One of the first acts of this mass-meeting was the appointment of one member from each lodge to draft a subordinate lodge constitution. Ye who believe in the unlucky thirteen, observe the work of the association, built of this committee of thirteen men, and note the results. On June 25, 1887, this committee met in a 12 x 14 frame shack a half mile west of Eustis, which belonged to Mr. Parkhurst, a banker in Eustis.

The old gentleman loaned money at 300 per cent. per annum until he had no more to loan, then he closed his doors, and has long since passed to the other shore. He was a genial, kind-hearted old fellow, despite his Shylock proclivities, and many a very pleasant hour have I spent by his fire. He had no faith in the organization and but little in the country. I asked him what he raised on his "claim." "Well," said he, "some people succeed in raising 'Cain' wherever they are: I have tried to raise a disturbance but did not get my breaking done in time. Last year I raised 'hell and watermelons.' This year it is too dry to raise anything; I shall try to raise the mortgage next year and skip."

A. M. Curtis was chosen president of this deliberate body: E. E. Blackman and W. J. Colby were secretaries. The whole proceeding was secret—not a scratch of the minutes was allowed to be preserved. The completed constitution for the subordinate lodge was the result, and it took thirty-eight hours of argument and discussion to produce it. All that time we were confined in the house; a committee went to the nearest well for water, and the merchants at Eustis sent over some crackers and cheese which the outside guards passed in. All night the guards paced their weary beats, and all night we contended each for his special feature. The finished constitution was a compromise at best and really suited no one. However, competent critics have pronounced it a work of art as a working basis for such an organization.

The following is an exact copy:

PREAMBLE.

We believe the cause of agriculture and the interests of the laboring classes would be advanced by uniting in an organization to be known as the Homesteaders' Union Association; hence we adopt this constitution for subordinate lodges.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. This association shall be known as the Homesteaders' Union Association, of Sherman County, Kansas.

SEC. 2. The object of this association shall be to protect the laboring classes in our county, and for the advancement of their interests financially, morally, and socially.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The elective officers of this association shall be president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, captain, chaplain, together with three representatives to the grand lodge, who shall be elected at the first regular meeting in July and January of each year, and shall hold their respective offices for a period of six months, or until their successor is elected and qualified.

SEC. 2. The appointive officer shall be outside guard.

SEC. 3. The president shall be deemed duly qualified when he has filed with the secretary of the grand lodge his acceptance of the office and the number of weeks for which he is elected, over his own signature.

SEC. 4. The secretary shall be deemed duly qualified when he has filed with the secretary of the grand lodge his full name and post-office address, together with his acceptance of said office, over his own signature.

SEC. 5. The representatives to the grand lodge shall be deemed duly qualified when they have received a certificate of election, signed by the president and secretary of the lodge at the time of their election.

SEC. 6. All other officers shall be deemed duly qualified at the time of their election.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The duties of the officers shall be such as devolve upon the corresponding officers in all orders governed by parliamentary rules, and as may be prescribed by the rituals of this order.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Every male citizen over the age of twenty-one years shall be eligible to membership in this order; provided, that his interests do not conflict with the interests of this order.

SEC. 2. No person shall be eligible to membership in this order who shall contest or assist in contesting any claim for speculation.

SEC. 3. Any person wishing to become a member of this order shall petition through one of its members.

SEC. 4. Upon the receipt of an application for membership the president shall immediately appoint a committee of three members, whose duty it shall be to investigate the qualifications of the candidate, and report at the next regular meeting. It shall then be the duty of the president to order a secret ballot to be taken; and should the ballot be clear, the candidate shall be declared elected; but should two black balls appear by the report of the president, there shall be a new ballot taken; and if two black balls again appear, the candidate shall be declared rejected.

SEC. 5. A candidate that has been rejected shall not be eligible to membership until the expiration of three months from date of rejection.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the secretary of any sublodge, when a member or a candidate has been expelled or rejected, or from which a member has withdrawn, to inform by letter the secretaries of all other subordinate lodges, and it shall be the duty of the secretary of each lodge to keep a record of all such names reported.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the members of this association to inform the president of the lodge to which he belongs of any misdemeanor in the vicinity as soon as possible.

SEC. 8. All members at time of initiation shall pay into the treasury of the lodge which he joins an initiation fee of not less than ten cents nor more than one dollar.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. Upon presentation of charges and specifications in writing against any officer or member, signed by three members of the order, an officer may be impeached or fined, and a member may be fined, suspended or expelled; provided, first, that he shall have been duly notified; second, that he may be heard in his own defense; and third, that two-thirds of the members present at that meeting, after hearing the testimony on both sides, concur in the charges and specifications presented.

SEC. 2. Any member wishing to withdraw from the order shall, upon filing with the secretary a written request, receive a certificate of withdrawal, signed by the president and secretary, and shall not again become a member without due process; provided, that the president and secretary may, upon presentation by a member of good and valid reasons, issue to said member a certificate of standing, and a letter to some other lodge, and may accept members of other lodges on the same credentials, or may again admit the member to the same lodge by a majority vote, but by no other way.

ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. This association hails with pleasure any equitable adjustment of all difficulties between its members, and, where practicable, recommends arbitration.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. This constitution shall not be altered or amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the lodges, taken separately, after a notice of thirty days has been given, and not then except a two-thirds majority of the grand lodge concur therein at one of its regular meetings.

OBLIGATION.

I do solemnly pledge my sacred word and honor that I will not divulge any of the signs, grips, passwords, or any of the secret workings of this order, directly or indirectly, and that I will not vote against any case at issue on personal grounds, and that I will in all my acts do that which I believe to be to the best interests of Sherman county, and that I will do all in my power to promote justice, equity, and morality.

ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR THE GRAND LODGE.

1. Calling the meeting to order by the president.
2. Roll-call of officers by the secretary.
3. Appointments to fill vacancies.
4. Taking the password by the inside guard.
5. Prayer by the chaplain.
6. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
7. Appointment of committee on credentials.
8. Report of committee on credentials.
9. Unfinished business.
10. New business.
11. Report of standing committee.
12. Report of special committee.
13. Election of officers.
14. Reading and correction of minutes.
15. Benediction by the chaplain.
16. Adjournment.

The secret work was never written, even in cipher, and I have forgotten most of it. I remember the man (I have forgotten his name; however, he was a Mormon preacher, I have since learned, and he gave us the secret workings of the

Endowment House) who gave us the idea, and seemed to have a very perfect system.

The grip was made by dividing the fingers so that the little finger was left out, and the thumb pressed the second knuckle. This is the best description I can give. Some one told me later that it is still the Mormon Endowment House grip; so if you ask a Mormon preacher, he can tell you, if he will.

The secret work was really very fine and gave the society much dignity. A copy of the constitution was pen-written for each of the thirteen societies or subordinate lodges. The name was changed to "Homesteaders' Union Association," after many hours' wrangle over a suitable name. The committee adjourned in the afternoon of the second day. The report was accepted at the first grand lodge meeting, held in Eustis, July 12, 1887.

A committee of three was appointed to draft a constitution for the grand lodge, but after a number of reports were rejected and much valuable time wasted the committee was discharged and another appointed, with like results, and the last I knew no report had been made, and the grand lodge of the H. U. A. struggled through its short but vigorous life without a constitution.

It was governed by the rulings of the president and motions of its members (at times by the emotions of its members, as some of us well remember; but more of this anon). The grand lodge was composed of three delegates from each subordinate lodge, and the grand officers were elected from this body. The first regular election of officers occurred at this first regular meeting, July 12. It is a mystery to me, now, as I look back, how much real business was transacted at one of these meetings.

The first election resulted in J. N. McDanniels for president; Alex. Martin, vice-president; E. E. Blackman, recording secretary; A. Swan, corresponding secretary; W. J. Cobby, treasurer; and David Robinson, chaplain. This list was easily elected, but there was a split on captain (it was supposed by some that there would be some real fighting with guns before the affair was over; so two factions contended for the office of captain); S. Poff and L. C. Moore entered the contest. Moore was defeated by eleven votes. The roll-call gave Poff twenty-one and Moore ten.

I must stop here and tell you of the first mass-meeting, on June 18. It was held in Allen's hall, above his store. There were over 300 present, and the hall was crowded until all were standing. The floor was occupied by Fred Albee, who was afterward county attorney, and was accidentally killed down on the Smoky Hill while hunting ducks.

This is the first time I ever saw Albee, but he was a talented young attorney, holding down a claim at that time, and his speech produced a profound sensation. Everybody cheered to the echo, and the stamping of the crowd began to tell on the underpinning of the fragile building. Fred saw the condition; he raised his old slouch hat, which he had been swinging vigorously, and commanded silence. In an instant you could have heard a pin drop. Fred turned to A. M. Curtis, who presided; he took the hint, and the president ordered the room cleared in a systematic manner. Two men moved down the center and quietly separated the weight, then the center was cleared, and, after some repairs, the room was again used. The floor settled a few inches but no one was hurt, chiefly on account of the tact of those two men. The account of this organization is incomplete without a few of the many little incidents which are a part of it.

One affair which happened about this time serves to illustrate the condition of affairs outside of the lodge. A citizen who lived as near Eustis as he did to Sherman Center came to the Eustis Town Company and told them he was going

to leave Sherman Center and vote for Eustis, and, as he was a man of no little influence, the Eustis Town Company realized the advantage of his influence and vote. They promptly offered him \$250—\$200 when Eustis was successful and \$50 cash. He took the bills in his fingers, drove to his old town, Sherman Center, and flourished the money in everybody's face, telling how he got it and where, at the same time advising every one to vote for Eustis. There is no honor in a county-seat fight at best, and this is but one instance of money being passed—there are many.

The second regular meeting of the grand lodge was held in Eustis July 30. This meeting was chiefly devoted to organization and education. A committee reported the county indebtedness at both Eustis and Sherman Center, and the county-seat question was an open discussion. Many had joined the lodge thinking that the great aim of the society was to protect homesteaders in their rights while they were away from their claims earning a living; now they saw the flimsy excuse was but a pretense, and the living issue was brought forward.

A certain faction thought that the meetings should not be held in a town, and they succeeded in having the meeting called in a sod house a mile north of Sherman Center. On August 13 the members began to arrive, and before long it was found out that the house was not large enough to hold the crowd. There were no seats and the room had such a low ceiling that the air became difficult to breathe, even before the president called to order. During the filing of credentials (which always preceded a meeting) many were clamoring for adjournment to better quarters. The motions were made for Eustis, for Sherman Center, and for the prairie, but all were voted down—it looked to me as though the rank and file meant to stay.

My labors as secretary were exhausting, and the heat was intense. Alex. Martin, the vice-president, presided. I stood it about half an hour, when I closed my books, and, addressing the chair, said I would not record another scratch in that oven. Some ugly replies were made by a gang who wanted to show off. Almost every man carried a gun out there those days, and a general feeling toward the belt took place all around, and for a minute I was sorry I had been so demonstrative. The president leaned my way and whispered, "Stick to it." A few replies were made that would not sound well here, about plenty of men who would act as secretary, etc., and two guns were drawn with much bravado. Then one of our sober-minded men, who had opposed moving and who never carried a gun in his life, jumped in front of the ugly men and ordered the guns up or he would not be responsible for consequences. The guns went back into the belts, and the gentleman gave a sober, sensible talk of five minutes, winding up with a motion to move to Allen's hall in Eustis.

He told them that no one else could do the work of accepting credentials but the present secretary, as no one else knew where to find the proof of each lodge's standing; so, if the secretary objected to working here, he was in favor of moving. The motion was put, and not a voice said no. I am not sure, but I think this man was the former president, A. M. Curtis.

We loaded up and nearly fifty teams drove to Eustis in a body. The county officers barricaded the court-house door and prepared to fight (they said), because they thought Sherman Center was coming to take the books. But Sherman Center did not want the Eustis books at this time, as they had books of their own and claimed the Eustis books were illegal.

We had a good meeting in a comfortable place and much was accomplished. Both towns were inclined to ridicule this "farmer move" as they called it, and not a few in the lodge expected to see the association go to pieces any time.

The next meeting, August 27 (being the fourth), met in Eustis again. The various town companies were asked to submit propositions at a prior meeting, and it was expected that a decision would be reached at this meeting. Excitement ran high and the town was full of teams. All the men, what few women and children the county boasted and nearly every team of horses in the county were in Eustis that day. No business was transacted in the stores—every one was too full of interest in the great pending question to think of anything else. Little knots of men were scattered here and there and every one spoke in constrained voice.

I think the various town companies (who had their secret spies out to report every move) began to think the H. U. A. had the thing in its own hands. It was estimated that nine-tenths of the entire vote of the county was in the organization, and I think it was true. Most of them were ready to vote as the majority said.

The advantage which the little town of Eustis had that day cannot be overestimated. Such a chance comes but once to any one. If they could have gone before that meeting with a good, clear proposition that would have cost them \$100,000 to make, they could have taken time by the forelock and secured the decision. Had they realized the situation, as some of us on the inside did, Eustis would adorn the map of Kansas to-day. The strongest faction in the H. U. A. was for Eustis at heart, but they dared not say so. One reckless individual, who was up near the head, called three of the leading members of the town company together and argued for an hour, but they were obdurate. O. R. Phillips had said: "It won't amount to anything: don't recognize them; we have one election and are all right." The Lincoln Land Company had plenty of money to use on election day, but one-half what they used that day would have made everything secure on this 27th of August.

The meeting was called to order and propositions were submitted by Voltaire, Sherman Center, and a private individual (one B. Taylor) who owned deeded land near the center of the county. Eustis came in to ask a two weeks' stay of proceedings, but made no offer.

The lodge wanted the town company which they selected to uphold, and whose town they made the county-seat, to build a court-house and jail free of cost to the county. This was all they really expected to get, but they were ready to settle it once for all and stop the expense and agitation, even if they got nothing.

Much more than their simple demands was offered by all but Eustis, which only asked for a wait of two weeks to prepare an offer.

Eustis had a court house under way, and they said on the side that it was to be presented to the county, but they did not even tender that much at this meeting. When the vote was taken a two weeks' stay was granted, which in itself, at this heated stage of the game, only proves the strength Eustis had in the grand lodge.

Everything was harmonious, and the meeting adjourned, to meet September 5. In the meantime, a few people at Sherman Center began to see how matters were going. Sherman Center had some shrewd business men mixed up in it, but they were shy on the money question. They had no rich Lincoln Land Company back of them, but they had ability to scheme and sense enough to know a good thing. One of their party said he would give \$50,000 for the chance Eustis had August 27, "but," he remarked, "they won't get the chance again." Nor did they.

I do not know just how it happened, but before the next meeting there was a new company in the field. "A new broom sweeps clean," you know, and so did this new company.

Ed. F. Madden, of Hays City, who adhd barrels of money at his command, joined with A. B. Montgomery, a shrewd business man, and bought some land near by. They formed a company, with new men it, and persuaded Taylor and Sherman Center to join with them. They gave lot for lot in all the other towns but Eustis, and before the next meeting had an office up on the new site. I think they offered Eustis lot for lot, too, but am not sure. I do know that many active Eustis men were given lots in the new town, and the H. U. A. was asked to name the town.

The new company offered to do more than the H. U. A. asked: They would build a \$20,000 court-house, and an \$8000 jail, and give a block with each; they would deed forty acres for a fair-ground and lots for school buildings, churches, etc. When Montgomery stated the offer in the grand lodge, he wound up a five minutes' talk with: "We will do more; we will pay off every cent of the county debt in all the towns, and let the county start the day after election with a clean slate."

The enthusiasm knew no bounds, and a unanimous vote was ready then and there, but the level-headed ones said "No"; they wanted to take a secret vote by ballot, and it was done, after all the towns had been heard from. Thirty-one subordinate lodges voted, with a total vote of ninety-three; after the various propositions had been carried back and discussed in the home lodge, the vote stood 75 for the new town, 12 for Eustis, 3 for Voltaire, and 3 for no town at all.

Arrangements were made by which the provisions of the offer should be carried out.

A committee of three was appointed as trustees to receive the deeds and money in trust for the county. Fred Albee, W. W. La Rue and O. H. Smith were appointed on this committee, and served with credit. Not one crooked move was made, and the county interests were well taken care of.

A meeting of the grand lodge was called two weeks later to arrange for nominating a county ticket, as party lines were not drawn at that time.

October 11, 1887, a delegate convention was held, which nominated a full county ticket. The county-seat question was in a fair way to be settled, a ticket was in the field, and the necessity of a grand lodge meeting did not appear. There was an active campaign, which involved the interests of all, and before the day of election even Eustis knew how the matter would go. I cannot stop to enumerate every step taken, nor is it necessary. My work is the history of the H. U. A.

You all know how the election went: Goodland is still the county-seat of Sherman county, and the court house still stands, although old settlers are scattered and new faces are about town.

A few years ago I was in Goodland. I went to the court-room and looked up at a circle of wood bearing the letters H. U. A., and forming a circle for the chandelier. Not a soul in that building had ever noticed those letters, and no one knew what they meant.

Send them a copy of the report of this meeting lest they forget, lest they forget.

The result of the election in numbers and majorities I cannot give, but it is a matter of record and may be found. The majorities were overwhelmingly for Goodland, but Eustis had the books, and the supreme court had recognized that town as the temporary county-seat against Sherman Center: so the returns were made to the old officers, and the "official" count was delayed as long as possible. Eustis claimed fraud on the part of Goodland, and was threatening to contest the election. Possession was nine points of the law, especially in a county-seat fight where no principle but money is involved, and Eustis had possession.

The town was guarded, sentries were placed at every road, and every one coming into the town was halted and questioned. Rifle-pits were dug and a posse of men with Winchesters held possession of the town.

By this time the court-house at Eustis was nearly done, but the county records were kept in the second story of a building immediately across from Allen's hall, and a company of men with Winchesters was stationed in the hall, with orders to shoot any man who attempted to take the books from the building across the street. They were to ask no questions, but were to shoot the first man who mounted the stairs.

Hank Carpenter, half cowboy and half citizen, one of those bold, dashing men of the frontier who enjoyed a round with guns better than a good dinner, and the laugh after it was over better than all the rest, had mustered a posse of like creatures and some real cowboys who cared no more for the life of a man than most people do for the life of a dog. They offered to bring the books to Goodland for a stipulated amount of money in time for the new officers to be installed on January 1, 1888. This may not seem just the thing, but you will remember that right usually goes with might, where law is lax. The officers could be regularly installed if the books were there, and there was some fear that Eustis might destroy them or hide them, so causing more trouble.

Early one morning (I cannot give the date, as this is written wholly from memory; there were no notes made at the time) a number of cowboys drove a team into the street at Eustis, captured one of the old county officials, forced him to mount the stairs ahead of the cowboys and unlock the safe.

The cowboys were aware of the guard across the street, and knew the orders they had, but Carpenter conducted the raid as though he was ignorant of any danger. He threatened to fire the town if a shot was fired, and declared he would shoot the first man who showed his head.

The books were quickly loaded, and not a man appeared until the rising sun showed the departing cowboys. A few shots were sent after them to arouse the town, but it was too late; the county-seat was at Goodland, not only by a majority vote but by right of possession, which was more effective.

In two weeks from that day Eustis was, as it still is, a few deserted cellars. Every building was removed to the new town.*

*A business man of Eustis, absorbed by Goodland, and whose prominence and usefulness have extended, was William Walker, jr. He was born at Peru, Ill., in 1858, and settled in Sherman county in 1885, identifying himself with Eustis. When Eustis pulled down her colors, in 1888, Mr. Walker promptly moved his business to the successful town of Goodland. He was a member of the drug firm of Ennis & Walker, which continued until 1889, when the latter retired, and engaged in the implement business. During the second term of Grover Cleveland Mr. Walker was made postmaster. He was subsequently elected sheriff of Sherman county on the Democratic ticket, serving three years. In February, 1904, he changed his residence and business to Lincoln, Kan. During his service as sheriff, one of the most startling events in the history of western Kansas happened. On the 5th of August, 1900, about midnight, two robbers boarded the Union Pacific train near Hugo, in Colorado, and held up several of the passengers, killing a passenger named William J. Fay, from California. The Union Pacific Railroad Company offered \$2000 reward for the robbers, dead or alive. The robbers were known as the Jones brothers, of Missouri, although some of the papers referred to one of them as Teodoro Arretano, of Arroya, N. M. Hugo is about 100 miles west of Goodland, and from the 6th until a few days before the 11th the robbers managed to reach Goodland and stop with a family named Bartholomew, living two and a half miles northeast of the town. Sheriff Walker heard of them, and his suspicions were aroused. On the morning of the 11th he deputized John B. Riggs and George Cullins. They dressed up as cowboys and gathered a bunch of horses which they were supposed to take to some pasture. They reached the Bartholomew house about nine A. M. In this manner they got within ten feet of the house, when they began inquiries about a certain pasture. One of the robbers was standing in the door; he reached for a revolver in his left breast. Walker attempted a little parley in order to get the family out of the house, but one of

Voltaire alone remained intact; it was far enough away to still exist, and I believe it is a post-office now.

The H. U. A. held one meeting after election, which developed into a sort of love-feast or gratification meeting; no business was transacted, and the whole time was devoted to speeches. This was the last of which there is a record; another was called for December 10, but no one came, and the H. U. A. has never been mentioned since.

The organization goes down in history as the most unique on record. It saved the county at least \$100,000, and effectually settled the county-seat question before a railroad built into the county. Goodland had strength enough to draw the Rock Island railroad. It was made a division, and is now a railroad town of some importance.

One hair-lifting experience which I witnessed at a meeting in Sherman Center should be related before this is complete. Jim Stevenson was actively employed in pushing the interests of Eustis. By some means he became a member of the H. U. A., and so gained admission to the grand lodge as an honorary member — they had a right to talk but not to vote.

As soon as the meeting at Sherman Center was called to order, he got the floor and began a harangue for Eustis. Stevenson was a good talker, and, had he been less aggressive, would have drawn many his way, as the rank and file stood for Eustis at first, but he became so pointed in his remarks that a few began to call "Put him out." In a short time the confusion became so great that no one could be heard. The excitement began to grow to fever heat, and every one jumped to his feet. There were about sixty men in the room, and at least one-half had a gun strapped on. In less time than it takes to tell it, a dozen or more guns were drawn, and the ominous click of the hammer was heard in all parts of the room. Men in that frame of mind might do something rash.

The room had a high platform in front, where the chairman and secretary sat, at least three feet above the level of the floor. Stevenson was in front, near the platform, but not up on it. He was wound up, and just had to unload: he was not afraid of anything, guns and all. Of course he was excited, and the more they tried to shut him off the harder he poured it into the opposition. One of the more sober individuals, who knew how things were going, jumped to the front of the rostrum and got the attention of the house: he began to pour oil on the troubled waters, and Stevenson stopped to listen. I am not sure that Stevenson realized his danger until that moment. After a conciliatory talk of a few minutes, the hammers came down one by one and the guns went back into the belts. Stevenson quietly left the room later and business was resumed.

In all this hard fight it was a battle of words and money after all; not a single accident, and no one was hurt through it all. They do say that fools and drunken men are the special care of the gods.

the deputies jumped out of his saddle and unthinkingly placed his hand over his right hip, which induced the robber in the door to signal the one in the house, and this prompted the sheriff to sudden action, and he ordered him to throw up his hands. Walker and Riggs entered the house, firing at the robbers, being only twelve feet apart. One of the robbers ran outdoors and fell dead in about forty feet. Four other citizens joined the party, having followed in a carriage. The second robber remained in the house pouring bullets at the officers as rapidly as he could shoot. The posse exhausted their ammunition, and did not succeed in capturing him until five o'clock in the evening, and did so then by firing the house. There were probably 500 shots fired from rifles after the crowd arrived. Mr. Riggs was shot through the left breast, and Mr. Cullins was shot in the back by the sheriff, who in the movements mistook him for one of the robbers. Riggs and Cullins recovered. The Union Pacific doubled the reward, and paid \$100 for the house destroyed. The one dying in the house was a bulk of blackened flesh. They were buried in one grave. The coroner's jury warmly commended Sheriff Walker and his deputies.

Through the dim vista of fifteen years, we can look back on these wild scenes with complacency and be thankful that it was not more serious.

Some of the leading characters in this H. U. A. movement are still in Sherman county, but by far the larger part are scattered.

A. B. Montgomery, who carried the Goodland Town Company to success, is in Boulder, Colo., and has become very wealthy.

John Bagly, secretary of the Eustis Town Company, is in Oregon. He has made a success of life and is a prominent lawyer.

Thomas Leonard, who was one of the leading men in old Itaska, is running a hotel in Goodland.

Call Russell, who was the prime mover in Sherman Center, has a coffee plantation in Mexico.

J. K. Warrington, who got \$10,000 for a half-interest in the town site of Goodland, is in Iowa, and M. A. Low, who paid the \$10,000 to Warrington, is in Topeka now.

W. J. Cobby is a prominent lawyer in Denver. I have lost track of all the other active officers of the H. U. A.

O. H. Smith is in Lexington, Neb. In Lincoln there are many of the men who helped to make Sherman county.

J. C. McKesson is the governor's private secretary, in Lincoln. D. K. Shambaugh and family are in Lincoln. Also, Mr. Hottell, Doctor Swister, E. A. Compton, Art. Gentzer, O. H. Mulrane, Frank Parks, Jim Stevenson, George Webb, and the Oxley boys—there may be others whom I have not met.

Now, I will say to the Kansas Historical Society, this is a move in the right direction. In fifty years from now, when we who took part in these historical incidents are all passed away, it will be impossible to gather the data for these early reminiscences. In the main these facts are all true, as I have the documents before me, but much more can be added, and did time permit I would be pleased to supply many incidents of people. The documents will be preserved and in time deposited in your vaults; now, while yet some of the active participants are living, I prefer to keep their secrets sacred.

This list of the presidents and secretaries of subordinate lodges, with the corresponding number of each lodge, is gleaned from the credentials filed in the grand lodge secretary's book:

<i>Lodge No.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
1.....	A. W. Willard.....	W. J. Blackwood.
2.....	James W. Cobby.....	W. D. Pagan.
3.....	W. W. La Rue.....	T. T. Roberts.
4.....	W. V. Moore.....	Aquilla Johnson.
5.....	I. S. Ellenberger.....	Fred A. Albee.
6.....	.....	W. J. Smith.
7.....	S. F. Meeker.....	John Cameron.
8.....	M. M. Wellman.....	J. B. Jacobs.
9.....	J. N. McDaniels.....	J. W. Navart.
10.....	.....	W. H. H. Pratt.
11.....	J. H. Wheeler.....	M. F. Lauborn.
12.....	.....	H. Sonner.
13.....	J. W. Hedges.....	Geo. H. Dyer.
14.....	J. W. McKinney.....	M. Greenlup.
15.....	G. D. Potts.....	W. C. Wellborn.
16.....	E. S. Teagarden.....	W. B. Swisher.
17.....	Herman Hengstler.....	Warren Carmichael.
18.....	L. Rodgers.....	James W. Robinson.
19.....	J. D. Stone.....	Isaac M. Ferguson.
20.....	E. D. Adams.....	A. Swan.
21.....	A. Ericson.....	A. L. Rich.
22.....	Solomon Parker.....	Frank L. Jones.
23.....	.....	H. D. Blagrove.
24.....	.....	J. C. Brown.
25.....	W. H. Brown.....	James H. Springer.
26.....	H. E. Spencer.....	W. S. McClintock.
27.....	.....	D. Sylvester.
28.....	James Ballinger.....	Clarence Thorp.

<i>Lodge No.</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
29.....	_____	_____
30.....	_____	_____
31.....	Henry B. Slight.....	Calvin N. Graves.
32.....	Theodore Williamson.....	Virgil Numan.
33.....	_____	J. A. Corkil.
34.....	Newton Wells.....	Hart S. Harris.
35.....	James H. Hodge.....	Martin Beauchamp.
36.....	John F. Mock.....	Joe S. Williams.
37.....	I. Huston.....	John Carson.

NOTE.—No credentials were ever filed for Nos. 29 and 30. They were probably never organized, or it may be a misnumbering of the lodges caused the error.

Any errors that can be pointed out I shall be glad to correct, as some of this paper is from memory, after fifteen years have passed.

MASSACRE OF CONFEDERATES BY OSAGE INDIANS IN 1863.

An address delivered by W. L. BARTLES,* of Iola, before the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, December 2, 1902.

IN the month of May, 1863, the time when the events herein occurred, the town of Humboldt was the extreme southern town occupied by the United States forces in this section of the country. The garrison at the time mentioned consisted of troop G, Ninth Kansas cavalry, commanded by Capt. Willoughby Doudna, numbering 100 men.

The country to the south was occupied by bands of Indians belonging to the Osage tribe. These bands were camped over the country in villages, but made their general headquarters at Osage Mission, where the priests maintained a position of neutrality, extending hospitality to Union and Confederate forces alike.

The sympathies of the Osages, however, were with the Unionists, and numerous half-breeds joined the Union army, some being members of troop G; notably Thomas Moshier, now clerk of the court at Pawhuska, Okla., and to whom I am indebted for assistance in preparing this paper.

South of the country ranged over by the Osages was the nation of the Cherokees. The majority of these latter Indians were active sympathizers with the Confederacy, and it was from them, and particularly the Indian contingent commanded by Standwaite, who twice raided and once burnt Humboldt, that the border towns had most to fear. Thus it was that the Osage country was the scouting-ground of both armies.

Scouting was the main duty devolving upon the garrison at Humboldt, as no supply trains went south of there, and those coming had their own escort. One scouting party of fourteen men, commanded by a sergeant, left Humboldt and were gone ten days, going south of the present site of Arkansas City into Ok-

* WILLIAM LEWIS BARTLES was born in Muskingum county, Ohio, May 11, 1842. His father, Christian Bartles, was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1808, came to the United States in 1835, and in 1840 married Sarah Pryor. In 1851 he moved to Bureau county, Illinois, and in 1860 brought his family to Kansas. He preempted a quarter-section in Iola township, Allen county, where he died in 1878. His widow died at Iola in 1898. "Lew" Bartles, the subject of this sketch, enlisted August 10, 1861, in company G, Ninth Kansas, and his first service was in pursuit of the rebels who sacked Humboldt. He passed through some very active service, and was discharged at Deval's Bluff, Arkansas, January 16, 1865, after three years and a half. He farmed for four years succeeding the war, and then learned the saddler's trade. In 1874 he opened business in Iola. For four and one-half years he served as a deputy revenue collector for fourteen counties in eastern Kansas. He then engaged in the hardware business at Iola, and retired in 1899. March 22, 1863, he married Miss Sidney Tibbetts. Mr. Bartles served two terms as mayor of Iola.

lahoma, and sighting Cody's bluff, a famous landmark of those days. Frequently these scouting parties would meet like parties sent out from the garrison at Fort Scott, and occasionally a party of the enemy would be encountered, with an exchange of compliments. In spite of the ceaseless scouting, the country to the south was, to the little settlement and handful of troops, an ever-present source of danger and dread, from out of which, at any moment, might come their destruction and death.

One afternoon, just after the troops had had dinner, two Indians rode up to the camp, in the public square, and reported to Captain Doudna that their band had had a fight with some white men, and that the white men were dead. They would make no further statement, except that it had been a big fight, and that the chief wanted the captain to come to his camp.

Captain Doudna was a man of action, and in a few moments was on the move with half his troop *en route* to the Indian camp.

It must be borne in mind that at this time the identity of the dead men was unknown. They might be a stray scouting party of our own or the enemy's, or they might be an advance party of an approaching hostile force. In the latter event, there was no time to be lost. The horses and men were seasoned to rough riding, and before midnight the command rode up to the camp of the Indians, and, picketing their horses, lay down in the tall grass to sleep.

Sleep, even to tired troopers hardened by two years' campaigning on the plains, was well-nigh out of the question. On a rise in the ground near our bivouac were bodies of two warriors slain in the fight. Painted and decked for the long journey to the happy hunting-ground, they had been placed in a sitting position, with their backs to a tree. In front of each warrior was a squaw, sitting flat upon the ground, her hair hanging over her face, and at intervals her low, mournful moans rose in a tremulous, wavering cry to a long-drawn-out, soul-rending wail of indescribable sorrow. It is a cry which once heard is never forgotten, and its unutterable sadness cannot be expressed in words. Beside the mourning cries of an Indian squaw, the distant howl of the coyote is cheering and the lonely call of the whippoorwill is mirth-inspiring. Other squaws, scattered through the grass and in the camp, occasionally added their voices to the cries of the two principal mourners. Few, if any, of the troop slept that night, but at last the morning brought welcome relief from that night of horror. Escorted by about 100 mounted Indians, we rode out to the scene of the first encounter. Here it is best to tell the story as gathered from the Indians, simply stating that, from what had already been learned from the Indians, we were fairly certain that the dead men were not our comrades in arms, but either a party of the enemy or one of those bands infesting the border who claimed either side, as suited their convenience, and preyed upon both. The Indians were exceedingly anxious as to the outcome of the investigations, fearing they had committed an overt act in attacking the party and would suffer the displeasure of the government.

Two days before the messengers arrived in Humboldt, a small party of Indians, numbering eight or ten men, had started from the Big Hill village to the mission. When not far from their camp they discovered the traces of a recently abandoned camp and at once took up the trail, soon overtaking a mounted force of white men. This party numbered twenty or twenty-two men and had no wagons. Riding up to this party the Indians inquired who they were, and received the reply that the party was a detachment of Union troops, and were a part of the command stationed at Humboldt. To this the Indians replied that they knew the troops then at Humboldt and failed to recognize any familiar faces in the party. The Indians stated that the government held them respon-

sible for what occurred in their country, and asked the party to accompany them to Humboldt, to be identified by the commander of the post, when they would be allowed to go anywhere they pleased. To this the white men would not consent, and started to continue their march. The Indians, growing more suspicious and insistent, sought to restrain them, and in the altercation which followed one of the whites shot and killed an Indian.

The Osages being outnumbered, dropped over on their ponies and were soon out of range. Racing for their village they aroused the camp, with the news of the killing of one of their number by the war party of strange white men.

This village could muster over 200 fighting men, and the entire force of the village turned out in pursuit.

They struck the party of white men about five miles from a loop in the Verdigris river. Over that entire five miles there was a running fight. The little party of whites, hemmed in on all sides by the circle of death, were striving to beat off the Indians and reach the timber they could see in the distance. In this running fight the Confederates, for so the whites proved to be, lost two men, whose bodies were abandoned where they fell. Being well armed and in the open, they were able to keep the Osages at some distance, and killed at least one. The timber they fought so valiantly to gain proved their undoing. Not being acquainted with the country, they entered it where it ran back into a loop in the river. Back from the edge of the timber they were forced by the ever overlapping Indians. Step by step they retreated, contesting every foot of ground. The odds were too great, and they found themselves forced to the bank of the river and out onto a sand-bar at the water's edge, under a terrible fusilade from the Osages, now concealed and protected by the timber.

At their backs ran the river, at this point wide and deep; on the opposite shore a high and precipitous bank; in their front an enemy in whose game of war the white flag was unknown.

Wrong though these men were, and on a mission which almost bars them from our sympathies, yet we cannot but feel proud that they faced their doom with that unflinching bravery which the men of our nation have ever displayed. To the last cartridge they held their enemy at bay, and when they had been fired the survivors stood in a little group, their dead around them, and met the rush of the Indians with clubbed carbines and revolvers, and fell one upon the other. It was brave blood that reddened the little sand-bar in the Verdigris that day.*

* PETER PERCIVAL ELDER was born in Somerset county, Maine, September 20, 1823. He came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, and settled in Franklin county. He aided in the organization of that county, and was first chairman of the board of county commissioners. He was a delegate to the Osawatimie convention in 1859, which organized the Republican party in Kansas. He was a member of the territorial council in 1860 and 1861. President Lincoln made him agent of the Osage and Seneca Indians, at Fort Scott, which position he filled for four years. He induced a regiment of the Osages to enlist in the service of the government during the civil war. In 1865 he resigned, and engaged in the banking business at Ottawa, where he still resides. He was elected to the legislature many times, and was twice speaker of the house, in 1878 and 1891, and was lieutenant-governor in 1870. He served also as chairman of the ways and means committee of the house. Governor Elder also wrote, August 30, 1864, to General Curtis, urging the enlistment of a regiment of Osage Indians, and offering to take command of them. He had much to do with holding the Osages loyal to the government. In the official Records of the War of the Rebellion, series 1, volume 22, part 2, page 286, is the only official reference to this incident to be found, made by P. P. Elder, and is as follows:

“OFFICE NEOSHIO INDIAN AGENCY,
FORT SCOTT, KAN., May 17, 1863.

“Maj.-gen. James G. Blunt, Leavenworth, Kan.:

“DEAR GENERAL— I have often written you on matters appertaining to mutual and the public interest, without making any apparent impression on your mind. I feel prompted, from the deep regard I feel for people living on the Osage reservation and along the northern boundary, to say that raids are constantly being made into that country by small bands for

Captain Doudna and his detachment went over the scene of the running fight and into the timber, which showed the marks of the heavy firing. Down on a sand-bar, in a space some four rods square, were found the almost nude bodies of the Confederates, badly decomposed and horribly mutilated. The heads, besides being scalped, had been, according to the Osage custom, severed from the bodies. Long gashes had been cut the entire length of the bodies. The sight was a terrible one, even to men accustomed to Indian butcheries. We had come prepared to bury the dead, and, digging a trench, we cut hooked sticks from the bushes and dragged the bodies into the trench. The men engaged in the work had sponges containing assafetida tied over their faces, but in spite of that the stench was so terrible and the sight so loathsome that many were made sick and all had to be frequently relieved.

The heads were all collected, some being found at a considerable distance, and placed in the trench with the bodies.

One of the dead men, who, from what we could learn, had been in command of the party, was entirely bald, but had a very long and heavy full beard. This head had not been scalped, but the beard had been removed, and was hanging on a pole with the scalps in front of a tepee in the village. The bodies of the two men killed in the running fight were buried on the prairie where we found them. Of one body only the skeleton remained; the other had not been touched by the wolves.

After the burial the troops returned to the Big Hill camp, and were entertained with a war-dance in honor of the victory. Prior to the dance the mounted warriors were drawn up in line, and on the fact that their front exceeded the front of two troops of cavalry is based the estimate of their fighting force.

The captain in the meantime was endeavoring to ascertain the identity of the dead men. Numerous articles of confederate clothing and equipment in the possession of the Indians plainly showed to which army they had belonged. The predominance in the plunder of officer's uniform and equipment led to the belief that it was no ordinary scouting party. Captain Doudna stated to the chief and head men that he had no desire to take the horses and arms they had captured, that they could keep them as spoils of war, but he wanted all papers that had been captured. The Indians replied that they did not have any papers; they had taken a few, but they were so bloody that they threw them into the river. This proved to be false, and, the captain suspecting as much, was insistent, and finally, after some time, numerous papers were produced. It came out afterwards that the demand for the papers was unexpected, and the Indians being fearful of anything written, and not yet certain that they would be held blameless in this matter, had been gaining time for Big Joe, a mission-educated Indian, to read the papers. Big Joe having satisfied himself that there was nothing harmful to the Indians, they were turned over.

the purpose of plunder, and I am informed that official information has been conveyed to you (which you are bound to respect), that the Osages are in collusion with these rebel hands. This I utterly deny, and the achievement of the 15th clearly proves their loyalty and good feeling. I write for the purpose of suggesting the propriety of organizing one company of Osages, under one of the captains of Osage companies, who are not now on duty, and who have not been mustered out, and detail them on duty in this country, to report to and be under command of Captain Doudna. They know that country, and will, in my opinion, protect it against all invasion, for which they should be paid. This, it seems to me, can be done under the old organization.

"On the 15th they met a party of robbers on the Verdigris. After the proper inquiries, and receiving no satisfaction from them, they attacked them and killed the entire party (nineteen in number), leaving no one to tell the tale. They cut off their heads, over which they held a war-dance. Two Osages were killed.

"If this suggestion should meet your view of the exigencies pending, I should, with pleasure, render any assistance in my power. They are in high glee, and have been furnished with ammunition. They are anxious to be thus organized and act for their mutual protection.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

P. P. ELDER."

Captain Doudna made a careful examination of the papers, assisted by members of the troop, and the investigation brought to light the astounding fact the party had been composed entirely of commissioned officers, one ranking as colonel and the others being captains and lieutenants. Only the name of one officer, Captain Harrison, is now recalled. Papers signed by Gen. Kirby Smith, then commanding at Little Rock, were found. From these and other papers it was learned that the massacred party constituted a commission to treat with the tribes of the West and Southwest and incite them to war. The officers composing the party were to divide up among the tribes and endeavor to secure cooperation, and to receive supplies and to assist the Indians in every way in the war of extermination which was to be waged more particularly against settlements in Kansas. Harassed by the wild tribes on one side and the no less savage foe on the other, it would have been a wonder if Kansas had not been wiped out. So the Osages, as they swarmed through the timber, in the bend of the Verdigris, were, though they knew it not, striking a blow for the security of more than one frontier home and settlement and making a mark on the pages of Kansas history.

It is a matter of regret that of this incident, like so many others of war-time history, so little is now known. The name of only one man of the party, Captain Harrison, remains. A diligent inquiry by one who is well acquainted in the tribe and possessing the confidence of the Indians has resulted in the finding of only one Indian who admits being present at the fight. Indians know nothing about the statutes of limitation, and while they will talk freely concerning intertribal wars, they are silent when it comes to discussing dead whites.

A love-letter taken from one of the bodies by a member of the burial party remained in his possession for a number of years. It was written from Cross Hollows, Miss., and the name of the writer was signed in full, the surname being Vivian. This letter was shown to a lady visiting in Iola, who recognized the name of the writer as that of a former schoolmate in southwest Missouri, before the war. At the outbreak of the war Miss Vivian had accompanied her parents to Mississippi and the other lady had come to Kansas and lost trace of her former schoolmate. The letter has passed into the keeping of the lady.

It will be remembered that in giving the strength of the Confederates it was put at twenty or twenty-two men. The bodies of two were found on the prairie and eighteen on the sand-bar. Leading from these bodies were the boot tracks of two men walking side by side and close together, as if one might have been supporting the other. There were no tracks leading back to the bodies. Careful search up and down both sides of the stream failed to disclose any tracks coming out of the water. It is probable that these men were shot while in the water, in attempting to swim across the stream. It is possible they made good their escape.

This fact and the incident of the letter are related here, and the name of Captain Harrison is given, in the hope that they may meet the attention of some one who can give additional information concerning this event.

The subsequent general uprising of the Indians that very year, which has often been attributed to the machinations of the Confederates, gave us a taste of what we might have experienced if they had acted in unison, and been led and directed by the men whose career came to an abrupt end in the loop of the Verdigris. Kansas has much charged against the Indians on her books, and it is but due to the Osages that this one little item of credit should not be overlooked.

ALONG THE TRAIL.

An address delivered by JOHN MADDEN* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-seventh annual meeting, December 2, 1902.

EVERY country has its historic age, and the men who contribute to such periods, in time, pass into song and story, and become a part of the legendary lore of the people. Thus, we find in the heroic age of Greece the names and labors of Hercules and Jason's men,

“Earth's first kings, the Argos' gallant sailors—
Heroes in history, and gods in song.”

In the traditional period of Rome we find Romulus and Remus, the builders of the walls—the strong, wolf-suckled boys of the Tiber: among the strong men of Germanic stock, the names and labors of Thor of the Hammer and Odin of the Twibill, who fought the forces of nature in the twilight of the gods. And so we might enumerate of every nation and of every tribe of men, when we go back to the traditions of the past, and place in the Pantheons the strong men who loved and labored and died, and passed through the trail of stars to become demigods.

As the past recedes, and the beautiful opalescent coloring of romance softens the rugged outlines of prosaic history, the mere dry annals, clothed with the drapery of thought and action, bring out the strong faces of the men who moved through the lines of action, until they appear to us strongly chiseled, like the faces in the frieze work of a Grecian temple. We then unconsciously begin to realize that history is passing through that transition period known as legend and tradition. We look through the enchanted fields of the years, as we realize these things, and, like the other tribes and nations of men who have preceded us, begin to understand that we are growing old as a people, and that we have our heroic age, and with it our demigods. We, being more practical than the people of a more immature age, and having something like written history to depend upon, do not clothe these men with the same coloring as did the Greeks, Romans, and Norse, but place them in their proper relation, and pay to them the tributes denied them in the past. To me, the men who made the trails of the West, and carried the banners of their nations through the mountains and across the prairies, who faced death in a thousand forms, and built their camp-fires along the streams as they passed, are the men who are entitled to be remembered, because they blazed the pathway for others to follow. The eastern portion of our country has never been as rich in the treasure-trove of action as the West, with its trails, and its rapidly-shifting scenes along these great highways of the past. We may pity the fate of De Soto and his deathless men, and say they were foolish in pursuing the *ignis fatuus* of gold: and yet, through different lines, we are engaged in the same quest. Hence, we ought not to criticize too closely the action of the Spaniard, or to seek to assume that we are wiser than he. While we may pity the fate of De Soto's expedition we cannot help but admire his heroism, and remark, in passing, that from Tampa, Fla., to New Madrid, Mo., he blazed a trail that must always remain as a red line of action in the history of the new world. We may not be impressed with the character and leadership of his lieutenant, Moscoso, after the death of his commander, but we must remember that he crossed the prairies of Kansas long before the Pilgrim fathers settled at Plymouth Rock,

* See page 40, sixth volume, Historical Collections.

and that with his coming he impressed upon the minds of the savage tribesmen that the man with the pale skin, in coat of mail, belonged to the line of the world's conquerors. Although he passed away, leaving behind him a trail of blood and fire, he left to the men of succeeding generations lessons of devotion, sacrifice, and heroism, which shall not be forgotten.

The pure-minded Coronado, from his capital of Compostello, in Mexico, led an expedition to the north, which he hoped would rival in glory and wealth the expedition of the great Hernando in the valley. In his long march through the mountains, over the desert sand, by the pueblos of the ancient tribesmen, into the fertile valleys of the Canadian, the Arkansas, and the rivers of Quivira, he was following out the line of his life's destiny, and leaving to the world an example of endurance, devotion and fortitude that up to that time had not been equaled in the new world. While his line of march is well defined, and its extent and duration well authenticated, yet it seems to me that after 360 years it would be practically impossible for even the archaeologist to locate with any degree of certainty, any of the villages of the shifting, roving tribes through which he passed in Kansas. I am inclined to knock on these uncertain locations, and, while I feel kindly toward the men who made these investigations, I feel that, as a student of history, there should be less strife and more of a general desire to bring about something like certainty. The location of Quivira near Junction City, and the erection of a monument on the supposed site of an ancient village, strikes me as a little mythical, and to some extent humorous. While as a work of art the monument may be valuable, yet as a matter of history it is a little misleading. Arrow-heads and spear-heads and the usual weapons of war known to the savage tribes are so much alike, and are scattered over such a vast extent of territory, that they cannot be said to be the *indicia* of any particular tribe or village. I am inclined to think that Mr. W. E. Richey has produced much stronger evidence of the route of Coronado than any of the others—in the Spanish sword which he found. It is more authentic than spear-heads or arrow-heads, and indicates that the white man must have passed over the route, and left behind the distinct evidence of his line of march. It seems to me that the monument builders, while correct on the general lines of the trail, have lost out on the location of the Indian village. In fact, they are somewhat in the same predicament as was the Indian in search of a trail in the forest, who, when asked by the hunter if he were lost, answered: "No, Injun not lost; wigwam lost."

The old Spanish and French trailsmen left no personal marks along the trails they made. It was left for the American to do that. And so we deal with him, and he is more to our liking, and his work possesses more historical merit than that of his predecessors. The Spaniard was a romancist, who failed to catch the beauty of sky and landscape, and whose only thought was to find wealth, in order that he might return to the castle land of his fathers, and among the hills and valleys of his childhood enjoy the gold he had wrung from the heathen. He did not understand himself, and consequently we are not surprised that he misunderstood the Indian, and that the Indian understood him and his purposes. The tribesmen who resisted his advance and barred his way were wise, and the struggle which they made against the invader is more creditable to the Indian than to the Spaniard. While he was a savage man, and lacked the refinement of the gay cavalier of Madrid and Seville, yet he did not lack the courage that moved into the dusky ranks of action, and stood like a wall of flame before the invader, who challenged his right to live.

The Frenchman was a *voyageur*, whose gay abandon and community feeling made him a favorite in the wigwam of the tribes. The careless life of the woods

appealed to him, and he easily became a habitant of the Indian village. His priests moved out into the forest and erected the tabernacles of testimony, and appealed to the natives. They acquired the dialects of the tribes among whom they lived, and in the warrior speech of the tribesmen told them the tenderest story that had ever been told to men—the story of Him who died on the cross that all men might be saved. They recognized the broad and catholic principle that “God has made of one blood all tribes and nations of men.” The Frenchman wedded the dusky maiden of the wigwam, and cast in his lot with the strong, fleet-footed hunters of the prairies.

The American was different from the Spaniard and the Frenchman. He was a nation builder, and came to stay. When he moved out into the lines of enterprise he asked no questions; neither did he count the cost. Along his line of march he left the cairns of the dead, to remind coming generations of the fact that here the death fight raged, and the Saxon passed on to conquest, or to death. The savage tribesmen soon learned the difference in character between the last comer and his predecessors. They found that the men who followed Pike and Fremont along the trails they broke were serious, determined factors placed in the restless, uncertain life of the prairies and woods, and, when placed, made everything certain. The wild foeman might attack the cabin of the frontiersman, but the latter met the danger in common with his neighbors and fought it out. He had no explanations to make to rude barbarians who questioned his right to live. His rifle was his companion, and, when challenged, he played the work of death, unmindful of results. He loved his wife and children, and covered them with a roof made by his own hands. He was constant in his love to those who shared his life, but as terrible as fate when roused by danger. He hated the Indian with an undying hatred, and despised the white man who took up with the life of the wigwam and became what he called a “squaw man.” This pioneer type is fast disappearing, and it is with much sadness we note the change. The world will never again witness such determination, constancy and devotion as was shown by this class of men who made states out of the old Louisiana purchase. Their camp-fires have gone; the trails they traveled have grown dim; they passed over the range and laid down to rest wherever death found them.

Like the boy at school, when asked by the teacher who was the first white man, answered, “George Washington—first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” When informed that Adam was the first man, he tossed his head, with that peculiar pride common to the American, and said: “Well, if your are speaking of foreigners, I suppose he was.” Like the boy in the story, to me the first men are Americans. They came to stay. They built their homes, founded their towns and villages, and constructed states in a savage wilderness, and thus demonstrated to the world that the most powerful factor in civilization is the determined, constant home-builder. Hence, I am not disposed to waste words in dealing with men of other races. If I had time I would like to speak of the expedition of Pike, and more particularly of the heroic enterprises of General Fremont, who opened up the trail from the Missouri river to the South Pass, in Wyoming, so as to afford a highway and a safe passage through the mountain ranges for the emigrants who were beginning to move from the frontier settlements of Missouri to California and Oregon. I would like to speak of the fierce battles that raged around the South Pass, where the Sioux and Saxon fought their last great battles for supremacy. I would like to speak of that mountain Thermopylæ in Montana, where Custer and his 300 men rode to their death. I would like to speak of the devotion, the constancy and the courage of

the men who held in their veteran grip the swords of conquest, and passed away among the Western mountains to join their brothers of the "light brigade" who had passed beyond the stars. But this paper must necessarily be brief, and deal particularly with those portions of the trails that belong to our state.

There is one minor trail, the history of which has not been written. While the history of Santa Fe, Utah and California trails has been well preserved, yet but little has been said of the old Kaw trail. This trail commenced at Big John, on the Kaw reservation, near Council Grove, and passed through the counties of Morris, Chase, and Marion, to where Florence now stands; and thence to what was known as Big Timbers, on Turkey creek, where it intersected the old Santa Fe trail. This was distinctly an Indian trail, and so its history and traditions are local, and belong to the Kaw tribe and the settlers living along the route. Over this trail the Indians traveled on their hunting expeditions every year, and some traces of it may yet be found on the rising ground west of Florence and also on the Doolittle farm, on Diamond creek, in Chase county. In my boyhood days I have seen the Indian hunters passing over the trail and returning with the results of the chase, which they were always ready to "swap" for flour and corn-meal. The long lines of ponies dragging teepee poles and carrying the squaws and papposes were quite familiar in those days. It was not an uncommon thing to see among the hunters an occasional blue coat, indicating that the wearer had served as a soldier in the war of the rebellion: for it is a fact that the Kaw tribe furnished many sharpshooters to the government, and these men performed their duty well in dealing with the bushwhackers of Missouri and Arkansas. I remember, with some degree of tenderness, that these blue-coated braves were always kindly received and treated well by the settlers along the trail.

I may be pardoned if I relate a personal reminiscence of this old trail, and of a frightened condition that existed among the settlers during the Cheyenne raid of June, 1868. It will be remembered that Little Robe, with a band of Cheyenne warriors, came in from their tribe lands to fight the Kaw Indians, located on the reservation near Council Grove. Many of the settlers fled in dismay and sought protection in the little towns, where they erected fortifications to resist attack. Our family remained in the little log cabin, on Doyle creek, near where Florence now stands. For a week we had not seen a white face, and the horrible uncertainty of the situation began to impress itself upon us. My father, who but recently had been a soldier in the civil war, and who was a man of great courage, refused to leave, preferring to take chances of an Indian attack rather than lose the little crop he had planted. Night after night he walked back and forth in front of the little log cabin, with his gun on his shoulder, keeping guard while his family slept. At last he began to feel that depression which even the bravest will feel, after days of uncertain waiting in the midst of danger. One day he asked me to take a horse and go to where the nearest neighbor lived, and ascertain if he had returned, and what news, if any, there was to be obtained of the whereabouts of the Indians and the result of the fight at Council Grove. I rode through the old cow trails, where Florence now stands, and had some difficulty in getting through the sunflowers, which had grown so high as to impede progress and at the same time to be very uncomfortable for a small boy's bare feet. I went to the house of this neighbor and did not find a soul about. I began to have that uncanny feeling common to lonely situations, and imagined that Indians were everywhere. On my return I made but slow progress through the sunflowers, and sought to get my bare feet up on the saddle to avoid the rasping. As the stalks dragged across my feet I looked toward the west to the head of a

little draw and saw a warrior's plumes waving, as though he was moving rapidly on his pony. All I could see was the plumes. I stuck the brass spur, which I had on my bare heel, into the horse's side until he doubled up like an ox-bow. I thought he did not move fast enough; so I slipped off and ducked down under the sunflowers, and moved along the path as fast as I could, like a young quail seeking cover, and reached home before the horse. That night was one of dismay and uncertainty. We were now thoroughly frightened, and realized our helpless, hopeless condition, in a strange, new country, surrounded by savage foemen. We were glad when morning dawned and brought us the welcome faces of the returning settlers. I then went to investigate and find, if possible, the trail of the Indian whose plumes I had seen. I ascertained that all my fright was due to a sumach bush at the head of the little ravine, and this had caused us all the uneasiness of the previous night. I might relate a hundred humorous incidents that happened during the Cheyenne raid, but space will not permit.

I might tell many interesting stories of the log-cabin days along the old Kaw trail. If I possessed the gift of Ian Maclaren, I might weave into story the devotion, the pathos, the loves, the fortitude and the courage common to the settlers who made up the little communities along this old trail, in the wild land of the West. They might lack the quaint expressions of the little village of Drumtochty, that make such pleasant reading in "Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush," but they would contain as much tenderness and as much self-devotion, all of which were common to the people of that early period. This old trail is now deserted. The Indian hunter, the squaw, the pappoose, the ponies, the teepee poles and the dogs no longer stir its lines with life. The mimosa was not more tender to the touch of the trusting foot of the Indian pony than were the hearts of the settlers along this trail, when grief and sorrow struck into the log cabin of a neighbor. The frontier funeral brought out all the tender sympathies of these hardy men and faithful wives of the border. Then the cheek that never blanched in the face of the Indians' fire grew soft, and

"Something upon the soldier's cheek
Washed off the stains of powder."

These thoughts come down the trail of the years, filled with the perfume of the heart life of the frontier, which was as pure in joy, and in sorrow, as the delicate odor of the wild flower of the prairies. If the giddy mountain heights of Tahiti are adorned with vaporous arcades, among its beautiful palms, through which the rays of sunshine glide like spirits, so the clouds of a dreamy May day, chasing each other across the blue sky above the old trail, cast shadows within the sunshine, like hooded nuns and cowled monks, hurrying away to the spirit world. The lone tree by the spring, or on the edge of some rocky hill, standing like an anchorite of the grassy dells, was a feature of Western beauty, distinctive in its character, and as truly natural to the prairies as its tiny handmaiden, the sensitive rose—the shrinking wonder of the plant world. There was a charm about the prairies natural to themselves alone. In this respect they asserted the individuality—if I may use the word—of Western beauty, fresh from the hand of nature. The red glow on the cheek of the Indian maiden and the red glow of the summer sunset behind the gathering darkness of the woodland did not seem so distant from each other, but seemed kindly to blend and form a kinship in this wondrous Western land of trails. The tinted hues, the rich coloring of tree and shrub, of grass and flower, of sky and land beneath, filled up and refreshed the soul with a baptism of pure thought and feeling surpassed only by the purity of the dewdrop of a May morning in the open heart of a prairie rose.

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN KANSAS AND THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF THEIR TITLE.

Thesis prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the University of Kansas for the degree of master of arts, by ANNA HELOISE ABEL,* of Salina, and read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-seventh annual meeting, December 2, 1902.

THE LOCATION OF THE INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

SOME thirty years previous to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the trans-Missouri region became an integral factor in the development of the United States Indian policy. Those of us who are accustomed to regard the tariff, the national bank and negro slavery as the all-important issues that made and unmade political parties prior to 1861 forget how intimately the aborigines were concerned with the estrangement of the North and the South. That they were intimately concerned in that estrangement no one who has made a careful study of the period can conscientiously deny; and, strangely enough, that part of the "Great American Desert" which, on account of its sunny skies and brilliant sunsets, has been called "the Italy of the New World" was destined to be the testing-ground, or experimental station, of the two principal theories connected with the sectional conflict—squatter sovereignty and Indian colonization. Truly, Kansas has had a remarkable history.

The Indian colonization plan, involving the congregation of eastern tribes west of the Mississippi river, dates back in its conception to the days of Jefferson. Even if conceived earlier, it was not rendered practicable until the purchase of Louisiana had placed an extensive territory, unoccupied by white people, at the disposal of the central government. In drafting the constitutional amendment which, it was thought, would validate the acquisition of foreign soil, Jefferson proposed† that all the land lying west of the Mississippi river, east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the thirty-second parallel should be left in the possession of the native inhabitants, and that thither the eastern tribes should be gradually

* ANNA HELOISE ABEL was born in Sussex, England, 1873, of Scotch and Welsh-English parentage. Her father and mother settled in Kansas comparatively early—having preempted land here in 1871; but afflicted with ague and wholly dissatisfied with frontier life, they soon returned to the British Isles, and did not venture West again until 1884. About sixteen months later, their daughter, the author of this article, who had been left behind at school in London, came with two younger sisters to Saline county, and late in the fall of 1887 was enrolled as a pupil in the Salina public schools, with which she was identified until 1893. Then, after teaching two years in the Parsons district, directly east of Salina, she entered the Kansas State University, from which institution she was graduated with honor in 1898. While at college her favorite studies were English (particularly Anglo-Saxon and argumentation), history, constitutional law, and philosophy, and it was in those subjects that she took her A. M. degree—her master's thesis being "Pessimism in Modern Thought." For a short time after graduation, Miss Abel taught English and Latin in the Thomas county high school, and then returned to the State University as head manuscript reader in the English department. In 1900-'01 she pursued graduate work at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., and from that time until the summer of 1903 taught American history and civics in the Lawrence high school. All her leisure time for the last four years has been devoted to research work on the political and legal status of the North American Indians. The present article is, in part, a result of that work, although an introductory chapter on the nature of the Indian title has been withheld from publication on account of the lack of space. The merits of the article were recognized by Yale University in the award of the Bulkley fellowship in history, and it is at that institution that Miss Abel is now studying, intending to offer for the degree of doctor of philosophy a dissertation on the "History of the Westward Movement and the Migration of the Indian Tribes."—Ed.

† Works, 8: 241-249.

removed. This was the real origin of the famous removal policy of the United States government.

It is difficult to explain why the plan of Indian colonization was not put into immediate execution. No constitutional use was made of the draft in which it was embodied, yet a clause in the Louisiana territorial act of 1804* shows that the ideas of Jefferson, even at the time of their inception, were not wholly disregarded. Years passed away, however, before any serious effort was made to remove the eastern tribes, and, in the meantime, white settlers established an illegal preemptive right to a large part of the Louisiana purchase.

After the close of the war of 1812, Southern politicians attempted to revive a national interest in the removal project. Their reasons for so doing were mainly economic. Some of the most valuable agricultural districts south of the Mason and Dixon line were occupied by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees—powerful tribes whose integrity had been repeatedly guaranteed by the treaty-making power. Nothing could have been more detrimental to the commercial development of the plantation states, and therefore their criticism of the national policy was bitter and persistent. Georgia took the lead in opposition, and historically justified her own action by a liberal interpretation of the compact of 1802.† Her construction of that document was not consistent with the facts in the case; for the federal government had not promised to expel the Indians from Georgia, but only to extinguish their title within the reserved limits of the state “as soon as it could be done peaceably and on reasonable terms.”

The Southern states were not alone in desiring compulsory migration of the Indian tribes. The white population increased so rapidly northwest of the Ohio river that the Indians in the “hunter stage” became a nuisance and a serious impediment to progress. New York speculators made a desperate effort to get the present state of Wisconsin reserved as an Indian territory, so as to force the remnants of the Iroquois beyond their ancient boundaries. As a general thing, however, the movement in the North was a trifle less mercenary, less indicative of race animosity, than that in the South. Indeed, at times it was actually philanthropic, for isolation appeared; to an occasional zealous missionary like Rev. Isaac McCoy, ‡ the only possible way of preserving the red men from moral degradation and from ultimate extinction.

* 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 283-290.

† American State Papers, class 8, “Public Lands,” 1:126.

‡ REV. ISAAC MCCOY was born near Uniontown, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, June 13, 1784. He spent his youth in Kentucky. In 1817 he commenced his missionary work among the Miami Indians in the Wabash valley, Parke county, Indiana. Here he remained until 1820, when he opened a school at Fort Wayne. When the Pottawatomies were granted a reservation on the St. Joseph river, in Michigan, in 1820, he went to them. In 1826, in company with others, he established the Thomas mission, on Grand river, among the Ottawas. Here the idea came to him that if he could get the Indians removed from the vicinity of white settlements greater progress might be made in elevating them. In January, 1824, Mr. McCoy visited Washington and submitted a scheme for the removal of the eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi to John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war. Calhoun approved the idea, and from that time on was a valuable friend to the measure. From 1824 to 1828 Mr. McCoy made vigorous efforts to further the object, and in the latter year an appropriation was made for an exploration of the territory designed for the tribes. On the 15th of July, having been appointed one of the commissioners for the purpose, he arrived at St. Louis, with three Pottawatomies and three Ottawas, to explore the country now Kansas, and, if desirable, select homes for those tribes. On the 21st of August he started with his northern Indians to explore a portion of the territory purchased of the Osages and the Kaws, and east of the country of the Pawnees. The party crossed Missouri and reached the Presbyterian mission of Harmony, on the Marais des Cygnes, a few miles from the south line of Bates county, Missouri. With a half-breed Osage for a guide, the party followed the Osage and Neosho rivers until they came to the head waters of the latter, and then crossed over to the Kansas, returning down stream on the south bank to the Shawnee settle-

During the presidency of James Monroe the strict constructionists fought for the expulsion of the aborigines in real earnest. At national headquarters Indian rights were, in a sense, still respected. At least, they were considered to the extent that nothing but voluntary removal was to be thought of. In certain local communities, on the other hand, it was evident that force and force only would suffice. The questions became involved with that of the territorial extension of slavery, and John C. Calhoun, disappointed in the loss of Texas, is said to have planned in his elaborate report of 1825* the undoing of the work of the Missouri compromise. His idea was to give the Indians a perpetual property right in an extensive tract west of the Mississippi river. Had he stopped there, suspicion of an ulterior motive could no more have been directed against him than against Jefferson: but unfortunately he went on to arrange for the definite location of the individual tribes: and in placing them as a permanent barrier west of Lake Michigan and west of the Missouri river, he exposed himself to the charge of endeavoring to block free-state expansion in its legitimate field north of the interdicted line.

The administration of John Quincy Adams offered, in its political disturbances, a rare opportunity for Georgian partizanship to work its will. The scholarly president did his best to maintain his own dignity and to protect the Indians: but he was no match for Gov. Geo. M. Troup. In the controversy that arose over the setting aside of the fraudulently obtained treaty of Indian Springs, charges of bad faith were hurled with vituperative fierceness against the federal executive. His authority was ignored and even openly resisted. Georgia was dangerously near the brink of secession: and, had not some faint, lingering hope of reelection caused Adams to modify his opposition to Southern aggression by advocating the policy of removal, it is not difficult to surmise what would have been the outcome.

With the election of Andrew Jackson, the Indians were given to understand that their removal westward, voluntary or compulsory, just as they pleased to make it, was only a question of time. There was to be no more wavering, no more sentimental talk about justice. For several years fragments of tribes had emigrated under the direction of the treaty-making power; but now Congress was appealed to as an aid to systematic migration. In 1830 a law was passed † which legalized removal and prepared for the organization of an Indian country west of the Mississippi that should, in theory, embrace all the federal territory that had not yet been preempted by the insatiable pioneers. It is believed that

ment on the Missouri state line. He was directed to make another tour, covering north and west Kansas, but the Pawnees being on the war-path, he went south to White Hair's village, on the Neosho, about five miles south of the present town of Oswego, in Richland township, Labette county. In January, 1829, Mr. McCoy visited Washington and submitted a report and map of his explorations to the department of Indian affairs. On the 27th of July, 1829, he started on a trip into the territory occupying twenty days. In 1837 he was sent out again by the government, and was absent four months. From this time until his removal to Louisville, Ky., he labored unceasingly for the advancement of the tribes in the West. He died at Louisville in 1846. The Kansas State Historical Society has Mr. McCoy's manuscripts, correspondence, journals and diaries, business papers, etc., covering a period from 1808 to 1849, bound in thirty-eight large volumes, and pamphlets published by him as follows: *The Practicability of Indian Reform and their Colonization*, 1827; second edition of the foregoing, with an appendix, 1829; *An Address to Philanthropists*, written on the Neosho river, 1831; *Annual Register of Indian Affairs*, No. 1, 1835, and No. 3, 1837; *Proceedings of the American Indian Mission Association*, 1843; the same for 1846; and the *Indian Advocate*, 1846. The *Annual Register* was printed in Kansas, the first number by "J. Meeker, printer, 1835," and the third number by "J. G. Pratt printer, 1837." — ED.

* Gales and Seaton's Register, 1, appendix, pp. 57-59.

† 4 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 411, 412.

a few of the most broad-minded statesmen hoped that an Indian state in the Union would ultimately be created: and, indeed, a small federal reserve was laid off in Franklin county, Kansas; but, unfortunately, long before the emigrants were ready for statehood, or for anything approaching it, they were obliged to move on.

Some of the tribes indigenous to the trans-Missouri region had been in trade relations with the United States since the early years of the century. Nevertheless they were anything but peaceful, and were disposed to be a serious obstacle to the planting of Indian colonies. In recognition of that fact, the federal government, without actually committing itself to the removal policy, opened up negotiations for the extinguishment of the primary title. Its object was to introduce the reservation system—not to drive the natives westward, but simply to restrict their territorial limits, and thus make room for the would-be emigrants. Two powerful tribes, both of Dahcotah lineage, dominated the territory under discussion: and it was with them that the government had first to deal. With the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches—Indians of the plains, as they were called—it had no intention of interfering; because their hunting-grounds lay beyond the line of immediate need. Other tribes, like the Pawnees, the Otoes, and the Missourias, were likewise, for the time being, left unmolested; because infectious diseases and internecine wars had placed them in no condition to dispute the entrance of foreigners.

Up to 1825 the Kansa Indians, more familiarly known in the vulgar language of to-day as the Kaws, claimed an ill-defined hunting-ground north of the Kansas river. They constituted the only tribe whose territorial limits were exclusively within the present boundaries of Kansas, and, therefore, it seems eminently fitting that they should have given their name to the sunflower state. Their blood relations and hereditary enemies, the Osages, were somewhat similarly situated south of the river, although the best part of their tribal lands extended east of the Missouri line and south of the thirty-seventh parallel. It was with these two tribes that the United States saw fit to negotiate, in order to prepare for Indian colonization.

The Kaw and Osage treaties of 1825, drafted by Governor Clark,* of Missouri, were of a complex character; but their real object was sufficiently well accomplished in the cession of an immense tract of territory, the greater part of which was to be paid for on a sort of instalment plan. Thus did the United States transfer to virgin soil its pauperizing system of annuities. Such lands as were not ceded, either directly or in trust, were retained as reservations—the first to be recorded in the history of Kansas.

* GEN. WILLIAM CLARK, born in Virginia, 1770, died in St. Louis, 1838, was joint commander with Capt. Merriwether Lewis of the expedition across the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia river, 1804-'05. He was appointed Indian agent at St. Louis in 1807, and the same year brigadier-general for Louisiana territory. He served as governor of Missouri territory from 1813 to 1820, and as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis from 1822 until 1838. The library of the Kansas State Historical Society has among its St. Louis Indian office manuscripts ten volumes of the correspondence of General Clark between the years 1812 and 1839, embracing volume on Indian surveys in Kansas, 1830-'36. The Society also has his original diary and meteorological record kept at St. Louis, 1826-'31, and one of the manuscript volumes of the Missouri Fur Company, with which he was connected. (See pages 49 and 125 of the Society's third volume of Collections.) Coues says that General Clark had the respect and confidence of the Indians, and that "during his long administration of Indian affairs he was instrumental in bringing about many important treaties, not only between his government and the Indians, but also between different tribes of the latter."—ED.

KANSAS.

The Kansa Indians, at different times, occupied two distinct reservations in the trans-Missouri region. In 1825* one was carved out of their original possessions; the other in 1846,† out of unoccupied territory in the neighborhood of Council Grove. The first reservation had practically no western boundary, except as it was naturally limited by the presence of other Indians; but it began at a point twenty leagues up the Kansas river and extended westward with a uniform width of thirty miles. In 1846 the Kaws sold the eastern part of it, thirty by thirty miles in extent, to the federal government for the use of the Pottawatomies; and stipulated that if the diminished reserve proved destitute of timber adequate to their needs, it should be exchanged for lands of equal value farther south. The timber was really scarce, and accordingly Maj. Richard W. Cummins, with the approval of Supt. Thos. H. Harvey, staked out a new reservation, which was, most unfortunately for the future peace of Kansas, not regularly surveyed until several years had elapsed. S. Eastman's map, generally adjudged authentic, represented the reservation in a particular position, which the official survey of Montgomery, in 1856, declared to be inaccurate. Meanwhile settlers had inadvertently trespassed upon the lands of the real reserve. They refused to vacate the premises until the government had indemnified them for their improvements. Their removal became an issue in local politics; but in the long run the Indians, as usual, were held responsible for the carelessness of the federal government.

The treaty of 1825 made special provision for the Kaw half-breeds, who seem for the most part to have been the offspring of French traders. The full-blooded Kaws shared the reserve in common, but the half breeds received an individual interest in twenty-three sections of land, which were subsequently surveyed by Maj. Angus L. Langham and located pretty generally side by side on the north bank of the river. In the absence of exact data, their relative position can be best understood by remembering that section 4 constitutes the site of North Topeka, and that section 23 is almost directly opposite Lecompton.

The title to these centrally situated lands became in after-years the subject of much litigation. A question arose as to whether the restriction placed by the treaty of 1825 upon the alienating power of the full-blooded Kaws applied with equal force to the half-breeds. In 1860 Congress declared that it did;‡ but two years later reversed its own decision § Much mischief had been caused by the uncertainty, and it is interesting to know that it was ostensibly for alleged speculation in the Kaw half-breed lands that Andrew H. Reeder, the first territorial governor of Kansas, and Judges Rush Elmore and Saunders W. Johnson were removed from office. Another controversy arose as to what property rights were transmissible to the children of the half-breeds. Did the title lapse with the grantee? The case was argued before the supreme court, and there decreed that the word "heirs," as used in the congressional enactment of 1860, signified such individuals as were there recognized as heirs by the laws of Kansas.*

OSAGE.

In 1825 the federal government pushed the Osages as far south of the Kansas river as possible. Their reserve was fifty miles wide and extended westward

*7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 244-247.

† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 410-414.

‡ 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 21.

§ 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 628.

Kansas State Historical Collections, vol. 5, pp. 225-234.

* Brown et Brown v. Belmarde, 3 Kan. 41.

from White Hair's village, an Indian encampment which is supposed to have been situated on the Neosho river about "six miles below the present city of St. Paul."* The treaty provided that the western boundary should be "a line running from the head sources of the Arkansas river southwardly through the Rock Saline"—probably as far west as the Osages had ever dared to assert an occupancy claim. Nevertheless, government maps invariably extend the reserve to the old United States line, or the one-hundredth meridian. Such a discrepancy between authoritative data can be satisfactorily explained only by revealing the duplicity of the official who superintended the survey of the Osage trust lands in 1865. Instead of leaving the matter entirely to the management of the surveyor-general, as was customary, the secretary of the interior let the contract, for political reasons, to private surveyors, and permitted them to charge just double the regular cost of such work. Naturally it was to their advantage to represent the reserve as large as possible, and so they arbitrarily extended its western boundary to the one hundredth meridian.

An additional provision in the Osage treaty of 1825 deserves at least a passing notice: because it created a "buffer state" between Missouri and the reservation. The object was to prevent hostile incursions of one race upon the other. It cannot, however, be said that the land was absolutely surrendered to the federal government. It was simply neutralized, and the Osages retained a nominal interest in it by establishing a half-breed settlement between Canville and Flat Rock creeks. This was in accordance with a clause of the treaty which had set aside forty-two sections of land on the Neosho and Marais des Cygnes rivers. About 1825 some wandering Cherokees, an advance-guard, so to speak, of the banished tribe, settled in the southeastern corner of the "buffer state"; and in 1836, the federal government having extinguished the Osage half-breed title, sold the whole of it to the Georgian exiles. Henceforth it was called, very appropriately, the Cherokee neutral lands.

*Nelson Case, History of Labette County, pp. 18, 26; Kansas State Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 148; Gov. Sam'l J. Crawford's message, January 11, 1865, pp. 26-31.

From the following correspondence, it will be seen that there was some controversy regarding the initial point of the survey of the Osage reservation, ending in favor of the survey of 1859, at least, so far as the northern boundary was concerned, which coincides with Miss Abel's location.—Ed.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
TOPEKA, September 15, 1865.

DEAR SIR—Some time ago I referred the question as to the boundary lines of the Osage and Cherokee reservations to the secretary of the interior, at Washington, which was by him referred to the commissioner of the general land-office, and he reported adverse to our claims, taking the survey and report of Deputy Surveyor George C. Van Zandt as his basis, and ignoring previous surveys. The only way we can settle the question definitely is, to ascertain the exact locality of the "old White Hair village," its distance from the western boundary line of the state of Missouri, and the 37 or southern boundary of Kansas. Also the location of the subsequent villages laid out and called by the same name of White Hair Village. If you will, at your earliest convenience, go down and ascertain these facts, together with the names and location of parties now living, who know them to be true, and report them to me, (in person, if possible,) I shall be able to have a new survey made and the boundaries of these reservations properly established. I am satisfied that a great fraud has been committed, and think we should use every effort to have it corrected. Answer.

To G. J. ENDICOTT.

Yours truly, S. J. CRAWFORD, Governor.

To his Excellency, Gov. S. J. Crawford:

SIR—In accordance with your instructions, I proceeded to ascertain the bounds of the Osage and Cherokee neutral lands, and have the honor to report that during the month of November, 1865, I proceeded, in company with John A. Cramer, Wm. Howard, Jacob Youstler, John Q. Adams, and George W. James, to ascertain, by actual survey and measurement, the exact boundary line of the Osage Indian reservation and the Cherokee neutral lands; also the Seneca, Quapaw and Shawnee reservations.

The first and most important question for us to determine was the exact location of the original "old White Hair village," the place designated in the Osage treaty of June 2, 1825, as the starting-point for the described boundary of their reservation, and from which the boundary line of the Cherokee neutral lands is established.

Starting at a point on the western boundary line of the state of Missouri, 136½ miles south from the Missouri river, and forty-one and a half miles north from the southwest corner of the state of Missouri, thence running on a due west line for twenty-seven miles to the original "old White Hair village," which is situated on the right or west bank of the Neosho river.

From the "old White Hair village," to the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude (the

SHAWNEE.

As soon as the Kaws and Osages had left a clear field in which to plant colonies, the United States set to work to effect an exchange of lands with the eastern tribes. The Shawnees, whose ancestors had been parties to the Pennsylvania compact of perpetual peace, were the first emigrants. In the long course of years their tribe had become greatly disintegrated and fragments of it had wandered away in different directions. Some of the exiles had settled in Missouri, on the Carondelet grant, and it was with them that the federal government treated in 1825. Governor Clark superintended the affair, and induced the Shawnees to exchange their Cape Girardeau lands for a Kansas grant of fifty miles square. The selection was first made in the southeastern corner of the Osage cession: but it was not altogether pleasing to the Shawnees, so they made a second choice, directly south of the Kansas river. The reservation was deeded to them May 11, 1844.*

A peculiar clause in the treaty of exchange gave rise to a transaction in which the honor of the United States was seriously compromised. The Missouri Shawnees very magnanimously made their brethren of Ohio beneficiaries of the treaty, and promised them 100,000 acres of the new reserve if they would emigrate to Kansas. The Ohio Shawnees were slow in complying with the condition, and, when they did at length decide to emigrate, permitted the federal government to superintend the sale of their old lands. The result was that the agents abstracted from the net proceeds a sum equivalent to seventeen cents an acre, on the pretense that it was to pay for the 100,000 acres in Kansas. The whole Shawnee tribe objected to the double payment, and preferred a claim for indemnity against the United States. In 1852 Congress thoroughly sifted the matter, and ended by refunding the ill-gotten gains.†

DELAWARE.

The history of the Delawares is intimately connected with that of the Shawnees, and therefore it was perfectly natural that, pursuant to the supplementary treaty of 1831,‡ a new colony should be planted on the Kansas river, this time on the north bank, opposite the Shawnee settlement, and that there the Delaware

southern line of the state of Kansas) is eleven and a half miles, but to the present survey of said line, only four and a half miles.

At this village I found three mounds of stone, and a large mound of earth with stone in the center, which, I am satisfied, was the original starting-point for the boundary line of the Osage reservation.

The southeast corner of the Osage lands is the same as the southwest of the Cherokee neutral lands, which is found by starting at the southwest corner of the state of Missouri; thence north on said line of Missouri one and a half miles to Honey creek — first running water — (original southeast corner of the Seneca lands); thence west to a large mound of earth, originally seven feet square, and six and a half feet high, with a rock in it, on which is inscribed "Cherokee lands," west of which mound (about forty chains), is a mass of rock; running from said mound of earth twenty-five miles east, to a rock and three post-oak trees; thence north fifty miles, to a mound of earth, originally six feet square and five and a half feet high; thence west twenty-five miles, to the northeast corner of the Osage lands, which is a mound of earth six feet square and five feet high. No timber in the vicinity.

And I further state that the Cherokee neutral lands now embrace within their limits all the Seneca, Quapaw and Shawnee reservations.

I also superintended the running of the line from George White Hair village to the west line of the state of Missouri, thirty-two miles, seventy-one chains, and twenty-nine links, striking said line of Missouri nineteen chains and fifty links south of milestone 111 from the Missouri river. From a number of the oldest Indians in the nation, including a grandson of the "old White Hair," and a son of George White Hair, who laid out and located the present White Hair village, which stands on the west bank of the Neosho river, about thirty-three miles west of the state line of Missouri, and from the house of George White Hair to the state line of Missouri thirty-two miles, seventy-one chains, and twenty-nine links; and about twenty-nine miles north of the original "old White Hair village." It was from the village laid out by George White Hair, a son of the original White Hair, that Dept. Surv.-gen. George C. Van Zant is supposed to have started his line when he surveyed these lands in 1859. (Signed) G. J. ENDICOTT.

* Congressional Globe, 26, pp. 811-814.

† Congressional Globe, 26, pp. 811-814; Harvey's History of the Shawnees, chapter 31.

‡ U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 327.

Indians should slowly congregate. They ceded certain lands in Indiana * and accepted in exchange an extensive tract lying within the Kaw cession. The reservation, as it was originally laid out, extended from the confluence of the Missouri and Kansas rivers to the eastern limit of the Kaw lands, thus encroaching upon the twenty-three sections that had been already granted to half-breeds. Bickerings and disputes followed, as a matter of course, and continued until 1860, when, in the settlement with the Kaw half-breeds, the Delawares were reimbursed by the United States for the surrender of the title.† In addition to the actual reserve the Delawares were given an "outlet," which implied that they were to have free access to the hunting-grounds lying west of their reservation limits. This outlet, ten miles in width, extended along the entire northern boundary of the Kaw reserve.‡

OTTAWA.

The Ottawas, or Ottois, as their name is more correctly pronounced, came originally from Canada. Indeed, some of them are still within British dominions. Those that emigrated therefrom first settled in Michigan, and then gradually moved southward until they occupied lands around Toledo. In 1832 some of their number entered into treaty arrangements with the United States, and, as a result, agreed to remove to Kansas.§ The Ottawas of Blanchard's Fork were promised 34,000 acres and those of Roche de Bœuf 40,000. The two assignments were comprised, however, in a single compact body of 72,000 acres. It was located on the banks of the Osage river, and the present city of Ottawa, founded by Isaac S. Kalloch * and C. C. Hutchinson, in 1863, is situated almost in its center.

* By treaty of October 3, 1818, the Delawares ceded to the United States their land in Indiana, with the proviso that they might retain the use of their old improvements for three years. In return, they were to be given lands upon the west side of the Mississippi. The lands given them were on the James fork of the White river, in southwestern Missouri, though John Johnston, of Piqua, Ohio, whose name is signed to the treaty of 1818 as "agent," says in *Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany*, December, 1845, volume 2, page 241: "I removed the whole Delaware tribe, consisting of 2400 souls, to their new home southwest of Missouri river, near the mouth of the Kansas, in the years 1822 and 1823."

† 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1131.

‡ This is the only instance in which an outlet was marked off in Kansas. It was a rather extraordinary arrangement, but seems to have occasioned no particular trouble in the case of the Delawares. The Cherokee outlet, in the Indian Territory, had a somewhat more eventful history, owing to the fact that for a long time the government land-office was disposed to regard No Man's Land as its western extension. Such a view was, of course, quite erroneous; because the Cherokee outlet, having been granted previous to the Mexican war, could not have been extended beyond the old United States line.

The tract known as No Man's Land was originally part of Texas. It became separated from her in a peculiar way. By the joint resolution which admitted her to the Union as a state, Texas was forbidden to have slaves north of the Missouri compromise line. Consequently No Man's Land and all the rest of the territory that lay north of 36° 30' became excluded from her limits. When the southern line of Kansas was first run, it was placed considerably farther south than it is to-day, and No Man's Land lay to the north of it. Later on, when the government moved the southern boundary of Kansas to the thirty-seventh parallel, expecting to make it correspond with the dividing line between the Osage and Cherokee reservations, No Man's Land was left outside. It was not even incorporated with New Mexico when her boundaries were determined, and therefore came to be considered by some cattlemen, squatters and traders who settled on Beaver creek, subsequent to 1870, as outside the limits of any jurisdiction whatsoever. Eventually it was attached to Oklahoma.

§ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 360, 361.

* REV. ISAAC S. KALLOCH was born at Rockland, Me., in 1832. He died, after a most tempestuous career, at Whateom, Wash., December 11, 1887. He became a Baptist minister, and began life as pastor of the First Baptist Church at Rockland, where he remained five years. He removed to Boston and was pastor of Tremont Temple for two years, when, in January, 1857,

The first Ottawa emigrants came to Kansas in 1837. They were singularly susceptible to civilizing influences, and made, under the guidance of the Rev. Jotham Meeker,† both spiritual and material progress. Yet they suffered more than some other tribes from the radical change in climate. Mr. Roby, the Indian agent who conducted them to their new home, reported that "out of about 600 emigrants, more than 300 died within the first two years, because of exposure, lack of proper food, and the great difference between the cool, damp woods of Ohio and the dry, hot plains of Kansas." It is even said that at no time during their comparatively brief sojourn in Kansas did the natural increase more than equal the mortality. They also suffered from the great flood of 1844, which devastated the whole valley of the Marais des Cygnes.

he was tried in the civil courts for adultery—all of which he denounced as persecution because of his fearless interest in free-soil Kansas. He was a matchless orator, with a flow of language rarely equaled. After one of the most exciting trials in all the history of the country, he resigned the pastorate of Temple church in 1858, when he came to Kansas, remaining until 1860. In this latter year he was given a unanimous call to the pastorate of the Laight Street Baptist Church, in the city of New York. He served in that place three years, and in 1864 returned to Kansas. He drifted to Ottawa, and in company with C. C. Hutchinson* started a paper called the *Western Home Journal*. This he afterwards removed to Lawrence, where he formed a partnership with T. Dwight Thacher and Milton W. Reynolds in the publication of the *Republican*. This firm soon dissolved, and Kalloch started the *Spirit of Kansas*. He served a year or so as superintendent of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad. He was landlord of the Eldridge House for a while, ran a stock farm, traded horses, and indulged in politics. In the Hammond revival, in 1871, he "experienced a change of heart," and returned to the ministry. He was a candidate for the United States senate in 1867, and in 1868 was a presidential elector. He was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1873. He was pastor of the Baptist church in Leavenworth, at \$3000 per year, and between 1873 and 1877 he went to San Francisco as pastor of the Metropolitan Temple, at \$5000 per year. He soon became mixed in politics with Dennis Kearney and the sand-lotters, and on the 3d day of September, 1879, he was elected mayor of San Francisco by this element. In 1880 articles of impeachment were preferred against him. In the summer of 1879, Charles De Young, of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, shot and wounded Kalloch for some reflection upon his family in a speech. Kalloch recovered. De Young came to Kansas and worked up a pamphlet about Kalloch's debaucheries, and for this I. M. Kalloch, the son, entered the *Chronicle* office and killed De Young. About the 1st of March, 1885, Kalloch and his family moved to Whatcom, Wash., to make their home.—Ed.

*CLINTON CARTER HUTCHINSON was born at Barnard, Windsor county, Vermont, December 11, 1833. He was educated in the common schools, and prepared himself for civil engineering. At the age of nineteen he entered the service of the Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company, at Iowa City. In 1854 he bought a farm near Chicago for three dollars per acre. In 1856 he sold the farm and moved west, and arrived in Lawrence May 14, and immediately joined a free-state military company. After making a trip east that summer in the interest of the free-state cause he settled on a claim ten miles south of Lawrence, on which he resided two years. He became connected with a newspaper in Lawrence. In 1860 he went east again, soliciting for Kansas, and was mainly instrumental in getting \$50,000 from the New York legislature. In 1861 he was appointed agent for the confederated tribes of the Sac and Fox, Chippewa, Munsee and Ottawa Indians. In 1863, associated with Kalloch, he located the town of Ottawa, in Franklin county. He identified himself with the building of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, and in November, 1871, located the town bearing his name, which has been ever since the county-seat of Reno county. He represented Reno county in the legislature of 1873. He was the author of a book entitled "Resources of Kansas," of which the legislature purchased 2500 copies.—Ed.

†REV. JOTHAM MEEKER was born at Xenia, Ohio, November 8, 1804. He worked on the farm during boyhood, and became a thorough printer before reaching majority. Under the supervision of Rev. Isaac McCoy, he commenced missionary work among the Pottawatomies, at Carey, Mich., in 1825. In 1827 he became superintendent of the mission among the Ottawas, at the neighboring station of Thomas. In 1830 he married Miss Eleanor D. Richardson, one of his co-workers. While at Thomas he applied the English alphabet to the phonetic spelling of Indian words so successfully as to greatly lessen the labor of the Indian children and adults in learning to read. His method was adaptable to all Indian languages. At the instance of Rev. Isaac McCoy, he came to Kansas in the fall of 1833, bringing with him the first Kansas printing-press, which was set up at the Shawnee Baptist mission, in what is now Johnson county. The first issue was the Delaware First Book, in March, 1834. Of the many books and pamphlets printed by

PEORIA AND KASKASKIA, WEA AND PIANKESHAW.

It is difficult to determine just when the Wea, Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankeshaw Indians first came to Kansas. They made treaties of cession in 1833: but allusions in those treaties show that some of their number had already emigrated. It is still more difficult to disassociate any one of the four tribes from the other. They were neighbors in their old Illinois home and neighbors in Kansas. They are almost always mentioned together in the government records, and it is not at all surprising that they eventually affiliated as a single tribe.

In 1833 the United States increased the Indian emigration to Kansas by agreeing to possess the Peorias and Kaskaskias* of 96,000 acres, and the Weas and Piankeshaws of 160,000.† The two reservations were located side by side, immediately south of the Shawnee lands. The larger of the two fronted Missouri, and extended fifteen miles north and south by sixteen and two-thirds miles east and west; the smaller lay to the westward and bordered upon the Ottawa reserve.

KICKAPOO.

By a very early treaty, that of Edwardsville,‡ negotiated in 1819, the Kickapoo Indians were promised a grant of land which should be situated within the territory of Missouri. That grant was resigned some fourteen years later in favor of another which bordered upon the Missouri state line and the northern part of the Delaware lands.§

QUAPAW.

In 1834 the Quapaws, the unfortunate remnants of the old Arkansa Indians, were placed upon a tract of 150 sections. Ten years earlier they had been the victims of Southern politics: that is, they had been prevailed upon by the United States to vacate their own lands, in order to make way for the possible emigration of the Choctaws. They were the first western Indians to feel the ill effects of the removal scheme. For a time they dwelt with the Caddoes, of Louisiana, and then applied for a separate reservation. One was assigned them as an act of justice in 1834,¶ only twelve sections of which lay in Kansas, as was discovered when the state line was run, in 1857.** In 1867 the Quapaws disposed of those twelve sections by ceding eleven and one-half to the federal government and presenting the remaining one-half to Samuel G. Vallier.††

CHEROKEE.

In 1834 the Cherokees, realizing that not even the decision of the United States supreme court could protect them against injustice,‡‡ prepared to emigrate

Mr. Meeker at this station and at the Ottawa mission, to which he moved in 1837, the Historical Society has the following: Cahta Holisso, cikosi aikhana; Shawnee Baptist mission, J. Meeker, printer, 1835. The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, translated into the Delaware language, in 1806, by Rev. David Zeisberger; retranslated by I. D. Blanchard; J. Meeker, printer, Shawnee Baptist mission, 1837. Original and Select Hymns in the Ottawa Language, by Jotham Meeker, Shawnee, I. T., 1845. Ottawa First Book, and Ottawa Laws, by Jotham Meeker, second edition, Ottawa Mission, 1850. Isaac McCoy's Annual Register was also published by Mr. Meeker. The Society has also four large manuscript volumes of Mr. Meeker's correspondence, and his diary, 1832-'55, in three volumes. He died at Ottawa Mission in January, 1855.—Ed.

* 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 404.

† 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 410.

‡ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 200.

§ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 391.

¶ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 424.

** Act of Congress, July 8, 1856, 11 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 27, 139.

†† 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 514.

‡‡ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 156, 414, 478.

west of the Mississippi. President Jackson had already given them to understand that there was to be no more temporizing. Go they must, because the sovereign state of Georgia, coveting their lands and particularly their gold-fields, had so decreed. A tract of seven million acres, lying mostly in the present Indian Territory, was set apart for their use: but even then they had fairly to be driven into exile, and Gen. Winfield Scott, at the head of a strong military force, was detailed for the accomplishment of the work. Had the Cherokees contented themselves with these seven million acres they could not have properly been called Kansas emigrants: because their reserve extended only a very short distance beyond the thirty-seventh parallel.* In 1836, however, they purchased the Osage "buffer state" from the general government for \$500,000.† It comprised about 800,000 acres: but the Cherokees never actually occupied it. It lay directly east of the Osage reserve, and presumably bordered upon the Quapaw strip. That proved a mistaken notion when the land came to be surveyed; for it was then found that, between the two tracts, lay a tiny ribbon of public domain.‡

CHIPPEWA.

Between the years 1833 and 1836, the United States entered into several treaty arrangements with the various Chippewa bands. In 1836 the Swan Creek and Black River Chippewas were granted land in what is now Franklin county, Kansas.§ It was a small reservation, covering approximately 8320 acres, yet proved amply sufficient for their needs. In 1838 the Saginaw band of Chippewas, by treaty with the federal government,¶ were promised a reservation southwest of the Missouri river. A later treaty, amendatory ** in its nature, located the land a trifle more definitely on the head waters of the Osage. That would have brought the hitherto scattered bands very close together; but apparently the Saginaws never came to Kansas.

IOWA, SAC AND FOX OF MISSOURI.

In 1837 two tribes, the Iowas and the confederated Sacs and Foxes of Missouri,†† each received a grant of 200 sections lying immediately north of the Kickapoo reservation, and extending a considerable distance beyond the fortieth parallel. Their grants might very aptly be called the twin reservations, as they were made by the same instrument and were exactly the same size and shape. The entire tract of 400 sections was in the form of a rectangle, and Rev. Isaac McCoy, who, by the way, surveyed the greater number of the Kansas reserves, assigned each of the two parties its 200 sections in such a manner that the original tract was divided diagonally from the northwest to the southeast, the lower half being given to the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri and the upper half to the Iowas.

POTTAWATOMIE.

Early in 1837 a treaty was proclaimed ††† by which, in consideration for the cession of much coveted lands in Indiana, the Pottawatomie Indians were promised a tract of country on the Osage river, southwest of Missouri, "sufficient in extent and adapted to their habits and wants." The treaty was negotiated, as Indian

* Report of the United States Land Office, 1867, pp. 89, 90.

† 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 478; Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1859, p. 163.

‡ Report of Secretary of Interior, 1869, p. 71.

§ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 504.

¶ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 530.

** 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 548.

†† 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 511.

††† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 710-715; 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 533.

treaties so often were, to our national discredit, in a rather questionable manner; for, instead of dealing with the tribe in its authorized council, the federal agents conferred with individual chiefs. Notwithstanding, the senate ratified the treaty in due season, and McCoy was instructed to lay out a reservation in the Marais des Cygnes valley. The Indians occupied it for about ten years and then moved northward in 1847-'48.

The second Pottawatomie reserve was situated in one of the most fertile districts of Kansas. It was a part, and that the most eastern, of the old Kansa reserve. Its eastern boundary lay two miles west of Topeka and sixty-two miles west of the Missouri river.* A few weeks before the arrival of the Pottawatomes some Jesuits established St. Mary's Mission † almost in the center of the reservation, and the Indians very conveniently made it the nucleus of their new settlement. The Pawnees, who had agreed with the United States in 1834 ‡ to retire north of the Platte, resented the presence of the Pottawatomes and continually committed depredations upon them. In 1850 a regular war § was declared. Henceforth the immigrants were left in undisturbed possession.¶

NEW YORK INDIAN.

The treaty of Buffalo creek, negotiated in 1838, attempted to provide a home in Kansas for the Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, St. Regis, Stockbridges, Munsees, and Brothertowns, who had been the victims of unscrupulous speculators. The history of the affair goes back to the compact of 1786, which conceded to Massachusetts a preemptive right, based upon charter grant, to certain lands in western New York.** Such a preemption right signified nothing more nor less than the privilege of buying out the Indian occupants; and after passing through various hands it was transferred to the Ogden Land Company.

In the decade succeeding the war of 1812, the holders of the preemptive right

*St. Mary's Times, October 25, 1877.

† FATHER CHRISTIAN HOECKEN, a Catholic missionary to the Kickapoos, visited the Pottawatomie Indians on Sugar creek, Kansas, in 1837. The following year he established a permanent mission among them. He appears, from the records of St. Mary's Mission, to have accompanied one of the first parties of Pottawatomes to their new reservation on the Kansas river, in the fall and winter of 1847-'48. Mr. W. W. Cone, in his "History of Shawnee County," under "Auburn Township," says: "A mission was established by the Catholics in the fall of 1847 for the Pottawatomie Indians at the junction of the east, middle and west branches of the Wakarusa river. . . . About twenty log cabins were built here by them. In the spring following the Indians found that they had located by mistake on Shawnee lands, and, as they could not draw their annuity until they were on their own land, they moved to the north side of the Kaw river, near the center of the reservation, and established a mission there. . . . On the 12th day of August, 1854, Mr. J. W. Brown purchased of the Shawnees some of these cabins and their right to a part of the land."—Ed.

‡ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 448.

§ "From the time of the arrival of the Pottawatomes at their new home they lived at peace with the government, and had no difficulty with the neighboring tribes, except in 1850, when, on account of frequent depredations committed by the Pawnee tribe, the Pottawatomes declared war against them. The first engagement between the warriors of the two tribes was on the east side of the Blue river, near the Rocky Ford, and on territory now included within the limits of Pottawatomie county. In this engagement the Pottawatomes were victorious, and compelled the Pawnees to retreat west to Chapman creek; here the Pawnees rallied, and here was fought a fierce and bloody battle, in which some of the Pottawatomie braves displayed great valor and won for themselves great fame as warriors among the members of their tribe; one of the braves, Now-quah-ge-zbick, particularly distinguished himself by daring feats of bravery and the number of scalps of the enemy which he took in the battle. The Pottawatomes came off victorious, and forever after lived in peace."—James S. Merritt, in *Wamego Tribune*, June 6, 1879.—Ed.

¶ The Westmoreland Recorder and Period, January 7, 1886.

** Journal of Congress, 1787, vol. 4.

conspired with speculators, political demagogues and a few traitorous chiefs to dispossess the New York Indians by inducing their removal to Wisconsin. A personal appeal was made to President Monroe; yet there is no evidence that either he or Congress sanctioned the matter. Nevertheless, it was represented to the unsuspecting Indians that they might purchase of their own accord a reservation in the neighborhood of Green Bay. They did so, but their title was soon contested, on the ground that Indians could not purchase in their own right.

An adjustment of the dispute over the Green Bay lands was amicably sought for in the negotiation of the treaty of 1838; but speculators, concerned only with their own selfish interests, managed to defeat the ends of justice. They succeeded in bribing the Massachusetts commission and the United States agents to make *removal* a prominent feature of the treaty. The main body of the Indians stubbornly resisted, but the chiefs again proved perfidious. Indeed, a most suggestive fact was brought out in the later senate speeches on ratification. It was then shown that every chief that had knowingly signed the document to remove his people westward held a private contract with the Ogden Land Company. Such as had signed it unknowingly were, at the time, too intoxicated to need further bribe. Van Buren declared the whole transaction "a most iniquitous proceeding." The treaty went to the senate and was there bitterly contested. It was finally ratified, through the casting vote of the vice president, on a day when many of the really honest friends of the Indians happened to be absent, March 25, 1840.*

President Van Buren proclaimed the treaty of Buffalo creek in due season, but the Indians were not satisfied. "Fearful and sullen, they refused to leave Wisconsin. The action of President Jackson with the Seminoles of Florida could not be repeated with the Senecas of New York. They could not be forcibly transported. Investigations in New York, in Massachusetts, and in Congress, largely stimulated by the Society of Friends, laid bare the whole plot, and threatened to bring about the amendment of the treaty, which, by the way, was never constitutionally ratified in the Council of the Six Nations. As the title of 'innocent purchasers' from the Ogden Land Company seemed to be imperiled, a compromise was effected in the shape of the supplementary treaty of 1842." Thereupon the territory in New York, secured under false pretenses from the Senecas and their allies at the time of their removal to Green Bay, was in part restored to its rightful owners, who, in turn, agreed to exchange the Wisconsin purchase for 1,874,000 acres west of Missouri.

The New York Indian reserve was laid off in rectangular form, north of the Osage and the Cherokee neutral lands; but in years that followed only thirty-two persons applied for patents for the 320 acres which the treaty provided should be given on application to every individual. This gave rise to a very interesting lawsuit. A proviso in the treaty had stipulated that "should the Indians not agree to remove within five years, or such time after the ratification of the treaty as the president might determine upon, they should forfeit all right and interest in and to the reservation." In 1860 President Buchanan declared the unoccupied reserve public domain and threw it open to settlement. The Indians protested, and preferred an indemnity claim against the federal government. The matter was pending in Congress for nigh upon twenty years. Finally, under the provisions of the Bowman act, March 3, 1883,† a resolution was adopted referring the case to the court of claims to find the facts. Then the Indians, upon the basis of those findings, demanded payment. In January, 1893, Congress

* Congressional Record, January to April, 1840; 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 550-561.

† 22 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 485, 486.

passed an act authorizing the court of claims to render judgment upon the facts found,* with the right of appeal to the United States supreme court resting in both parties. Thereupon the court of claims dismissed the petition, or, in other words, decided in favor of the government. In 1898 the Indians appealed the case, with the result that the decision of the lower court was reversed and their own claim allowed.†

MIAMI.

In 1839 the United States agreed ‡ “to possess the Miami Indians of and to guarantee to them forever a country west of the Mississippi river, to remove to and settle on, where the said tribe [might] be so disposed.” A second treaty,§ confirming the grant of the first, was made in 1841. “In 1846, eight hundred Miamis settled on Sugar creek, in the southeastern part of Miami county. Their reservation, estimated to contain the equivalent of their old lands in Indiana, or about 500,000 acres, was situated west of the Missouri line and between the New York Indian and Wea-Piankeshaw lands. In 1847 a second emigration from Indiana took place, and three hundred souls were added to the Sugar Creek settlement. The following year five hundred recrossed the Mississippi, and the federal government acquiesced in their departure. The settlement in Kansas was then moved from Sugar creek to the Marais des Cygnes.¶

SAC AND FOX OF MISSISSIPPI.

In 1841, in exchange for about three-fourths of Iowa, the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi** were granted a reservation of thirty miles square, west of the Chipewas. Their agreement with the United States simply specified that “the president should assign them and their descendants a permanent and perpetual residence upon the Missouri river or some of its waters.” They came to Kansas in 1845, numbering less than a thousand souls. “At first they lingered on the banks of the Wakarusa, and later established themselves in their wickyups near Quenemo.”††

WYANDOT.

In 1848 the Wyandots, reputed nephews of the Delawares, urged the United States government to purchase for them from their uncles a small tract of land which lay in the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. It was part of the Delaware reserve; and, in compliance with the Wyandot plea, Congress adopted ‡‡ a resolution authorizing its transfer.§§ This small reservation — only thirty-nine

* 27 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 426.

† 30 Court of Claims Reports, 413; 170 U. S. 1, 614; 173 U. S. 964; 18 Supreme Court Reporter, 531, 735; 19 Supreme Court Reporter.

‡ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 569.

§ 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 582.

¶ E. W. Robinson, History of Miami County.

** 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 596.

†† James Rogers, History of Osage County, in Edwards's Atlas; Report of Indian Commissioner, 1859, p. 152.

‡‡ 9 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 337.

§§ By the treaty of 1842 the Wyandots ceded their lands in Ohio and Michigan to the United States, and were promised in return “a tract of west of the Mississippi, to contain 148,000 acres.” This land, they understood, was to be located on the Kansas river, but upon examination “it was found, however, that there was no land in the vicinity in which they desired to locate which did not belong to some of the tribes which had previously been removed. On December 14, 1843, a purchase of 23,040 acres of land was made from the Delawares. This tract included the present town of Wyandotte.”—Andreas, 1883, p. 1227. By treaty of 1850, the government made final settlement with the Wyandots for the unfulfilled provisions of the treaty of 1842, one item of which was a sum “to pay and extinguish all their just debts, as well as what is now due to the Delawares for the purchase of their lands.” The Wyandots emigrated to Kansas in July, 1843.

sections in extent — was not, however, the only Wyandot land in Kansas, although it was all that the tribe held in common. Such other lands as the Wyandots possessed in the trans-Missouri region have been very significantly designated the "Wyandot floats," and the meaning of the term can best be understood if their history be told. By the treaty of 1842,* certain members of the Wyandot tribe were given the right to choose 640 acres of public land apiece anywhere west of the Mississippi. These preemptions, or "floats," were located very generally in Kansas. They were extremely convenient for town sites; because they could be acquired without the trouble and expense of complying with the ordinary preemption laws. This would not have been possible had they been held by the usual occupancy title. It is interesting to know that Lawrence was located on the Robert Robertaile † float, and West Lawrence on the Joel Walker float. Topeka, Manhattan and Emporia were also built upon Wyandot floats. Some of the floats were illegally located on the Shawnee reserve prior to July 9, 1858, at which date that land was publicly thrown open to settlement. ‡

MUNSEE.

The last Indian reservation to be laid out in Kansas was the Munsee, a tiny subdivision of the Delaware, provided for by one of the Manypenny treaties of 1854. § It consisted of four sections of land situated near the city of Leavenworth, and is now the site of the Old Soldiers' Home and of Mount Muncie Cemetery. The fathers of the emigrants, perchance even they themselves, were among the survivors of the terrible Gnauden Hutten massacre; and the story of their wanderings in search of the Kansas refuge for Indian exiles reads like a romance of the olden time. ¶ But they came to Kansas too late to enjoy peace, and after a sojourn of four years sold their reservation, under the sanction of an act** of Congress, to A. J. Isacks.

II.—EXTINCTION OF THE RESERVATION TITLES.

Scarcely were the emigrant tribes fairly established on their respective reservations when a movement arose in the political circles at Washington to disestablish them. So soon had the nation forgotten its sacred guaranty that Kansas should be an Indian territory forever, and that the reservation lands should belong to the red men "as long as the grass should grow and the water should run."

One important objection to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and an objection heretofore overlooked, or at least unremarked, was that the territory, the organization of which was in contemplation, could not be legally appropriated until the Indian occupancy title had been extinguished. This was an objection more fundamental in its nature than any other presented, because it involved the faith of the nation as that faith had been most solemnly expressed in treaties. It is said, and doubtless with truth, that, among the many occasions for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, was the fear that, unless something were done, and that quickly, the broad plains lying east of the Rockies would, as a permanent Indian reservation, be forever closed to civilization.

It is a matter of common belief that, prior to 1854, Kansas was untraversed

* 7 U. S. Statutes at Large, app. v, p. 608.

† This spelling accords with the U. S. Revision of Indian Treaties, 1873, p. 1020. Connelley, in his Provisional Government of Nebraska, p. 420, spells the name "Robitaille."

‡ *McAlpine v. Henshaw*, 6 Kan. 176; *Walker v. Henshaw*, 83 U. S., 16 Wallace, 436. Another instructive case on Wyandot floats is *Gray v. Coffman*, 3 Dillon, 393. A complete list of the Wyandot floats may be found in Senate Documents, 1857-'58, vol. 2, pp. 274, 275.

§ 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1051.

* Sen. Docs. 1839-'40, vol. 2, No. 355; Report of Indian Commissioner, 1857-'58, No. 524.

** 11 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 312.

by white men. This is a mistaken idea. Aside from regularly organized exploring expeditions, various things, such as trade routes, mission stations, military posts, and the Mexican war, had enabled the hardy pioneer to become more or less familiar with the "Great American Desert." Up to the time of Mexican independence the hostility of the Spaniards was a great obstacle to commercial intercourse with the Southwest. None the less, from the beginning of the nineteenth century the trade along the Santa Fe trail was a highly profitable one, especially after a right of way had been secured from the Great and Little Osages. The Mexican war caused a temporary break, but peace brought renewed activity, and among the many material advantages derived from that most unjust of American wars, acquaintance with Kansas was certainly not the least. The soldier was succeeded by the California gold-seeker, and the "forty-niner," in his turn, by the Mormon enthusiast. Their passing through was the signal for the Indian to decamp. He lingered on the prairie only just long enough for the government to give a legal coloring to his expulsion and then was again an exile.

Although it was a well-understood thing that the trans-Missouri region was to belong exclusively to the Indians, the very coming of the red men induced the coming of the white. Coexistent with the establishment of the Indian reservation was the establishment of the military post. A cantonment on the present site of Fort Leavenworth was erected in 1827, and by the spring of 1854 Kansas was wholly under military supervision. It would hardly be fair to say that the soldiers were brought here to keep the Indians in subjection, although, as the Indian bureau was then a subdivision of the war department, it would be a natural supposition. The excuse for the soldiers' presence was primarily the protection of the frontier, and secondarily the maintenance of peace among the widely differing tribes. Civilians followed in the wake of the army; for white men cultivated the military reserve, white men conducted the Indian trade, and white men presided over the Indian schools and missions. Furthermore, Kansas was the starting-point for all expeditions that followed the Oregon trail. It was the connecting link between the far Northwest and the far Southwest. Is it any wonder, then, that steps were taken in the early '50's to undo what had been done in the '30's?

The first indication that the idea of breaking faith with the Indians had gained ground at Washington, and that the administration was favorable to it, was seen in the visit which George W. Manypenny paid to the emigrants in the winter of 1853-'54. If, as Indian commissioner, his sole object was to negotiate treaties of cession, he succeeded most admirably, and during the months subsequent to May, 1854—at which time the Douglas measure became a law—President Pierce was able to proclaim treaties that his agent had successfully consummated with the Otoes and Missouriias, the Delawares, the Kickapoos, the Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri.

OTOE AND MISSOURIA.

The first treaty of secondary Kansas cessions to be ratified after the passage of the organic act* was that to which the Otoes and Missouriias† were a party. These Indians were native to northeastern Kansas and southeastern Nebraska: but, being constrained by the treaty of 1834‡ to remain north of the Little Nemaha

*10 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 277.

†In 1723 Bourgmont located the Missouriias on the river of that name, thirty leagues below the mouth of the Kansas. Soon afterwards the tribe was greatly reduced in numbers by war and smallpox, and the majority of the tribe took refuge with the Otoes in Nebraska, and were living in a village near the Otoes on the Platte river, a few miles above its mouth, in 1842.

‡7 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 429.

river, they would not be entitled to consideration in this thesis were it not for the fact that their reservation, as laid out by the government, extended a short distance south of the fortieth parallel. In the winter of 1853-'54, George W. Many-penny gained their consent* to the relinquishment of all their territory west of the Missouri river except a strip ten miles wide and twenty-five miles long which was situated on the waters of the Big Blue. This cession was conditional upon the payment of annuities. For several years thereafter the Otoes and Missourias lived quietly upon their diminished reserve; but finally, as might have been expected, would-be settlers staked out illegal claims. Complaints from the Indians amounted to nothing until, by act of Congress, March 3, 1881,† the whole band was given permission to remove to the Indian Territory.

In recent years the quieting of the title to the Otoe and Missouri lands in Kansas and Nebraska has caused considerable discussion. The congressional enactment just mentioned arranged for an auction sale of the diminished reserve; and preliminary thereto the government appraised it. The estimated value was \$256,000. Cattlemen, anxious to prevent *bona fide* settlement, took an active part in the auction; and, by means of "straw bids," raised the price far above the means of the settlers and above the appraised value. The sale was set aside as fraudulent and nearly all the participants were sentenced to a term in the Penitentiary.

Later on, a second auction sale of the Otoe and Missouri lands was provided for, the result of which can best be understood in the light of later events. The settlers, fearing to be outbid a second time, and resting under the impression that they had the verbal guaranty of the land-office commissioner that, no matter what they might bid, the lands would be assured to them at the appraised value, offered \$516,000; but when the Indians insisted upon the payment of that sum, the settlers cited the promise of the commissioner in order to free themselves from the obligation. For nearly twenty years the settlers lived upon the lands, tax free and rent free, without paying a single cent of either principal or interest to the Indians, who clamored for the payment of the debt. Finally the settlers had the impudence to ask Congress to effect a compromise, and, in the end, the matter was adjusted to their satisfaction.‡

DELAWARE.

The Delaware reserve, lying near the Missouri line and north of the Kansas river, covered a region so productive and so advantageously situated that it proved an early prey to the squatter. A treaty was proclaimed July 17, 1854.§ It provided for two cessions, the one conditional, the other unconditional. The unconditional cession comprehended the transfer of the "outlet" to the general government for a cash payment of \$10,000. The conditional cession was a conveyance of lands in trust, and included all of the reservation proper excepting the thirty-nine sections that had already been sold to the Wyandots, four sections that were about to be sold to the Marsees, and a tract that was to be retained for the use of the tribe. The last named constituted the "diminished reserve" and, "extending westward forty miles from the western boundary of the Wyandot lands, was ten miles wide at its western extremity." A clause, said to have been inserted at the suggestion of Senator David R. Atchison, in order to prevent men too poor to hold slaves* from possessing any of the land,

* Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 633-641; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1038, *et passim*.

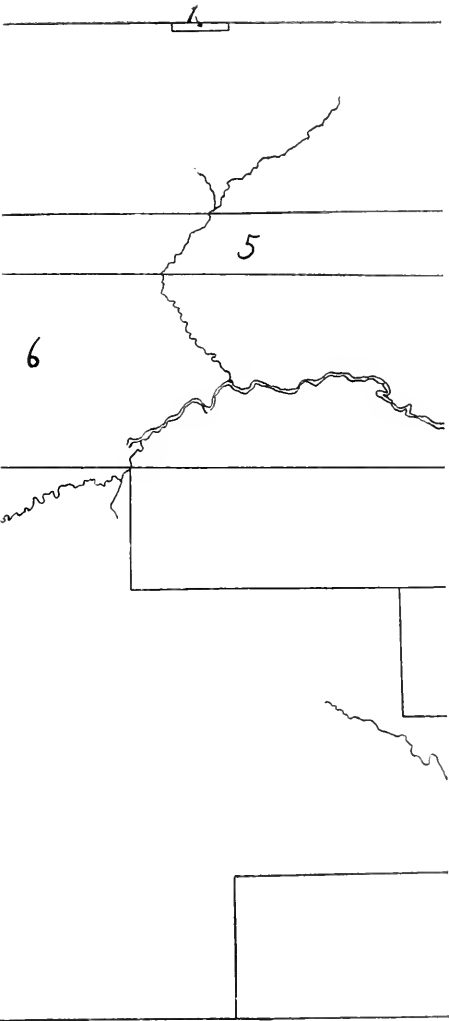
† 21 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 380, 381.

‡ 31 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 59.

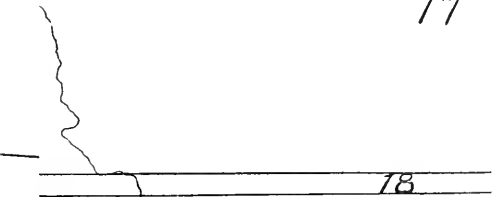
§ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 340-345; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1048-1052.

* Webb Scrap Books, 1: 60, Kansas Historical Library.

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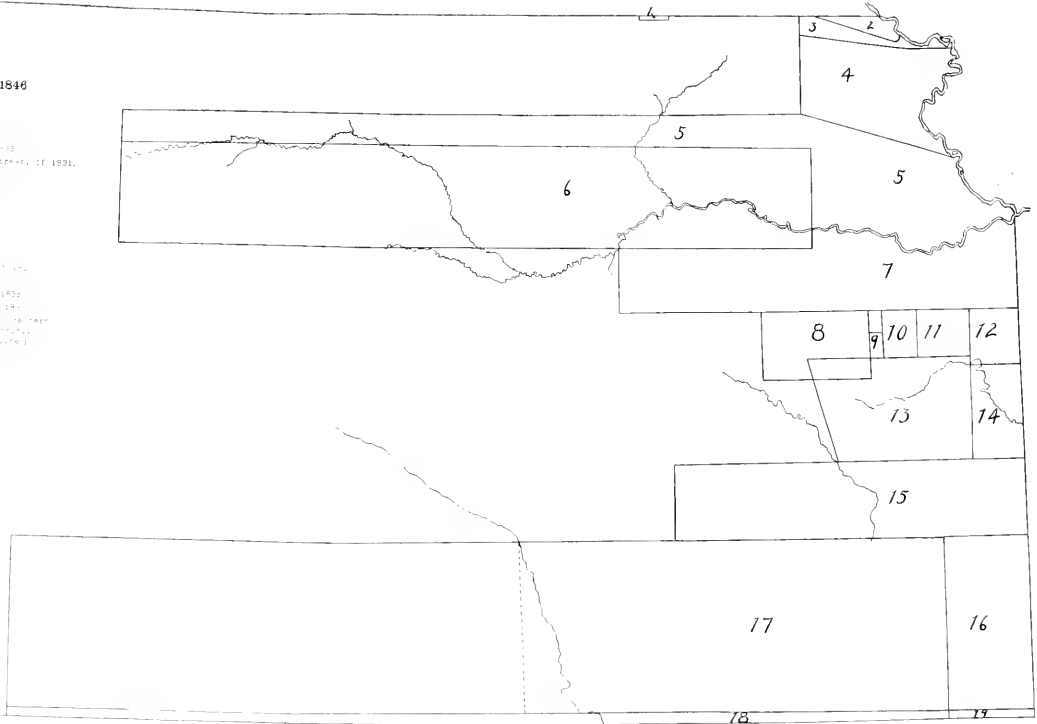
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INDIAN RESERVATIONS
 In territory included in Kansas, 1846

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stipulated that as soon as the trust lands had been surveyed they should be put up at public auction. Such as remained unsold were to be "subject to private entry, and, after three years, graduated in price until all had been disposed of."

The Delaware trust lands covered a part of the counties of Leavenworth and Atchison, in addition to about one-half of Jefferson. By order of the Interior Department, their sale was advertised to begin at Fort Leavenworth November 17, 1854, to be limited at first to the land lying east of ranges 18 and 19, and to continue until December 13, 1856. The land west of those two ranges was sold at Osawkie* in the summer of 1857.

The approaching first sale † produced great excitement, owing to a misconception of the real nature of Indian trust lands, which are not in any legal way disencumbered of the occupancy title, but only temporarily conveyed to the general government, in order that they may be sold "upon the account and for the benefit" of the reservees. The legal title, domain and jurisdiction are in the United States, to be sure: but the equitable beneficiary interest remains in the original owners. Contrary to this view, the would-be settlers were inclined to regard the trust lands as public domain, and therefore immediately subject to preemption under existing laws. They also professed to believe that the sixteenth article of the Delaware treaty, which extended the application of the act of March 3, 1807, ‡ had been nullified by the act of July 22, 1854, § which had rendered Kansas and Nebraska subject to the operation of the preemption law of 1841. ¶ This gave rise to a dispute over the relative importance of a treaty and a statute. It was entirely irrelevant, however, because the congressional enactment in no sense contemplated the preemption of territory in which the Indian tribes held a reserved interest.

For several weeks prior to the auction, the Delaware trust lands were the scene of dire confusion. At first log cabins, and later such rude contrivances as four crossed sticks, were used to mark the staking out of claims. Meanwhile the squatters beguiled the time with riotous living. They even gambled away the fertile farms that, for them, as yet lay only in the bright land of prospect. The greed for territory was contagious. Army officers and territorial officials shared in the general uproar, and, as later investigations into their conduct ** divulged, they even connived at every possible invasion of Indian rights.

In 1860 another treaty was concluded with the Delawares, whereby provision was made for a portion of their diminished reserve †† to be allotted in severalty, not only to members of the tribe at the time residing in Kansas, but likewise to some absentee Delawares dwelling with the southern Indians, if they would return to their own people. Until they did so return, the land intended for them was to be held in common by the resident Delawares. The treaty further provided that the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railway Company might have the privilege of buying what remained of the diminished reserve. The conditions under which the railroad company was to have the land were not complied with, and, in 1861, it was found necessary to make other arrangements with the same corporation. ††† A sale of 223,890.94 acres was finally effected: but a note-

* Historical Society Collections, v. 5, pp. 367, 375.

† Andreas's History of Kansas, pp. 419-422.

‡ 2 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 445. § 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 310.

¶ 5 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 456-460.

** House Ex. Docs., 33 Cong., 2d session, No. 50.

†† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 345-350; Andreas's History of Kansas, p. 509; 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1129-1134.

††† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 350-362; 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1177-1185.

worthy circumstance connected with it illustrates remarkably well the advantage so often taken of the too-trusting Indians. The railroad company paid down no money whatever, but gave a mortgage on a part of the land to secure to the poor Delawares the payment of the whole.

In 1866 the same Indians, having become weary of living a restricted life on their separate allotments, resolved to emigrate to the Indian Territory and resume the old life in common. Accordingly a treaty* was drawn up by which they ceded in trust all of their remaining Kansas lands. The secretary of the interior was authorized to sell the same, if possible, to the Missouri Pacific railroad. The sale was made the following year: but in the meantime, "in order to vest every future holder of the real estate with a government title, all the lands were deeded in trust to Alexander Caldwell, who gave a deed to each Indian holding an allotment under the treaty of 1860. The lands then remaining unsold and unoccupied were sold at \$2.50 per acre to the railroad syndicate—Thomas A. Scott, of Pennsylvania, Thomas L. Price, L. T. Smith, Alex. Caldwell, Oliver A. Hart and others to the number of thirteen."† Thus abruptly was the Delaware history in the trans-Missouri region brought to a close.

KICKAPOO.

By one of the so-called Manypenny treaties of 1854,‡ the Kickapoos ceded unconditionally to the general government the larger portion of their reservation, "which seems to have occupied parts of Brown, Atchison and Jackson counties." The cession comprised the whole of the tract of 1200 square miles conveyed to them in 1833, with the exception of 150,000 acres in the western part, at the head of the Grasshopper river.

Several years later another treaty, negotiated in 1862, and ratified with an important senate amendment in 1863,§ provided for the disposition of the Kickapoo diminished reserve. Every chief signing the treaty received 320 acres, every head of a family 160 acres, and every other person in the tribe forty acres; but only those sufficiently advanced in civilization and desirous of severing their connection with the main body received an allotment in severalty. The others received their shares in an undivided quantity, and held the tract in common by the same tenure as the entire tribe had held the original reservation. Upon the president was conferred the discretionary power of granting to the allottees a title in fee simple whenever they should be "sufficiently intelligent and prudent to control their own affairs." The land, when conveyed in fee simple, could be alienated by the Indians and taxed by the state.

An additional provision was made in the Kickapoo treaty of 1863 for the setting aside of 1120 acres for miscellaneous purposes, and of forty acres for each Kickapoo absent with the southern Indians, provided he returned to Kansas within one year from the ratification of the treaty. The remaining Kickapoo lands were ceded in trust to the United States, for the purpose of selling them to the Atchison & Pike's Peak Railroad Company, whose agents, it is said, practically drafted the treaty. At any rate, they went around among the Indians and secured individual marks, instead of trusting to a possible ratification in the general council of the tribe. In 1865 the United States succeeded in selling 123,832.61 acres, lying mostly in Brown county, to the railroad. Almost immediately the lands were advertised, and, as "all time purchasers were required to improve one-tenth each year, the reserve was soon dotted over with farms."

* Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 362-369; 14 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 793-798.

† Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Wyandotte County, p. 154.

‡ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 443-447; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1078.

§ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 447-454; 13 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 623.

The Kickapoos still own a much diminished reserve in Kansas. Ever since allotment in severalty was first permitted, the Indians have been given a personal interest just as quickly as their progress has seemed to justify it, so that at the present time only 6468 acres remain unallotted. That tract is held in common. In 1896-'97 the commissioner of Indian affairs reported that out of it a lease of 5828 acres had been made in favor of George W. Leverton for a period of five years. The remaining 640 acres are temporarily reserved for school purposes.*

IOWA, SAC AND FOX OF MISSOURI.

The cessions made in 1854 by the Iowas[†] and the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri[‡] comprised land lying almost entirely in Nebraska, and are therefore not entitled in this paper to a detailed description. Suffice it to say, that the Iowas ceded a large acreage in trust, which, embracing some of the best lands in Brown county, were sold at Iowa Point from June 5 to June 9, 1857. They retained a diminished reserve which, with the exception of 16,000 acres, they ceded[‡] nine years afterwards to the general government for the use and benefit of the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, who at the same time made a new disposition of the fifty sections which the tribe had retained in common under the treaty of 1854. They set aside one section for miscellaneous purposes and one and one eighth sections for various individuals, 160 acres for Joseph Tesson and for each of three chiefs, and eighty acres for George Gomess. At the present time nearly all the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri have taken allotments and have received their head rights. Their reservation in consequence is reduced to about 8000 acres, of which perhaps one-third lies north of the fortieth parallel.

MIAMI.

Miami county, Kansas, bears a most appropriate name, for, of all the Indian tribes that helped to colonize it and the surrounding country, the Miami was decidedly the most important, both in point of numbers and of influence.[¶] After the organization of Kansas Territory, white people, as has been already intimated, encroached to such an alarming extent upon the Indian lands that the federal government was forced, with unseemly haste, to extinguish the occupancy title. Naturally the lands adjoining Missouri were the first to be disencumbered and preempted. The Miami reservation, easily accessible to the South, was coveted almost as much as the Delaware and the Shawnee. It was soon seized by squatters, and in order to allay the apprehension of the Indians, the federal government purchased the greater part of it for \$200,000, in August, 1854.**

The reservation contained originally about 500,000 acres. The Miamis kept 72,000 acres and sold the rest. The tract reserved was to be apportioned as follows: 640 acres to be set aside for educational purposes, 200 acres to be assigned in severalty to every member of the tribe, and the residue, about 20,000 acres, to be held for the time being in common. The treaty provided, likewise, that the president "might cause patents to issue to single persons and to heads of families for the lands selected by or for them, subject to such restrictions respecting leases and alienation as the president or Congress of the United States" might "impose, and the lands thus patented" should "not be liable to levy, sale, execution,

* 13 House Documents, p. 39.

† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 403-407; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1069-1073.

‡ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 758-762; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1074-1077.

§ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 777-781; 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1171-1175.

¶ *Miami Republican*, March 21, 1879.

** 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1093-1100.

or forfeiture; provided, that the legislature of a state within which the ceded country" might be thereafter embraced might, "with the consent of Congress, remove such restrictions." In 1873 Congress did remove the restrictions in cases where title had legally passed to white citizens.*

In the later '60's, the anti-Indian feeling in Kansas was exceedingly bitter. Utterly regardless of the fact that the land had only a short time before been assured to the tribes in perpetuity, settlers viewed their presence as an intrusion. Such presumption was excusable only when due weight was given to the atrocities of the Indians of the plains, and now we know that those same atrocities were often excited by the barbarous cruelty of the troops. To allay the excitement, the federal government opened up negotiations with various Kansas tribes. The result was the omnibus treaty of 1868. Thereupon the Miamis agreed to dispose of their remaining lands west of the Missouri river and move to the Indian Territory. They selected a place on Spring river and settled there in 1871.†

A congressional act approved March 3, 1873,‡ arranged not only for the sale of their school-section and unallotted lands, but also for the abolition of their tribal relations and the union with the Wea and other Indians§ of such as did not wish to become citizens of the United States. A commission appointed under this act¶, appraised the Miami lands, and its report was duly approved by the Department of the Interior. The unoccupied lands, including the school sections, were advertised for sale February 20, 1874, and sold under sealed bids.**

WEA, PEORIA, KASKASKIA, AND PIANKESHAW.

By 1854 the Wea, Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankeshaw Indians had become confederated as a single tribe, and one of the Manypenny treaties provided for a cession in trust of the greater part of their consolidated reserve.†† Certain lands were withheld from the cession: namely, one section for the American Missionary Society, ten sections for a reserve in common, and more than enough besides to give every individual of the united bands a quarter-section allotment. Selections to the allottees were approved by President Buchanan August 28, 1858, and the land over and above the allotments was sold to the highest bidder for cash. The sales of some of the trust lands were approved July 1, 1859.

The confederated Indians, like their neighbors, the Miamis, figured as parties to the omnibus treaty of 1867-'68.‡‡ By its terms provision was made for admittance to citizenship, for removal to the Indian Territory, and for the final disposal of Kansas land. A schedule attached to the document throws considerable light upon Indian methods. In the first place it shows that the ten-section reserve—which in reality contained only nine and one-half sections—was sold to actual settlers for cash; and in the second place, that the red men were often as accomplished in the art of trickery as the white. In the final division of the land, minors were often counted as adults with large families. One of the minors was Kimolaniah, the son of an Indian interpreter, Baptiste Peoria, who sold the land of Kimolaniah and of Kimolaniah's reputed children, under the pre-

* 17 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 417.

† *Miami Republican*, March 21, 1879; Robinson's History of Miami County.

‡ 17 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 631-635.

§ Report of Indian Commissioner, 1880.

¶ Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1873, pp. 18, 200.

** Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874, p. 19.

†† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 426-432; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1082-1087

‡‡ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 839-852; 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 513-529.

tense that the owners had died and that he was the heir at law. Many lawsuits grew out of the attempted fraud.

SHAWNEE.

Perhaps the most important of the Manypenny treaties ratified in 1854* was that by which the Shawnees surrendered their immense reserve of 1,600,000 acres and received one-eighth of it back again for distribution among the tribe. The re-ceded tract lay almost wholly within the limits of Johnson county, and its nearness to the Missouri border made it an inevitable prey to illegal settlement. Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual, including absentee Shawnees, Shawnees by adoption, females, minors, and incompetents. Such as preferred it might, as communities, receive their portion in an undivided quantity; and, at the time of the cession, the followers of Longtail and of Black Bob seemed disposed to profit by the arrangement.

Before proceeding to discuss the distribution of the Shawnee land, it might be well to show how the simple fact of receding to the tribe a one-eighth part of the original reserve produced trouble for the tax collector. It all turned on the question whether or not allotment in severalty constituted an extinguishment of the Indian title. The local authorities of Johnson county were disposed to think that it did, and that, therefore, the allotted lands of the Shawnees were subject to state taxation. The holders refused to pay the taxes, however, on the ground that the land was still Indian, and because, under the act of admission,† the state had bound itself never to interfere with the primary disposal of the soil.

The case came before the courts for settlement in 1866, and the district judge for Johnson county rendered a decision adverse to the Indian claim. The Indians appealed the case by petition in error to the Kansas supreme court, and it was there argued that the treaty of 1854, although not expressly stating the fact, had, by necessary implication, invested the individual Shawnees with an absolute and complete title in fee simple. In other words, it was held that the cession of the entire tract had been a surrender of the usufruct, or ordinary occupancy title, and that the retrocession had conferred a new title upon the grantees which was not merely possessory, inchoate, and non-transferable, but of exactly the same legal value as that held by the United States and its citizens. Again the case was appealed on a writ of error, but the second time to the United States supreme court.‡ The result was the decision of the state court was reversed, its construction of the treaty of 1854 being altogether untenable.

In the winter of 1856-'57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith. He found that the Longtail families, comprehending twelve members, now preferred allotments; but that the Black Bobs were still true to their original purpose. He therefore set aside for them, in the present Aubrey and Oxford townships of Johnson county, 33,392.87 acres, approximately the equivalent of 200 acres for each of 167 persons. This tract, lying southeast of Olathe, has every since been known as the Black Bob land, and has been, as we shall presently see, the occasion of much legal and political controversy.

The treaty of 1854, in making provision for the absentee Shawnees, who had gone down to dwell with the southern Indians, stipulated that their individual grants of 200 acres each should be conditional upon their return to Kau-

* 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1653-1663.

† 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 127.

‡ 5 Wallace, 737.

sas within the space of five years, at the expiration of which time all unassigned lands were to be sold. As it happened, the absentees did not return in due season: so, in August of 1863, President Lincoln issued a proclamation to the effect that continued absence and non-alliliation with the tribe had rendered their claim nugatory. The lands, which had already been seized, as usual, by squatters, were ordered to be sold at the land-office in Topeka. The sale did not take place immediately, however. In fact, it was postponed indefinitely, because the squatters—the men most interested in the passing of the Shawnee title—were, for the most part, absent in the United States army. After the war was over, Congress enacted a law, *April, 1869, authorizing permanent and legitimate settlement.

The main body of the Shawnees took their land in severalty; but the process of allotment extended through a series of years: and long before some of the tribe had received their patents, others were ready to sell out and move to the Indian Territory. Such a condition of affairs was only too evident in 1869, when all the lands that had been already allotted and patented were put upon the market. The Indians remained in Johnson county until the early '70's† and then removed to the Indian Territory, there to be consolidated with the Cherokees. Such of their lands as were yet unsold were left in the care of the agency.

During Grant's first term, Dr. Reuben L. Roberts was appointed United States agent to transact business for the Shawnees and to finish up the allotting of the land. Henry McBride, of Olathe, acted as his secretary, and assumed almost complete control of the business, Doctor Roberts being little more than a figure-head. Under the treaty, the allottees were powerless to convey land without the consent of the secretary of the interior. This fact, together with the neglect or incompetency of Doctor Roberts, worked as a first cause to produce some of the great legal complications that have distracted Johnson county during the last forty years.

Trusting implicitly in the Indian agent, the settlers formed the habit of paying his secretary a small fee in order to get him to transmit their Indian deeds to Washington for approval. In many instances the approved deeds were not returned to the settlers, and additional fees were charged, from time to time, ostensibly to hasten official action at headquarters. When at length a barn in which Mr. McBride kept his papers was destroyed by fire, the settlers insisted upon receiving their approved deeds: but were told that the documents had all disappeared in the conflagration. This placed the settlers in a fearful predicament. The Shawnee records were also destroyed, because, when the agent had been ordered to send them down to the Indian Territory, where the tribe then dwelt, his secretary had simply sent abstracts and had retained the originals. Strangely enough, too, the Indian office at Washington had no duplicates or anything to prove that the settlers were the legal occupants of the land.

As always happens under like circumstances, unscrupulous lawyers took advantage of the awkward situation, and until Hon. J. D. Bowersock ‡ succeeded

* 16 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 53; Report of the Secretary of Interior, 1878, p. 144.

† Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1871, p. 497.

‡ JUSTIN D. BOWERSOCK was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, September 19, 1842. At the close of his course in Ohio common schools he engaged in business as a merchant and grain dealer at Iowa City. In September, 1866, he was married to Miss Mary C. Gower. He removed to Kansas in 1877, settling at Lawrence. He became interested in the water-power, and established several manufacturing plants. In 1887 he was elected to the house of representatives, and in 1895 to the state senate. In 1898 the Republicans of the second district nominated him for Congress. He was reelected in 1900, and again in 1902. He also served two terms as mayor of the city of Lawrence.—Ed.

in getting a law passed through Congress to quiet the title, settlers in the region of disputed ownership, that is, in Monticello, Lexington and Olathe townships, were at the mercy of all who chose to assail them. One lawsuit after another summoned them into the court-room, and the pity of it was that no amount of litigation of that kind could ever settle the point at issue. Without the interference of Congress the thing might be repeated *ad infinitum*. An undisturbed possession of thirty or forty years availed nothing as far as the settlers on the Shawnee lands were concerned: for the state law, which gives title after fifteen years of quiet occupancy, is inoperative when applied to land held under Indian title. Whatever it may have done once upon a time in Georgia, state law can never deprive an Indian of his property rights in Kansas.

The material on the Black Bob controversy would make a thesis in itself. The story is a long one and involves much that is too delicate for consideration here. During the civil war the Black Bobs fled from Kansas, leaving their lands open to encroachment and to the unmolested occupation of settlers. Some people say they were scared into flight by troubles on the border: others that they went voluntarily, having never been really satisfied with the location of their communistic settlement. Settlers on the deserted lands remained in possession for several years without the payment of taxes on realty or rents of any kind. Finally the Black Bobs were induced by speculators to petition the general government to allow them to make selections and to receive patents as other Shawnees had done. The prayer was granted: then came the episode of the Black Bob frauds.

Speculators, eager for the opportunity, swarmed into the Indian Territory, hunted up the patentees, and obtained, or professed to obtain, conveyances of a large portion of the Black Bob reserve. The conveyances were immediately filed with the secretary of the interior for approval: but as the settlers, believing them to be fraudulent, entered a protest, that officer refused to approve them.* For the same reason, Congress passed an act, July 15, 1870, forbidding the issue of patents to any more Black Bob allottees. This injected the affair into politics, and for years thereafter it was an issue that knew no party lines save only those that its own peculiarly local character determined. Both the speculators and the settlers maintained a lobby in Washington to procure favorable legislation. The Indians, having interests distinguishable from those of the white man, hired a special agent, T. S. Slaughter, of Olathe.

At the time when interest in the Black Bob fraud was at its greatest height, Sidney Clarke,† of Lawrence, "the tall young oak of the Kaw," was the only United States representative from Kansas, and the settlers depended upon him to see that justice was done them. He deferred action from one year to another,

*16 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 310.

†SIDNEY CLARKE was born at Southbridge, Worcester county, Massachusetts, October 16, 1831. His grandfather was an officer in the revolution, and was present at the surrender of the British army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, and his father served in the war of 1812. Until eighteen years of age he remained on the farm, and then engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1854 he became the publisher of the Southbridge *Press*. His first vote was cast for Hale and Julian, in 1852. In the spring of 1858 he came to Kansas, and in 1859 settled in Lawrence. In 1862 he was elected to the state legislature. In 1863 he was appointed assistant adjutant general by President Lincoln, and assigned to duty as acting provost-marshal general for the district of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota. In 1863 he was made chairman of the Republican state central committee. In 1864 he was nominated and elected by the Republicans as their candidate for Congress. He was reelected in 1866 and 1868, and defeated by D. P. Lowe in 1870. In 1878 he was elected to the legislature from Lawrence, and was made speaker of the house in 1879. He has since become a resident of Oklahoma, and is now engaged in the statehood movement.—Ed.

held selement, so to speak, in abeyance, in order that he might be elected on the same issue again and again. He served three terms in Congress, and managed to do something for distressed settlers in other parts of the state, but never anything for those in Johnson county. The people then supported Stephen A. Cobb as congressman for two successive elections, and he was similarly inactive. He came up once more for reelection, but the people had grown weary of empty promises, void of tangible results, from men of their own political faith, and gave their support to the Democratic nominee, John R. Goodin. He was elected, and, in a community where the men were, on national questions at least, nearly all Republicans of the stalwart type, he carried the vote by an overwhelming majority. This shows how, independent of party, the settlers were determined to secure a man who would truly represent them and their immediate interests. Indeed, it was commonly reported in those days that Johnson county went Democratic or Republican according to the politics of the man who, in the heat of campaign strife, would promise to support the settlers' cause. Goodin, like his predecessors, promised great things, but accomplished nothing. He failed of reelection in consequence. Dudley C. Haskell,* a Lawrence merchant, was his successor; and within twelve months after taking his seat he succeeded in getting a joint resolution adopted which gave the settlers a colorable right of occupancy, and which, by introducing the legal phase eventually settled the whole matter.

The joint resolution,† which passed Congress March 3, 1879, authorized and required the attorney-general to cause a suit to be commenced in the United States circuit court for the district of Kansas for determining the validity of what were known as the "69 patents." The United States was made the complainant in the suit, while the speculators holding deeds of conveyance, the Black Bob band, the individual Indian patentees and the settlers occupying the land were all made defendants. Geo. R. Peck and J. R. Hallowell, United States attorney for the district of Kansas, signed the bill as solicitors for the government. Later on, W. C. Perry and W. J. Buchan, of Kansas City, Kan., appeared in the case for the settlers; and W. H. Rossington, C. B. Smith, A. L. Williams, C. W. Blair and A. S. Devenney for the speculators. The Indians were represented by special counsel appointed by the government.

Four years afterwards a "consent decree was entered as to part of the land,

*DUDLEY C. HASKELL was born at Springfield, Vt., March 23, 1842. He was the son of Franklin Haskell and Almira Chase. The father came to Kansas with the second Lawrence party September 15, 1854. Dudley C. Haskell came to Kansas with his mother in March, 1855, being then thirteen years old. The father was mainly instrumental in organizing Plymouth Church, in Lawrence, and offered the first public prayer on that historic town site. Dudley immediately became interested in the free-state cause, and enlisted under James H. Lane. In January, 1857, the father died. In 1857 he returned to Springfield, Vt., to attend school. In 1858 he returned to Lawrence, and engaged in business. In 1859 he went to Pike's Peak, and prospected for two years. Upon the breaking out of the war he returned to Kansas and became a master of transportation, and for two years he engaged in the most hazardous service in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and the Indian Territory. He participated in the battles of Newtonia, Cane Hill, and Prairie Grove. In 1863 he entered Williston's Seminary, Easthampton, Mass., to complete his education. He graduated from Yale, in the scientific course, in November, 1865. He returned to Lawrence, and engaged in merchandizing until the fall of 1876. He was elected to the Kansas legislature in 1872, 1875, and 1876, in this latter session being elected speaker of the house. In the fall of 1876 he was elected a member of the forty-fifth Congress from the second congressional district of Kansas, reelected in 1878 to the forty-sixth Congress, and to the forty-seventh, in 1880. He served with distinction as a member of the ways and means committee and as a tariff leader. He was elected for the fourth time in 1882, but failing health prevented him from taking his seat. He died in Washington, December 16, 1883. He was married December, 1865, to Hattie M. Kelsey, of Stockbridge, Mass.—ED.

†20 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 488, 489.

under which the patents were approved, the speculators' deeds also approved, and the settlers required to pay to the Indians or to the speculators, as the case might be, a certain amount of money for every quarter-section occupied." Similar decrees were entered from time to time as occasion offered. All were in the nature of compromises, although the interests of the settlers and of the Indian patentees appear to have been sacrificed. It must be understood, however, in crediting such a remark, that the decrees were merely advisory to the secretary of the interior as to his duty to approve the deeds. The settlers finally obtained a clear title at an average price of ten dollars an acre, and it is said that the Indians managed to secure about four dollars of that amount. The rest went to the speculators.

In October, 1890, a similar proceeding was begun in the United States circuit court for the district of Kansas to settle the title to the remaining Black Bob lands, and David Overmyer was appointed special master in chancery to collect testimony. The suit was upon a bill filed by the United States district attorney, J. W. Ady, under the direction of the United States attorney-general, whose name was attached to the bill on behalf of the government. There was no consent decree in this case. Overmyer took the depositions of witnesses, and his findings of facts and conclusions of law were afterwards confirmed by Judge Foster. Voluminous evidence was introduced to show that the deeds had been drawn up with all due formality, and that a reasonable amount of consideration money had, in every case, been paid. The decree in the second suit was entered September 7, 1895.*

WYANDOT.

In the early part of March, 1855, a treaty † with the Kansas Wyandots went into effect, whereby each member of the tribe was invested with the right of claiming citizenship under the laws of the United States. The significance of such a provision can be fully appreciated only by bearing in mind the general superiority of the Wyandots to most of the Indian emigrants. As is well known, they had considerable political ability; and in 1852, when the organization of a Kansas territory was the subject of discussion, it was their leading men who called for the election of delegates to Congress, and William Walker, first provisional governor, was one of their number.

The citizenship clause was, nevertheless, only an incidental feature of the treaty of 1855. It was necessarily so, because other clauses provided for the disposition of much-coveted soil. The thirty-nine-section reserve was ceded to the general government, and then, almost in its entirety, reconveyed to the tribe under a new and better title, *i. e.*, declared open to allotment on a fee-simple patent. Of the lands not reconveyed, some were to be consecrated as a common burying-ground, and the rest, eighty acres, transferred to institutions. A slight revival of the old promise—the redeeming feature of so many Indian treaties—that the reservations should always remain outside the limits of a state or territory, was seen in the concession that Wyandot patented lands should be exempt from taxation "for a period of five years from and after the organization of a state government in the territory of Kansas."

The most peculiar thing about the Wyandot treaty of 1855 was its division of the Indians into two classes, competents and incompetents, according as they were capable or incapable of managing their own affairs. The land granted to the competents was held by an absolute and unconditional title in fee simple,

* Report of David Overmyer, Special Master in Chancery, Journal S, United States Circuit Court, pp. 159-190.

† Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 1022-1023; 10 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1159-1164.

and its future conveyance required no outside approval whatever. The lands of the incompetents were to be inalienable for five years and to be patented at the discretion of the commissioner of Indian affairs, but the courts decided that as soon as the restrictions had been removed title by prescription might be acquired.* The competent Indians seem to have had a decided advantage over their less fortunate kindred, and there is some suspicion that the division into two classes was a scheme for the abler members of the tribe to make away with the property of the others. Heads of families took land in severalty for their wives and children and were held to possess the fee-simple title to the whole.† In fact, minor children remained incompetents after coming of age.‡ As time went on, however, both competents and incompetents became so impoverished that they were glad to avail themselves of the omnibus treaty of 1869§ and emigrate to the Indian territory. Before going the competents wisely destroyed the books of the council in which the guardianship records were kept.

KAW.

If Council Grove had been made the capital of territorial Kansas, as Governor Reeder wished, the Kaw reserve would have been one of the first opened to settlement. As it was, all efforts to negotiate a cession previous to 1859 failed. In October of that year, Alfred B. Greenwood, who had been especially commissioned to treat with the Kaws, called them together in executive session without notifying the local agent of his intention. That in itself was a suspicious circumstance and might have been taken as a premonition that all was not well. As soon as the Indians were assembled, Greenwood presented a treaty that had been secretly drafted by the Indian ring in Washington, and provided for the sale of 150,000 acres under sealed proposals to the highest bidder. As soon as the terms of the treaty became known, the settlers were aroused and measures were set on foot to defeat its ratification. Rush Elmore, a federal judge, was sent as a delegate to Washington and succeeded in getting the senate to amend the treaty so as to reimburse the unintentional trespassers on the Kaw reserve for the loss of their improvements.

The treaty was ratified in 1860.¶ It provided for a division of the original reservation into trust and diminished reserve lands. Out of the latter, which lay in the southwest corner, nine by fourteen miles in extent, allotments were to be made in severalty. Each head and member of a family, each single adult male, and each of thirty-four half-breed Kaw children, residing on the north bank of the Kansas river, had the privilege of selecting forty acres, which they were to hold as inalienable property under certificate title. The trust lands were to be appraised immediately and advertised for sale under sealed proposals. The settlers were not made aware of the amount of the official appraisal, but an employee of the Interior Department volunteered some information which they concluded to act upon. He pretended to be their friend, and gave them certain figures which they supposed equaled the value placed by the government upon the trust lands. Great, then, was their chagrin when they found that he had deceived them and had caused them to offer bids that were too low by only a few cents. A speculator named Bob Corwin offered a few cents more and obtained nearly the whole of the coveted lands. The fraud was so evident that the bids were rejected and new proposals called for.

* *Schrimpher v. Stockton*, 58 Kan. 758.

† *Summers v. Spybrick*, 1 Kan. 370.

‡ *Fredrick v. Gray*, 12 Kan. 399.

§ *Revised Indian Treaties*, p. 844; 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 516, 517.

¶ 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1111.

In the meantime H. W. Farnsworth negotiated a new treaty, supplementary to that of 1860.* It was proclaimed in March of 1863, and although its avowed object was the relief of the men who had ignorantly settled prior to the Montgomery survey, it availed them little, because it stipulated that they should be reimbursed for their improvements in Kaw land scrip; that is, in certificates which had a cash value, and, indeed, were supposed to be receivable as cash in payment for the Kaw trust lands. The scrip soon depreciated, and the settlers holding it were rarely able to realize more than fifty cents on the dollar.

In 1863 Congress passed an act † which authorized the president to treat for a removal of all the Kansas tribes to the Indian Territory. Excitement ran high in Morris county, and there was so much party feeling between the settlers and the speculators that nothing could be done. A treaty was negotiated, it is true, in 1866, which provided that the southern branch of the Union Pacific, now known as the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad, should have the privilege of buying all the unsold trust and diminished reserve lands. The treaty was sent to the senate and "hung fire for six months." The people of Kansas were beginning to object seriously to monopolistic control of Indian lands, and their complaints echoed and reechoed throughout the length and breadth of the land. Hon. Sidney Clarke, of Lawrence, took up the settlers' cause and eventually succeeded in procuring the rejection of the treaty.

The excitement was not quieted, however, and Senators E. G. Ross and S. C. Pomeroy were urged repeatedly to bring pressure to bear upon Congress, so as to force the Kaw lands upon the market. In 1871 emigrants went to Morris county in great numbers, and the demand for the extinguishment of the Kaw title grew ever more fierce and bitter. In 1872 the trust lands were appraised, preparatory to a sale; but again the appraisement proved unsatisfactory to the settlers and was set aside. In July, 1876, Congress authorized a new appraisement, ‡ which, being made in the following year, enabled the Kaw lands to pass without further trouble into the hands of actual settlers. The Indians had already emigrated to the Indian Territory.

CHIPPEWA AND MUNSEE.

The treaty of 1860, made § with the Chippewas of Swan creek and Black river, divided their reservation, which lay about forty miles south of Lawrence, into two parts, the ceded and the reserved. The former consisted of 3440 and the latter of 4880 acres. Out of the reserved land assignments in severalty were made, not to the Chippewas alone, but likewise to the Munsees, or Christians, who had a short time before agreed to pay \$3000 for a share in the Chippewa reserve of thirteen sections. The allotments in severalty comprised tracts not exceeding forty acres for each member of a family and for each orphan child, and tracts not exceeding eighty acres for each unmarried person not connected with a family. The assignments having been made, there remained a surplus of about 1428 acres, which was appraised in 1865, preparatory to a sale. ¶ The sale began in 1871, and the Chippewas then asked permission to sell such lands as were held by certificate title and to move to the Indian Territory.**

In 1896, the Department of the Interior recommended †† that the Chippewa

* 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 1221.

† 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 793.

‡ 19 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 74-76.

§ Revised Indian Treaties, p. 229; 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1165-1169.

¶ Report of the Indian Commissioner for 1865, p. 45.

** Report of Indian Commissioner for 1871, p. 462; *ibid.* for 1876, p. 75.

†† Report of the Interior Department, House Documents, 12, p. 62.

and Munsee allotted lands be patented and their remaining vacant lands sold. For that purpose final action was urged upon house bill No. 7569, introduced at the preceding session of Congress. The ninth section of the Indian appropriation act, approved June 7, 1897, thereupon provided* that, "with the consent of the Indians, a discreet person should be appointed to take a census of the Chippewa and Munsee Indians, of Franklin county, to investigate their individual title to the several tracts of land within their reservation for which certificates were issued under the treaty of 1859-'60." The act of Congress further provided for the issue of patents in fee to those entitled to receive them, for the appraisement and sale to the highest bidder of the residue lands, and for the distribution per capita of the trust funds credited to the Indians on the books of the United States treasury. The Chippewas and Munsees were duly notified of this legislation and were convened in general council to act upon it. Both men and women debated.† Hon. C. A. Smart, of Ottawa, now district judge for the counties of Douglas, Franklin, and Anderson, was appointed special commissioner. In March, 1901, a large part of the Chippewa and Munsee lands were sold at public auction at the Topeka land-office,‡ and final payment was made to the Indians at Ottawa November 5, 1901.

SAC AND FOX OF MISSISSIPPI.

The Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi band from Illinois and Iowa made a treaty of cession in 1860,§ by which they ceded in trust to the general government "all that part of their reservation lying west of range line 16, comprising about 300,000 acres," and retained 153,600 acres as a diminished reserve.¶ The treaty of 1860 conceded head rights by assignments of land, which were to be inalienable, except to the United States or to other members of the Sac and Fox tribe. The lands of the diminished reserve were to be disposed of in this wise: Every full-blooded Indian was to receive eighty acres, and the agent 160, while another quarter-section was to be set aside for the establishment and support of a school.

The Sac and Fox trust lands included "all that territory lying south of the Marais des Cygnes, and extending to Coffey county and into Osage county."** The treaty provided that, after 320 acres had been given to every half-breed, and to every squaw married to a white man, the remainder of the trust lands should be sold under sealed bids for the benefit of the Indians,†† and especially for the liqui-

* Report of Interior Department, House Documents, 13, p. 404; 30 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 92.

† Reports of the Indian Commissioner, 1897-'98, p. 78.

‡ Kansas City Star, October 27, 1901.

§ Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 762-767; 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 467-471.

¶ Charles R. Green, of Lyndon, Kan., who is engaged in writing a book on the "Tales and Traditions of the Marais des Cygnes Valley," describes in *Current Remark*, February 20, 1896, the Sac and Fox cession as comprising the western twelve miles and the eastern six miles of the original reserve. He says, further, that the six-mile strip of 76,800 acres lay almost entirely within Franklin county, and seems never to have been offered by the general government to actual settlers, but was soon allowed to be appropriated by speculators. Chief among those speculators was John P. Usher, secretary of the interior under Lincoln, and William P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs. Judge Usher was, as his wife is at present, a resident of Lawrence, and afterwards owned an extensive farm near Pomona. J. H. Whetstone, who was one of the founders of that town, purchased 15,000 acres of the Sac and Fox trust lands.—ED.

** Ottawa Republican, October 4, 1877.

†† A large part of the trust fund was expended, contrary to the wishes of the Indians, in the erection of about 150 little stone houses. Some sharpers, led by Robert S. Stevens, at a later time a representative in Congress from New York, secured the building contract. When the houses were completed, the Indians sold the doors and windows for whisky, and used the frames as stables for their horses. A similar story is told of the Kaw Indians, and, strange to say, Stevens seems to have been the prime mover in both affairs.

dation of their debts. Accordingly, some time in that same year, they were surveyed, but it was not until late in 1864 that the secretary of the interior invited sealed bids. "A good many bids were offered by persons then residents of the territory; but those men were either overbid by parties at Washington or awarded lands of an inferior quality for which they had made no bid. Hugh McCulloch, the comptroller of the currency, W. P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, and John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary, appeared among the bidders." The largest bidder was John McManus, of Reading, Pa., who sold the land awarded to him to Slyfert, McManus & Co., an iron manufacturing corporation. The McManus purchase was the largest ever made in Kansas on individual account.

In 1868 the Sacs and Foxes* concluded another treaty,† by which they ceded directly all that remained unsold, not only of their trust lands, but also of their diminished reserve, excepting 4096 acres of the latter, which, upon approval of the secretary of the interior, were to be patented to individuals, as were also the lands granted in 1860 to half-breeds. In consideration for the direct cession, the United States agreed to pay the Indians one dollar an acre and to extinguish tribal debts amounting to about \$26,574 plus the accumulated interest.‡ The Indians thereupon prepared to emigrate to the Indian Territory. Some of them had gone in 1867. § By 1871 all but one chief, Mokohoko, and his band, had departed from Kansas.¶

* Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 767-775; 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 495-504.

† A peep behind the scenes reveals the fact that a few whites, among them Perry Fuller, of Ottawa, and some of the most prominent citizens of Lawrence, plotted to secure possession of the "four-mile strip," situated in the fine bottoms of Quenemo. It is commonly reported that these men brought about the intoxication of Chief Moses Keokuk, and then obtained, or pretended to obtain, his signature to the treaty of 1867-'68. After a time he recovered his senses, but they were already on their way to Washington and the treaty was ratified before he could enter a protest. Keokuk then brought a suit in Osage county for a thousand dollars damages against the agent, Dr. Albert Wiley. The money was paid, in order to prevent further disclosures. The Indians were so enraged at the fearful fraud which had been practiced upon them that they tried to kill the interpreter, George Powers, for his share in the matter.

‡ The Indian office in 1865 recommended that the unallotted lands should be sold in liquidation of debts. Report of Indian Commissioner, 1865, p. 383.

§ Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1871.

¶ The story of Mokohoko, sad as it is, gives a touch of romance to a history that would otherwise be filled with the recital of shameful episodes only. By the regular succession of Indian chiefs, Mokohoko ought to have succeeded Black Hawk; but a usurper, commonly called "Old Keokuk," to distinguish him from his grandson, John Keokuk, of Indian literary repute, contested his rights, and was sustained in his own pretensions by the main body of the tribe. When the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi were banished from Iowa, whither they had retreated after the Black Hawk war, Mokohoko refused to recognize the authority of Keokuk, and instead of going to the reservation on the Marais des Cygnes, joined the Cheyennes. Later on he became reconciled; but in the fall of 1866 took opposite sides with Keokuk against the Indian agent, Maj. H. W. Martin. This brought up again the old question of precedence in rank. The trouble called for a trial before a commission sent out from Washington. H. P. Welsh, of Ottawa, Kan., was employed as attorney by the disaffected Indians, Keokuk supported Major Martin, and the court rendered a decision adverse to Mokohoko. When the time came to approve the treaty of 1867-'68, Mokohoko positively refused to annex his signature, and obstinately held out against removal. The main body of Sacs and Foxes went south, but Mokohoko and his band hung around the old home like disconsolate spirits.— Paul Jenness, in *Kansas Home News*, January 2, 1880. In November, 1875, when federal troops were sent to compel removal, the Indians yielded to force and went, but returned immediately. Mokohoko died in the summer of 1870. His followers were grief-stricken and lingered around Quenemo, keeping a lonely vigil over the exiled chieftain's grave. After a time many of them wandered down to the Indian Territory. Those who stayed in Osage county worked for the neighboring farmers, but in 1886 the troops were again sent to escort them to their friends. They have never since returned.

POTTAWATOMIE.

In 1862 the United States made a treaty* with the three bands of Pottawatomies that had settled in the eastern part of the first Kaw reserve. Thereupon the blanket Indians, known as the Prairie band, severed their connection with the other two bands, the Mission (or Christian) and the Woods,† and received 77,440 acres—eleven square miles—as their share of the tribal domain. The other two bands, the “citizen Pottawatomies,” were allotted land in severalty—640 acres to each chief, 320 to each head man, 160 to each other head of a family, and eighty acres to each other person. Two institutions were granted 320 acres each. The residue was offered under the treaty to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, but no sale was successfully made. In 1867, by another treaty,‡ a new home was provided for that portion of the citizen Pottawatomies, chiefly of the Mission band, that had not yet acquired a personal ownership, while the land originally intended for their individual use was transferred to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company at the price of one dollar an acre, the amount to be paid, not in gold, but in lawful money—that is, in greenbacks.

The disposal of the Pottawatomie lands contained a departure, new in several respects, from that hitherto followed in releasing Kansas soil from the Indian encumbrance. Under the treaty of 1862, certificates of allotment were issued, with the restriction that they be non-transferable except to full-blooded Pottawatomies. The treaty of 1863 provided that patents might be issued to the holders of the allotments and that the head of a family might receive the patent for the lands of his family. For the first time in the history of Kansas, an Indian was obliged to go before the courts and be citizenized, by a process similar to the naturalization of an alien. Thereupon he received a patent free from all conditions. A very important question arose, and one of vast practical interest, as to whether the head of the family took an absolute title to the lands of his family or only held them in trust. The supreme court of Kansas and the United States circuit court § held that the title of the patentee was absolute. Another novel provision was that the Indians might resort to the state law to determine heirship. Thus it would seem that the provision by which patents could be issued was a contrivance of the Indian ring to put the land into the hands of a few persons, so that it could be more easily disposed of. The probate courts were used as parties to the scheme of plunder. The estates of living Indians absent in Mexico were administered upon and sold.

During the civil war a good many of the Pottawatomies took refuge in Mexico, and while they were absent their estates were administered upon as though the owners were dead. Several cases ¶ bearing upon the subject were brought in the United States circuit court for the district of Kansas and dismissed by the plaintiff without prejudice. The condition of affairs was as follows:

“A memorial purporting to be signed by certain Pottawatomies concerning their grievances was presented to Congress, and referred to the committee on

* 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1191-1197.

† Mrs. Sarah Baxter, daughter of the Pottawatomie missionary, Rev. Robert Simerwell, says, in a memorandum presented to F. G. Adams, late secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, that the names of the three bands were, respectively, the Prairie, St. Joseph, and Wabash.

‡ 15 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 531-538.

§ Veale v. Maynes, 23 Kan. 1-19.

¶ *United States v. Mkoquawahwsot et al.*; *United States v. Zobequa et al.*; *United States v. Tabahsug et al.*; *United States v. Kahwsot et al.*; and *United States v. Mazbenahnummuk-skuk et al.*

Indian affairs. Complaint was made that certain parties had obtained possession of the lands of those Pottawatomies through forged deeds, and had obtained money from the United States by reporting the Indians dead and obtaining letters of administration on their estates.

"In 1871 the business committee of the Pottawatomie tribe filed in the office of Indian affairs a certain list and certificate, in which it was represented that patents ought to be issued in the name of the absentees, in order to prevent the destruction of the timber on their estates. Thereupon President Grant, acting with the advice of the secretary of the interior, on the 15th of April, 1872, issued, under the treaty of 1867, patents to the Pottawatomies reputed to be dead. One of these patents was issued to Mokoquawa, a woman of the family of which Kah-wot was the head, who, being an adult female, was entitled to the beneficial provisions contained in the third article of the treaty of 1861, as those provisions had been extended by the supplemental article in the treaty of 1866. If she had been really dead, the title would have accrued to the benefit of her heirs by virtue of the provisions of the act of Congress of May 20, 1836: but as she was not dead, it passed to and vested in her, not as mere donee of the government, but as a purchaser, the United States retaining no beneficial interest in the estate, either legal or equitable.

"Some years later it was rumored that the absent Pottawatomies were yet alive: and Oliver H. P. Polk, a man of honorable character, as attested by papers on file in the Indian office, went to Mexico, found the missing Indians living with the Kickapoos, and bought their allotments in Kansas. The deeds given him were certainly not forged, for the Mexican government superintended the sale. On Polk's return to Kansas, he sold the Pottawatomie lands to Messrs. Mulvane and Smith, who in turn sold them to actual settlers.

"After the purchase, the United States filed its bill in equity in the circuit court for Kansas against both the Indians and the purchasers, asking that the patent issued to the Indians be canceled and the title revested in the United States. To this bill the defendants put in a general demurrer, on the ground that the facts stated in the bill did not entitle the complainant to the relief prayed for. The bill in equity did not pretend to deny the *bona fides* of the parties concerned, but proceeded on the theory that the patents were void for purely technical reasons. While the suit was pending, Congress passed an act confirming the conveyance from the absent Pottawatomies, providing it had been made in good faith and for a valuable consideration, whereupon the suit was dismissed."*

The Prairie band of Pottawatomies did not emigrate with their kindred to the Indian Territory. They still live upon a reserve which has been greatly diminished in acreage since the date of its first assignment. It is situated in Jackson county, north of St. Marys, or about twelve miles north of the Kansas Pacific railroad. Nearly all of the lands, † much to the dissatisfaction of the older Indians, have been allotted; but there still remain 16,000 acres of surplus land, constituting a tract which is likely to become a subject of contention in the near future, and there seems to be a growing sentiment in the tribe favoring its sale. ‡ This compulsory allotment, if it might be called such, is in accord with the spirit of the congressional enactment of 1890, whereby the Pottawatomies were directed to select their tracts in severalty before the 1st of September, 1894. Some of them declined to do so.§

* Brief of Shannon & Williams, solicitors for the defendants.

† *The Commonwealth*, April 14, 1885.

‡ Reports of Indian Commissioner, 1874; p. 38, 1877; report of the Indian agent, Ho. Docs. 1897-'98, pp. 13, 151.

§ *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 20, 1894.

OTTAWA.

In the opening years of the civil war the Ottawa reserve, lying almost in the center of Franklin county, was besieged by prospective settlers, and once again the enterprise of white men sounded the knell of Indian progress. The Ottawas were at first indignant at the influx of the foreign population and then resorted to a novel expedient to obtain relief. The experience of their race, if not their own shrewdness, had taught them two things: First, that, as against the greed of the land-shark, the tribal occupancy of the Indians is little more than a tenancy at will; secondly, that the individual holding is not a guaranty of security, sufficient to warrant its adoption, unless it is accompanied by citizenship, because, when separated from the rights conferred by citizenship, it is the shadow without the substance. Here was a dilemma. Allotment, from its temporary nature, was not worth the effort necessary to secure it as an alternative to removal, and citizenship was, perhaps, more than the federal authorities would be willing to concede. At this juncture two men appeared upon the scene who were destined to illustrate, in its most glaring form, the miserable farce of government guardianship over an alien race. Although Wm. P. Dole was the person regularly commissioned to arrange matters with the Ottawas, Isaac S. Kalloch, superintendent of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company, and C. C. Hutchinson,* from interested motives, it is believed, "engineered the treaty of 1862," † a treaty which marks an epoch in Ottawa history, because its provisions, dealing for the most part with citizenship and the disposition of land, caused no end of trouble to the reservees.

The first article of the treaty of 1862 indicated the means by which the Ottawas hoped to protect themselves from future intrusions. It stipulated that, within five years from the date of ratification, all individuals of the united bands of Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Bœuf should be admitted to full and free citizenship in state and nation. This was a provision wider in its scope, because more immediate in its operation, than that in the Pottawatomie treaty concluded a few months before. Its constitutionality may well be questioned, inasmuch as citizenship is coincident with naturalization, and naturalization is admittedly an exercise, not of the treaty-making, but of the law-making power. This was not a serious objection, however, and in the particular case under consideration does not seem to have been raised at all. Indian treaty-making, at best, was a questionable prerogative, and can be defended only on the supposition that the end always justifies the means.

The article on citizenship was introductory to the articles that followed. It was the fundamental one—the one without which they amounted to little, but from which the Ottawa beneficiaries confidently trusted a great deal would come. The 72,000 acre reserve, after being surveyed, platted into eighty-acre tracts, and diminished by a grant of five sections which was to be distributed in full council among chiefs, councilmen, and head men, was to be subject to allotment in severalty under the issue of patents in fee simple. The allotments were of two sizes—quarter-sections for heads of families and half quarter-sections for every other individual in the tribe, presumably males and females, competents and incompetents, minors and adults, share and share alike.

The provision in the treaty which caused the Ottawa controversy of later

*C. C. HUTCHINSON was United States agent for the Ottawas at the time, and thus was in a position to carry the treaty through. The real purpose of Hutchinson and Kalloch was to obtain a town site at the Ohio City crossing of the Little Osage river, where Ottawa now stands, and to speculate with both the town lots and the Indian lands.

†12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1237-1243.

years was that which stipulated for the endowment of a school with 20,000 acres, plus an additional section, which was to be inalienable, and which was to constitute a site for the erection of buildings. The 20,000 acre endowment was itself not inalienable; but a board of trustees, created for purposes of supervision, was somewhat limited in its power to sell any part of it. The proceeds from sales were to be invested so as to constitute a principal that could never be diminished. The interest only was to be available for current expenses.

The intention of the Indians, and the understanding of all who were in any way concerned with the negotiation of the Ottawa treaty of 1862, was that the school so endowed should be devoted exclusively to the education of Ottawa youth. If white children partook of its benefits, it was to be supposed that the Baptists, since that denomination controlled the religious affairs of the tribe, would contribute an equal amount, so as to double the endowment. The treaty did not so specify; but as Kalloch, with the help of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, proceeded forthwith to raise between \$30,000 and \$40,000, ostensibly for the erection of buildings, it would seem that he at least, one of the leading spirits of the whole concern, was fully cognizant of the tacit agreement. As soon as Kalloch returned from New York, whither he had gone to solicit aid from the Baptist Home Missionary Society at its headquarters, he undertook the management of the school fund, and with the ready assistance of C. C. Hutchinson, the special United States agent to superintend the division of the Ottawa land, started to erect the main building.

It would be too long a story to describe how the Ottawa Indian school fund* was diverted from its purposes. Kalloch was a long time in erecting his building; and, in 1870, the Ottawas emigrated, under the omnibus treaty, to the Indian Territory. That of itself would not have prevented their participation in the benefits of their own endowment, because article 6 of the treaty of 1862 expressly declared that, no matter where they might wander, their rights in the school should follow them and should never pass away. It is generally believed that the conditions of the school were changed when the Rev. Robert Atkinson assumed control in place of Kalloch, who had been forced to resign by the Baptist Home Missionary Society. Atkinson had probably no intention of depriving the Ottawas of their vested rights; for immediately on his appointment he went down to the Indian Territory and induced about twenty young girls to return with him to the school. Besides, later on, we find him, on more than one occasion, standing up for the Ottawa rights against the dishonesty and trickery of Hutchinson.† The act of Congress of March 3, 1873,‡ provided for the winding-up of the Indian connection with Ottawa University, and in the process many prominent citizens of Kansas so manipulated things that the Indians received practically nothing from all that was left of the original endowment.

*The Kansas State Historical Society has two pamphlets relating to this suit, "The argument of Henry Beard, attorney of the university, before Jacob D. Cox, secretary of the interior, August 2, 1870," and "Reply of the Ottawa University, presented to the United States senate April 20, 1871," by Henry Beard.

†When the time came to settle the Ottawa accounts, C. C. Hutchinson was \$42,000 behind, and three men (Enoch Hoag, the Quaker superintendent of Indian affairs, A. N. Blackledge, a Lawrence lawyer, and Kalloch) devised a scheme to release him from all responsibility. They went down to the Indian Territory and called an Ottawa council meeting for May 14, 1870. At that meeting they distributed the regular annuities and then opened up the subject of the Hutchinson shortage. The Indians did n't comprehend just what was wanted of them, and Hoag made them believe, if they released Hutchinson, that they would win in the Ottawa University case and receive the \$12,000 from the United States government. He was careful not to refresh their memories with the fact that only a short time before the Interior Department had rejected a receipt which Hutchinson had managed to inveigle from the all too credulous Indians.

‡17 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 623-625.

A controversy of less importance, but none the less interesting, because it illustrates the unreliability of government agents, grew out of the fifth article of the treaty of 1862, which conditionally nationalized the outstanding debts of the Ottawas to an amount not exceeding \$15,000. The condition imposed was that the claims should be acknowledged by the Indians and confirmed by the secretary of the interior before any obligations to pay should be laid upon the government. The Cusick claim was the one that raised the difficulty. Doctor Cusick kept a store at Peoria City, and had an account against the Indians for something between \$13,000 and \$14,000. Doctor Cusick died before the Indians had, under the treaty, recognized the indebtedness, and his son and heir became administrator of the estate.

Thinking that the federal government was responsible for the Indian debt, young Cusick employed attorney L. B. Wheat, of Leavenworth, to secure a judgment for damages. The court decided that the obligation to pay had not yet rested upon the United States, and could not so rest until the Indian sanction had been given. Cusick then applied to Col. John Deford, of Ottawa, to secure the sanction, but that gentleman declined to act in the matter. Col. C. B. Mason likewise refused, and referred Cusick to Doctor Glover as the person most influential with the Indians and the one most familiar with their affairs. Doctor Glover undertook the task and straightway proceeded to the Indian Territory, where he secured the Ottawa acknowledgment of the debt. It was made out in writing, and forwarded to Enoch Hoag, and thence to the commissioner, at Washington. Hoag received an immediate instalment from the secretary of the interior, but failed to pay it to Cusick. On the contrary, he placed it to his own credit in the bank, and for the space of three years repeatedly denied, in correspondence with Doctor Glover, that he had ever received anything from the government. In 1874 Doctor Glover requested Stephen A. Cobb,* representative in Congress, to make inquiries respecting the Cusick claim at the office of the Department of the Interior. Cobb did so, and found to his surprise and that of Doctor Glover that the account had long since been canceled and the claim satisfied.

CHEROKEE.

During the war of the rebellion some of the Cherokees joined with other southern Indians in furthering the cause of the confederacy, and, as a consequence, the federal government, in 1866, justified its demand for a cession, urging as an excuse that all treaties had been abrogated by the war and that the property of the conquered was open to confiscation.† The Indians yielded the point and consented to surrender, not only Oklahoma, which was to be a place of refuge for the Indian freedmen of color, but also the whole of their Kansas land.

Under the terms of the treaty of 1866, Secretary Harlan made a contract with a Connecticut corporation—the American Emigrant Company—by which the whole of the neutral lands was to be disposed of for a very nominal sum. His successor, O. H. Browning, declared the contract void, because the purchase-money had not been paid down, and then, with strange inconsistency, negotiated one with James F. Joy, president of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf Railway

*STEPHEN ALONZO COBB was born at Madison, Somerset county, Maine, June 17, 1833. He graduated in Providence, R. I., in 1858, and read law in Beloit, Wis. In 1859 he moved to Kansas, settling at Wyandotte. In 1862 he was elected mayor, which place he resigned to enter the army. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1868 he was again elected mayor of Wyandotte. He was a member of the senate in 1869 and 1870, and speaker of the house of representatives in 1872. In the fall of 1872 he was elected to Congress. He was defeated for a second term. He died August 25, 1878.—Ed.

† Revised Indian Treaties, p. 85; 14 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 799-809.

Company, that was open to the same objection. A supplement to the Cherokee treaty of 1800* tried to prevent litigation and to harmonize conflicting interests by arranging that the American Emigrant Company should transfer its contract to Joy, and the latter should assume all the obligations of the former. Eugene F. Ware says this treaty was ratified while only three senators were present, and that it was a gross infringement upon the preemption rights of the settlers, inasmuch as it related back to the Harlan sale and cut off all intermediate occupants of the land. The Cherokee strip was not sold until after the passage of the act of May 11, 1872,† which authorized its sale and determined the price. All land east of the Arkansas river was to be sold for two dollars an acre, and all land west for one dollar and fifty cents.

OSAGE.

The Osages and Cherokees were apparently pretty well out of the reach of the very early settlers in Kansas. In 1807 the Osages consented to a division‡ of their reservation, and four distinct tracts were laid off. The ceded lands, being those that passed directly to the federal government for \$300,000, comprised a strip thirty by fifty miles in extent, lying immediately west of the Cherokee neutral lands. The trust lands extended along the northern part of the reservation throughout its entire length. The deeded lands were sections that had been usurped by settlers, and were offered in 160 acre tracts to the squatters at a minimum price of a dollar and a quarter an acre. The diminished reserve comprehended all that was left.

In 1838 another attempt was made to secure land from the Osages. The result was the notorious Sturgis treaty, which emphasized the settlers' grievance that Indian land, instead of becoming public domain, passed to corporations. Constitutionally this was an invasion of the powers of Congress, because it anticipated and blocked the power of the legislative branch over the territory of the United States. Colonel Taylor, the commissioner sent out from Washington, allowed Wm. Sturgis, president of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad, to be the controlling spirit inducing the Osages to sell their entire diminished reservation, estimated to contain upwards of eight million acres, to the company which he represented, at an average price of twenty cents an acre. Col. Geo. H. Hoyt,§ the attorney-general of Kansas, was hurried off to Washington by the incensed state officials to defeat the treaty, and Congressman Sidney Clarke exposed it in the house so forcibly that the senate was obliged to reject it. This was the last attempt in Kansas to convey Indian land by treaty, and, in a great measure was the cause of the abandonment of the treaty-making policy in 1871.¶

The Osage ceded lands were a source of much contention. In March, 1863,** Congress passed an act granting land to the state of Kansas to aid in the con-

* J. B. Grinnell's *Men and Events of Forty Years*, pp. 378-383.

† 17 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 98, 99.

‡ Revised Indian Treaties, p. 584; 14 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 687-693.

§ GEORGE H. HOYT was born at Athol, Mass., in November, 1837. He died February 2, 1877, aged thirty-nine years. He studied law in Boston, and came to Kansas in territorial days. He enlisted as second lieutenant of John Brown's company K of the Seventh Kansas, and was made captain, but resigned on account of ill health. He became lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth Kansas. In 1866 he was nominated and elected attorney-general, and in 1867 he was editor of the Leavenworth *Conservative*. In 1868 he was a mail agent, and in 1869 resigned. He returned to Athol in 1871. In 1859, at the age of twenty-two, he was one of the counsel for John Brown, at Harper's Ferry.—Ed.

¶ Act of March 3, 1871, U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 556.

** 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 772-774.

struction of certain railroads, and among them was the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston. In July, 1866,* an act of similar tenor was passed, making the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad the beneficiary. When the Osage treaty of 1867 came to the senate, it was amended so as to recognize the force of those acts, and in virtue of that senate amendment the two railroads, in passing through the Osage lands, claimed alternate sections for ten miles on each side of their respective tracks. The odd-numbered sections were accordingly certified to them. This precipitated a political controversy of great magnitude. The secretary of the interior, O. H. Browning, supported the corporations, and his opinion was sustained by the attorney-general of the United States. The settlers called immense mass meetings, organized resistance societies, and pledged themselves to appeal to the courts and to support no candidate for any political office whatever who was not an adherent of their cause. They contended that the acts of 1863 and 1866 covered grants *in presenti*, and could not be applied to lands that, at the time of their passage, were reserved under treaty guaranties to Indian tribes. After many disappointing failures, Sidney Clarke succeeded in getting a joint resolution passed through Congress in April, 1869, which seemed to promise success to the settlers' cause, but both Browning and his successor, Cox, were determined to recognize the validity of the railroad claim.

In 1871 the case was thoroughly argued before the Department of the Interior. Judge William Lawrence appeared as counsel for the settlers, and B. R. Curtis for the railroads. Atty.-gen. W. H. Smith was appealed to, but in the end Secretary Delano decided for the corporations. Then a suit was commenced, October, 1870, in the district court for Labette county—James M. Richardson v. M. K. & T. Railroad. Maj. H. C. Whitney, of Humboldt, acted as attorney for the settlers, but, on being accused of mismanaging the case, handed it over, February, 1871, to Messrs. H. C. McComas and J. E. McKeighan, of Fort Scott.

The first suit in the local court was dismissed on a technicality. Others were instituted, but withdrawn because the settlers had decided to seek a hearing in federal courts. The impression prevailed, however, that the United States had no jurisdiction in the matter; so the Kansas legislature memorialized Congress, in order that a bill might be passed authorizing action. On December 17, 1873, Senator Crozier acted upon the memorial by introducing into the senate a bill empowering the attorney-general to bring suit in the United States circuit court against the two railroads †; but, without waiting for any such authority, George R. Peck commenced action. The settlers employed Governor Shannon, Judge Lawrence and the Hon. J. Black as additional counsel. Judgment was rendered in October, 1874,‡ and the railroad patents were ordered to be canceled. An appeal was made on a certificate of error to the United States supreme court, but the decree of the lower court was in every point affirmed.

The Osage ceded lands were then in a fair way to become the property of actual settlers, and as the joint resolution of April 10, 1869, § had expired by limitation, Governor Shannon outlined a bill which should enable the settlers to obtain a title. The bill was pushed through the house by John R. Goodin,¶ and

* 14 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 289-291.

† Congressional Record, pp. 41-43; vol. 2, pt. I, pp. 254-257.

‡ 92 U. S. 733.

§ 16 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 55, 56.

¶ JOHN R. GOODIN was born at Tiffin, Seneca county, Ohio, December 14, 1836. The father, John Goodin, was county treasurer for several terms, state senator in Ohio, and agent for the Wyandot Indians at Upper Sandusky. John R. Goodin was admitted to the bar in 1857. In 1858 he was married to Miss Naomi Monroe. In 1859 they settled in Humboldt, Kan. He lost every-

finally became a law August 11, 1876.* The Osage diminished reserve was disposed of under act of Congress, 1870,† and, in the same year, the Indians consented to remove to the Indian Territory. ‡

The Osage reserve seems to present the first instance of the disposal of Indian land by act of Congress. The Indian title had invariably been extinguished and the lands secured by white men without any regard having been paid to the school sections. In his inaugural message of January 14, 1863, Gov. Thomas Carney called attention to this fact; and the first move in the right direction was taken by the joint resolution of April 10, 1869, which stipulated that the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in every township of the Osage ceded lands should be reserved to the state for school purposes, according to the provision of the act of admission. Several years afterwards ex-Gov. Samuel J. Crawford managed to obtain as indemnity from the federal government "an amount of public land equal to all the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in the Indian reservations, plus five per cent. in cash for all the Indian land sold for cash." §

A general survey of the Indian cessions subsequent to 1854 shows: First, that the cessions corresponded fairly well to the "great waves of immigration," and that they were nearly always made in groups—1854, 1860, 1863, and 1867; secondly, that, in practice, there have been several ways of extinguishing the reservation title—by direct cession in fee to the general government for a consideration, by cession in trust, by direct sales to individuals or to corporations, by conditional grants in severalty, by patents without restrictions, and by the preemption of lands already occupied by settlers. All have, however, resulted in removal, and the departure of the Osages was a very fitting close to the story of Indian colonization west of the Missouri river. Remnants of three tribes—Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Kickapoos—still remain in Kansas; but their identity is almost obliterated. Never, never again will the Ishmaelites of the desert know the wild, free life of the Kansas prairie. The broad plains east of the Rockies are closed to them forever.

thing he had in the raid on Humboldt. In 1866 he was elected to the Kansas legislature. In 1867 he was elected judge of the district court, and reelected in 1871, which position he filled until February, 1875, when he resigned to take a seat in Congress. He was a Democrat in an overwhelming Republican district, and could not secure a second term in 1876. He died December 18, 1885.

*19 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 127.

†16 U. S. Statutes at Large, p. 362.

‡Topeka *Record*, September 17, 1870.

§ Kansas State Historical Collections, vol. 5, pp. 69-71.

BLACK KETTLE'S LAST RAID—1868.

An address by HILL P. WILSON,* of Hays City, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-seventh annual meeting, December 2, 1902.

THE conquest of the frontier, that began with the settlements upon the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific, was completed by the construction of the Pacific railroads. They spanned the wastes that lay between the eastern and western civilizations and abolished the border.

The remnants of the aborigines, who had vainly contested the occupation of their country, vaguely realizing the peril of their situation, engaged in a final attempt to resist the invader. Pathetic, because of its hopelessness and insignificance, would, perhaps describe this effort. There was some leadership, and individual exhibitions of courage and skill that placed in history the names of Geronimo and Red Cloud, Chief Joseph, Roman Nose, and Sitting Bull, along with those of the most illustrious of their race. These chiefs gave battle in a hundred places in the Southwest, and they made memorable the Lava Beds, Fort Phil. Kearny, Arickaree Fork, the Washita, the Rose Bud, the Little Big Horn, and Wounded Knee. As to the leaders on our side, Crook and Miles won their stars; Canby and Custer won fame and—monuments.

The writer was the post trader at Fort Hays at the commencement of this period of war. The post, in its isolation, was like an island in the sea. The uninhabited wastes stretched away to the south hundreds of miles and to the northward to the pole. The summer winds from these quarters came not then, as now, laden with the odors of alfalfa blooms and the fragrance of newly mown hay; they blew not among the branches and foliage of fruit and ornamental

*HILL PEEBLES WILSON was born at Williamsburg, Blair county, Pennsylvania, September 20, 1840. He was educated in the common schools there and at the Williamsburg Academy, and at the Chestnut Level Academy, in Lancaster county. His paternal ancestors were English and Scotch, and on his mother's side Irish and Dutch. His great-grandfather, Jacob Bower, was a captain in the "flying squadron," Pennsylvania cavalry, in the war of the revolution. Mr. Wilson commenced his career at eleven years of age as a farm hand, and at sixteen began teaching school. During the war he served as first sergeant of company B, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth regiment, Pennsylvania volunteer infantry, which was mustered into the service for nine months, August 11, 1862, and assigned to the army of the Potomac. Its service included the second battle of Bull Run, August 28 and 29; South Mountain, September 14; Antietam, September 17; Fredericksburg, December 11, 12, and 13, 1862; and Chancellorsville, May 1, 2, and 3, 1863. The regiment won distinction and a monument at Antietam, sixteen days after it had been mustered in. The site of the latter, assigned to it by the United States Antietam Battle-field Board, Brig.-gen. A. E. Carmen, chairman, is located 100 yards west and north of the Dunker church. It marks the most advanced position into the rebel lines gained by any regiment in that battle. The design of the monument is a soldier with the colors, facing south. It is intended to represent Sergeant Simpson, of company C, the first of four color-bearers killed in the battle. In April, 1864, Mr. Wilson went to Nashville in the employ of the quartermaster's department, under Lieut. S. H. Stevens, Chicago board of trade battery, A. A. Q. M., in charge of depot and river transportation. The employees were organized into a regiment for the defense of the city, and Wilson was appointed captain of company I. Later he was assigned to the United States steamboat Echo, as clerk, and "ran the river," the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee, until June, 1865. The guerrillas that infested the banks of these streams made the service interesting. In January, 1865, at Breckenridge Landing, Ky., this boat was captured by them, but saved from destruction largely through Wilson's diplomacy. In June, 1865, he resigned his position with Stevens to accept that of general agent for Col. S. R. Hamill, assistant quartermaster United States army at Nashville, in charge of United States military roads, military division of the Mississippi. Hamill was a Williamsburg man, and was serving on the staff of Maj.-gen. Geo. H. Thomas. In August, 1867, he resigned his position with Hamill and came to Fort Har-



Cheyenne village on the Washita,



rees, nor over fields of ripening corn. The sod was unbroken west of Ellsworth county.

Denver, 350 miles distant, was the nearest Western settlement, and less than 100 miles of the distance could be covered by rail. We stood in awe of this silent, trackless country, void of any animated thing in sympathy with us or our civilization. Toward the north 100 miles the desolation was broken by a band of men laying the rails of the Union Pacific railway. Toward the south 100 miles away the old Santa Fe trail stretched its sinuous line among the sand-hills of the Arkansas.

It was from the depths of these southern solitudes that Black Kettle came with his band to strike a blow against his enemies, the white settlers upon the border. The teepees that sheltered the dusky families of these warriors stood in the grassy bends of the Washita, 300 miles away, and they counted them safe against any reprisals the white man might undertake to make. The fashion then prevailed among the Indians, when in the vicinity of a military post, to "come in" and hold a "powwow" and, incidentally, work the commanding officer for provisions, and trade any skins or furs they had to the post trader for luxuries.

On one occasion of this kind, the Otoe chief American Horse offered the writer his daughter, the Princess American Horse, in marriage. I mention this incident not in a boastful spirit, but as a historical fact. It would give me pleasure to write that my personality had so impressed the stalwart aborigine that the offer came clear as the morning, and upon a silver platter: but to be historically accurate, there was a string to the proposition—a stipulation that I should give him ten sacks of flour and ten sides of bacon. However, it should be borne in mind that eligible young men were at a premium in that country then, and flour and bacon came high.

There were no squaws in Black Kettle's band, which numbered about forty braves; as miserable a lot of dirty, half-clad, sullen savages as can be imagined.

ker, Kan. (now Kanopolis), in the employ of Capt. Geo. W. Bradley, assistant quartermaster United States army. Later Bradley was relieved by Bvt. Maj. Henry Inman, captain and assistant quartermaster United States army. Supplies being urgently needed by the garrisons at Forts Hays and Wallace, and by the troops guarding the stations of the Overland Stage Company, Inman decided to send the stores by rail, along with the ties and rails, to "the end of the track" of the Union Pacific Railway, E. D., then building into Ellis county, and transfer them there, on the prairie, to wagon-trains for final destination. Wilson was assigned to take charge of this work, and reported with a cook and three "A" tents, at the cut west of Victoria, that being the end of the track. The troops guarding the track-layers were a company of the Third infantry, under Lieut. J. H. Hale, and company I, of the Tenth cavalry, under Capt. Geo. W. Graham, and Wilson pitched his tents with them. After the arrival of the track at Hays City, October 10, 1867, upon the request of Lieut. Wm. I. Reed, Fifth United States infantry, A. A. Q. M., Wilson was transferred from the quartermaster department at Fort Harker to Fort Hays. In 1868 he was appointed post trader at Fort Hays, by General Sheridan, who at that time had his headquarters there, directing the campaign against hostile Indians. He was re-appointed post trader under the "Belknap dynasty," in 1870. He was elected county commissioner of Ellis county in 1872, and as chairman of the board built the first court-house erected in that county; elected county treasurer in 1877; appointed postmaster at Hays City in 1878; established the Bank of Hays City in 1879, of which he was president until 1890; elected senator for the fortieth senatorial district in 1888; appointed receiver of the United States land-office at Wa Keeney in 1891; appointed assistant secretary of state in 1899, which position he now occupies. He made the first homestead entry in Ellis county, in 1870, while Geo. W. Martin was register of the land-office at Junction City, and in 1873 sowed the first wheat in that county. In 1901 Mr. Wilson compiled and edited a publication entitled "Eminent Men of Kansas"—a quarto of 650 pages; the Kansas historical article and the sketch of Gov. Charles Robinson, written by him, with which the book opens, being particularly strong. Mr. Wilson was married January 20, 1880, to Mary Victoria Montgomery, daughter of W. P. Montgomery, Esq. They have three children, Esther Mary, Hill Peebles, jr., and Eleanor Jaue. The two latter are students in the Kansas University.

They came into the post and claimed to be good Indians. All Indians were good when they wanted to be so, but the opinion prevailed on the border that the only really good Indians were the dead ones.

The traditional powwow was held, as a matter of course, and on this occasion the function was eminently successful.

The big chief, with about a dozen or more of his principal warriors trailing behind him, strode into the post headquarters' room, and with commanding gestures formed them in a circle, seated on the floor, their legs crossed in front, and then, with great unction, they proceeded with the ceremonial of "smoking the pipe of peace." The farce was executed by their passing around the circle to the right a lighted pipe with a long stem. Beginning with Black Kettle, each Indian, as his turn came, took a few short whiffs at it, and then a full, deep, long draft: then taking the pipe from his mouth he blew the smoke, with great effect, far away and high into the air. After each had thus smoked, and all had grunted, Black Kettle arose, with great dignity, and facing the commanding officer, Maj. John E. Yard, Tenth United States cavalry, made a speech.

He was a grand specimen of physical manhood, as all the chiefs of blanket Indians were. Among them the fittest ruled, and the fittest were the strongest. The speech was "reported" by Lieut. H. Walworth Smith, Seventh United States cavalry—"Salty" Smith. The officers called him "Salty" because he had been a sailor, and to distinguish him from Lieut. Algernon E. Smith, Seventh cavalry. ("Salty" afterward deserted from the regiment, and Algernon was killed with Custer at the Little Big Horn.)

Black Kettle said, in part: "Black Kettle loves his white soldier brothers, and his heart feels glad when he meets them and shakes their hands in friendship. The white soldiers ought to be glad all the time, because their ponies are so big and so strong, and because they have so many guns and so much to eat. We would like to be white soldiers, but we cannot, for we are Indians; but we can all be brothers. It is a long way that we have come to see you, hunting the buffalo. Six moons have come and gone and there has been no rain: the wind blows hot from the South all day and all night; the ground is hot and cracked open; the grass is burned up; the buffalo-wallows are all dry; the streams are dry; and game is scarce. Black Kettle is poor, and his band is hungry. He asks the white soldiers for food for his braves and their squaws and papposes.

"The Sioux have gone on the war-path, but Black Kettle will not follow their trail. All other Indians may take the war-trail, but Black Kettle will forever keep friendship with his white brothers."

The braves all ratified these sentiments with affirmative nods and grunts, and we all shook hands with Black Kettle, and congratulated him on his speech, which made him look very proud and very happy. The success of the function was made complete by the major, who directed the commanding officer, Lieut. David Q. Rousseau, Fifth United States infantry, to issue to them ten sides of bacon and ten sacks of flour, with a liberal allowance, of beans, coffee, salt, etc. They were as delighted as stoics ever can be, and that night, August 7, 1868, they had a royal gorge. In the morning they were gone. Three days later their hands were red with the blood of their "white brothers."

On leaving Fort Hays the Indians moved eastward, and camped that night on the Saline river, north of where Russell now stands. The second night out they camped on the Saline, near the mouth of Spillman creek, in Lincoln county, and on the next day began their murderous work. They ran off the stock, burned the cabins, and killed or carried away every settler they found upon Spillman creek. Then, crossing the divide, they entered the Solomon valley, and camped near the Great Spirit spring, Waconda. From thence they moved eastward, and



Teepee in Cheyenne village on the Washita.



upon reaching the settlements continued their work of murder and devastation. Fifteen persons were killed in this raid and five women made captives. Then, crossing the divide into the Republican valley, they went westward with their prisoners and plunder.

Immediately the military establishment became active in an effort to protect the frontier from further incursions. Troops were dispatched from Fort Harker, the present site of Kanopolis, then the headquarters of the military district of the upper Arkansas, to patrol the border. The state of Kansas was called upon for a regiment of cavalry, and the Nineteenth Kansas was organized and equipped in response thereto; the governor of the state, Samuel J. Crawford, resigning his office to take command of it.

In addition to these troops, on August 24 Maj. George A. Forsythe, brevet colonel United States army, was directed by General Sheridan, at Fort Harker, to "employ fifty first-class frontiersmen for six months," to be used as scouts against the hostile Indians. Lieut. F. H. Beecher, Third United States infantry, was assigned to duty with Forsythe as subordinate officer. Within two days thirty men were enrolled: on the 26th they moved by rail to Fort Hays, where the remainder were enlisted, and on the 29th the command was mustered into the United States service, and reported to General Sheridan for duty armed, mounted, and equipped for the field. Dr. J. H. Moores, of Hays City, was assigned to duty with the scouts as acting assistant surgeon.

Under orders from General Sheridan, who had now established the headquarters of the department of the Missouri at Fort Hays, Forsythe marched his troops in a northwesterly direction, crossing the Saline and south fork of the Solomon to the Beaver, and from there proceeded to Fort Wallace, where he arrived September 5.

Refitting his command here, Forsythe moved eastward thirteen miles to Sheridan, then the end of the track of the Kansas division of the Union Pacific railway, where a band of Indians had attacked some freighters, killed two of them, and burned their outfits. Taking the trail of these Indians, Forsythe followed it westward to the Arickaree fork of the Republican river. Although no Indians had yet been sighted, the trail had widened into a broad, well-beaten road, and gave ample notice that the scouts were pressing close upon a very large body of them. So much was Forsythe impressed that he deemed it prudent to go into camp and rest and graze his horses, in anticipation of the impending struggle. They were not kept long in suspense. At daylight next morning, September 17, the Indians began the attack by attempting to stampede the herd, which was frustrated. Realizing now the peril of his situation, Forsythe quickly moved his men onto a small island in the dry bed of the river, which afforded the advantages of some shelter and water. The prompt execution of this movement alone saved the command from utter annihilation.

The Indians came in swarms over the adjacent bluffs and from the ravine, and within a few minutes a thousand painted warriors had completely encompassed the island. They were under the command of Roman Nose, a Cheyenne chief, who directed the maneuvers with great skill and courage. For several hours they directed a continual fire upon the scouts, which only slackened to enable some adventurous band to attempt to force the position by assault. The Indians' fire was returned with great spirit and every assault repulsed with terrible slaughter.

Maddened by the failure of his repeated efforts to destroy this trifling band of white men, Roman Nose massed about 300 of his best warriors and, mounted, personally led them in the most spectacular assault in the history of Indian war-

fare. The scouts, armed with the Spencer repeating carbine, held their fire until the Indians were close upon them, when they poured volley after volley upon the savage hordes with murderous effect. At the fifth volley Roman Nose was killed, and fell from his horse. With the loss of the chief the assault failed; the serious fighting was then over; the scouts had won; the Indians, discouraged, withdrew out of close rifle range.*

The fighting had been fast and furious since daylight. The Indians were beaten, but the plight of the scouts was critical. Forsythe had received two severe wounds—his right thigh had been shattered by a bullet and his left leg broken below the knee. Beecher and Moores were both killed, and thirty of the scouts had been killed and wounded. The latter, because of the death of the surgeon, received no medical attention. All the horses were dead and the provisions exhausted. They were ninety miles from Wallace, the nearest point from which relief could come, and were surrounded by a thousand bloodthirsty savages. Two of the scouts volunteered to steal through the Indian lines in the night and carry a message, on foot, to Fort Wallace. They succeeded, and the remnant of the command was rescued on September 26 by the arrival of Capt. Louis H. Carpenter, with a company of the Tenth United States cavalry.

The Indian forces now broke up into small bands and retired into the solitudes of their winter camping-grounds.

In the meantime the War Department had decided to attempt a winter campaign against the hostiles; to seek them out and surprise them in the security of their winter quarters, and administer such punishment as would deter them from committing further depredations upon the settlements.

So much importance attached to this movement that General Sheridan remained in the field, with his headquarters at Fort Hays, and assumed personal direction of the campaign.

In support of his operations, the Nineteenth Kansas regiment, cavalry, heretofore referred to, was equipped and ordered to report to him at a point to be established in the Indian Territory (Camp Supply). At the same time an expedition was organized at Fort Dodge under the command of Bvt. Brig.-gen. Alfred Sully, lieutenant-colonel Third United States infantry. It was made up of the Seventh United States cavalry, under Maj. Joel H. Elliott, a battalion of the Third United States infantry, and the remainder of Forsythe's scouts, under Lieut. Silas Pepoon, Tenth United States cavalry.

The expedition moved south during the latter part of September, but its operations were not satisfactory to Sheridan. It was advancing into what was then an unexplored region, occupied by hostile Indians, and Sully proceeded cautiously—too much so to meet the views of his impetuous commander, who thereupon applied to the honorable secretary of war to have Bvt. Maj.-gen. George A. Custer, lieutenant-colonel Seventh United States cavalry, assigned to duty with his regiment, so that he might ultimately be placed in command of the expedition. This dashing cavalry leader was at the time serving out a sentence, to wit, "loss of rank and pay for one year," imposed upon him by a general court-martial, for absenting himself from his command without authority.

It came about in this way: During the summer of 1867 Custer had led his regiment against the Indians in northwestern Kansas. Starting from old Fort Hays, at the mouth of the north fork of Big creek, he traversed the valleys on the head waters of the Saline, the Solomon and the Republican rivers. Upon re-

*A thrilling account of this battle, written by General Forsythe, was published in *Harper's Monthly* for June, 1895; also by Winfield Freeman, in the sixth volume *Kansas Historical Collections*, pages 349-357.

porting at Fort Wallace, he heard of the ravages of the cholera at Forts Hays, Harker, and Riley. The general's wife was at the latter post, and, prompted by solicitude for her welfare, he left the regiment under command of a subordinate officer, and with an escort of 100 men, under Captain Hamilton, made a hazardous march of 200 miles to Fort Harker, then the western terminus of the Union Pacific railway. For this breach of military discipline he was tried, and sentenced as aforesaid.

Acting upon the request of General Sheridan, the unexpired portion of Custer's sentence was remitted. After reporting to Sheridan at Fort Hays, Custer joined his regiment with Sully's command, south of the Arkansas.

November 12, 1868, the column moved south into the Indian country; established the post, Camp Supply, about 100 miles south of Fort Dodge, and began the search for Indian villages. "Boots and saddles" was sounded on the morning of the 23d, and the troopers set out in a blinding snow-storm that had begun on the 22d. On the morning of the 27th, Major Elliott, in command of a battalion of the regiment, struck the trail of a war party. As soon as the information reached Custer the whole command was put in rapid pursuit, and continued with but one short halt until one o'clock A. M. on the 28th, when the camp of the Indians was discovered by one of the Osage guides, whose quick ear heard the distant barking of a dog. The column immediately halted, and, after the guide had located the village, the officers, leaving their swords behind, to avoid the possibility of making a noise, were taken forward to a position from which they could see the location of the village and the adjacent ground. After withdrawing from this advanced position the plan of attack was quickly decided upon. The troops were divided into four detachments. Two of them were ordered to make a detour of several miles and unite below the village; another was to attack from the right; while Custer, with three companies was to lead the attack from the position the troops then occupied. Upon arriving at their positions they were to await the dawn and the signal for the attack to begin, which was to be given by the band playing "Garry Owen."

Signaling the band to play, Custer at the head of his column, galloped down through the village, his troopers firing right and left upon the startled savages as they rushed from the teepees. No quarter was shown in this battle, and it continued as long as there were any warriors left to fight. It proved to be Black Kettle's camp, and he and all his warriors were killed, except a few who got away between the forces of Benteen and Elliott below the village. Many squaws and children, too, were killed and wounded, being unavoidably struck by the indiscriminate firing. It was a terrible slaughter: a terrible vengeance for Indian atrocities.

The battle being ended, Black Kettle's herd, numbering 500 ponies, was rounded up, and after the captured squaws had been allowed to select as many animals as they required to carry them, their children, and their household effects, the remainder were killed, the teepees were taken down, and with the camp equipment were placed in piles and burned, making the destruction of the village complete.

At this time a new danger developed. Black Kettle's camp was only the first of a series of Indian camps in the valley of the Washita. These Indians heard the firing, and in due time as many as 1000 warriors in battle costume swarmed upon the adjacent hill. They were prudent, however, and fell back when attacked, but promptly reformed when the troops were withdrawn. In one of these encounters Maj. Joel H. Elliott and fourteen enlisted men were killed. The finding of their bodies and their interment were accomplished by a subse-

quent expedition. Capt. Louis M. Hamilton was also killed, and Col. Albert Barnitz shot through the lungs.

A train of thirty wagons, with the camp equipage, rations, and forage, was coming up on the trail under an escort of eighty men, and there was great danger that it would be discovered and destroyed by the Indians that now menaced Custer. To divert attention from that direction and to deceive the Indians, Custer put his troops and prisoners in motion down the valley toward these Indian villages. The ruse was successful; the Indians galloped with all possible haste to protect their homes; then, as soon as night began to fall, he faced about and marched rapidly back on his trail to meet the train.

The command arrived at Camp Supply on December 2 without further incident. Reports of the battle and the victory had been sent by the scouts to General Sheridan, who was there to meet and congratulate the officers and men of the splendid Seventh cavalry. Custer made the most of the occasion by arranging a spectacular parade, passing in review before the general in the following order:

First, the Osage guides and trailers in war costume, by turns chanting their war-song, giving the war-whoop, and firing their guns.

Next came Forsythe's scouts, riding abreast.

Then the Indian prisoners, more than 100, made widows and orphans by the battle, all mounted on ponies and fantastically dressed. After them the band of the Seventh cavalry, playing "Garry Owen."

Then Colonel Cook, with the regimental sharpshooters.

Then the regiment, in column by platoons, followed by the wagon train, in charge of Regimental Quartermaster-sergeant Geo. R. Craig, now president of the Bank of Natoma. It was a triumphal march, typical of Custer, that day the proudest soldier on the planet.

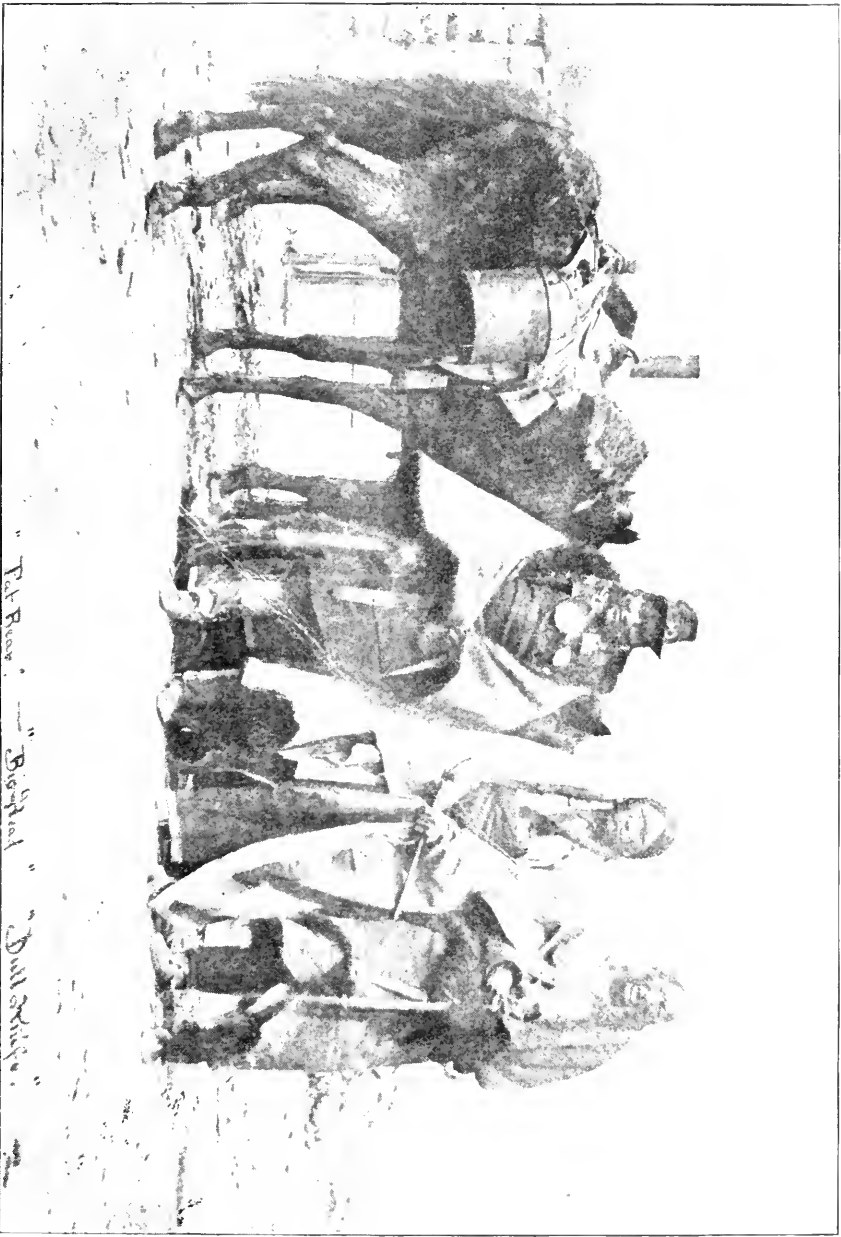
At this time Custer was reinforced by the arrival at Camp Supply of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, under Colonel Crawford, and, with General Sheridan along, set out on the 7th of December to complete the conquest of the refractory tribes. To assist in communicating with the Indians, he took with him three of the captive squaws, to wit: Mah-wis-sa, Black Kettle's sister; Mo-nase-tah, a daughter of Little Rock, who had been killed in the fight, and an elderly Sioux squaw.

On the battle-field of Washita the mutilated bodies of Elliott and his men were found and buried, except the body of Major Elliott, which was taken to Fort Arbuckle. The Indians had collected their dead for burial rites, and in cases where squaws and children had been killed, their bodies were placed beside those of their warrior husbands or fathers. The bodies of a white woman and her child, about two years old, were also found in the adjacent abandoned Cheyenne camp. The woman had been shot in the head and the child's head crushed by striking it against a tree.

At Fort Cobb negotiations were had with the Kiowas, Arapahoes, and Apaches, resulting in the return of these tribes to their reservation. The Cheyennes, however, kept beyond the reach of communication, and Custer, with the Seventh cavalry and the Nineteenth Kansas, to the command of which Col. H. L. Moore,* of Lawrence, had succeeded, set out March 2 to bring them to terms. After many days' marching the Cheyenne camp was overtaken on the Sweetwater.

Mak-na-wis-sa had made it known that two of the white women taken pris-

* See the address of Col. Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," sixth volume Kansas Historical Collections, pages 35-52.



Cheyenne chiefs held as hostages by General Gustor for return of Mrs. Morgan and Miss White.



oners by Black Kettle in the Solomon valley, to wit, Mrs. Morgan and Miss White, were with this band. It was therefore not prudent to attack them, lest the Indians should kill the prisoners. Diplomatic relations were therefore established with them, and negotiations begun for the release of the women and the return of the band to their reservation. It soon became evident that the Indians intended to avoid the issue and get away; therefore, one day while holding a consultation with them, Custer surrounded the party with a force of armed cavalymen, seized four of the principal men, and held them prisoners. One of them was released later, and returned to the tribe with the message that the other three, Fat Bear, Dull Knife, and Big Head, would not be released until Custer's demands had been complied with. Still there was delay, the Indians hoping to receive something valuable in exchange for the women. Custer then made to the three chiefs his ultimatum, namely, that if the white women were not delivered in safety at his camp by sundown next day all three would be taken out and shot. This proved to be "good medicine," for at sundown next day the two women, half starved and clothed in gowns made of empty flour sacks, were brought into the camp.

The return march began next day. From Camp Supply the women were forwarded *via* Fort Hays to Minneapolis, Kan. The troops proceeded to Fort Hays, where the Nineteenth Kansas was mustered out of service, and the three Indian chiefs held as prisoners were turned over to the commanding officer at Fort Hays. The squaws and children of Black Kettle's band had been sent to Fort Hays and confined in a large stockade, built for their reception. The chiefs were placed in the stockade with them, but later, fearing an attempt would be made by the tribe to release them, it was decided to confine the chiefs in the guard-house. When the detail appeared to take the Indians out of the stockade, the latter supposed they were to be taken out to be tortured and killed, whereupon they attacked the guard, Fat Bear driving a knife deep into the back of Sergeant Hogan, Fifth infantry, sergeant of the guard, inflicting a dangerous wound; whereupon there was a scimmage; the guard fired; Big Head and a squaw were killed; Fat Bear was run through the body with a bayonet and died three days later; Dull Knife was wounded, but recovered.

Later in the summer, the Cheyennes having returned to their reservation and promised to be good, Dull Knife and the remainder of the Indian prisoners were released and restored to their tribes.

Custer's operations struck terror to the hearts of the Cheyennes and broke the spirit of all the southern Indians. He not only annihilated Black Kettle's band of 130 warriors, killed their ponies, burned their village, and carried off their squaws and children prisoners, but followed the remainder of the tribe, in midwinter, into the remotest fastness of their retreat and compelled them to surrender their white prisoners without ransom, and carried off three of the principal chiefs as hostages for the prompt return of the tribe to their reservation.

The white man's vengeance was swift and terrible, but it won permanent peace and immunity from Indian atrocities for the settlers on the Kansas frontier.

REPORTS FOR 1903.

SECRETARY'S REPORT TO ANNUAL MEETING.

DURING the period beginning July 1, 1902, and closing June 30, 1903, there have been added to the library 2947 volumes of books, 6516 unbound volumes and pamphlets, 1467 volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 2117 single newspapers and single magazines containing matter of historical interest, 19 maps, atlases, and charts, 358 manuscripts, 92 pictures and other works of art, 736 miscellaneous relics. Thus to the library proper, of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, during the period of twelve months, have been added 10,930 volumes. Of these, 10,700 have been procured by gift and exchange and 230 by purchase.

Below are shown the total accessions to the library, by years, since the beginning:

YEAR.	Volumes books.	Volumes newspapers and periodicals.	Pamphlets.	Total yearly accessions.	Yearly total of the library.
1876.....	280	54	74	408	408
1877.....	115	150	501	766	1,174
1878.....	1,237	710	1,184	3,131	4,305
1879.....	290	275	491	1,056	5,361
1880.....	448	448	1,146	2,042	7,403
1881.....	414	375	1,127	1,916	9,319
1882.....	1,669	513	2,721	4,903	14,222
1883.....	307	403	1,088	1,798	16,020
1884.....	732	807	2,763	4,302	20,322
1885.....	1,088	678	2,033	3,799	24,121
1886.....	1,772	1,573	7,975	11,320	35,441
1887.....	753	1,007	1,543	3,303	38,744
1888.....	866	988	7,707	9,561	48,305
1889.....	1,269	1,053	2,248	4,570	52,875
1890.....	991	1,100	2,960	5,051	57,926
1891.....	719	1,280	4,591	6,590	64,516
1892.....	1,464	1,219	3,119	5,802	70,318
1893.....	709	1,197	1,968	3,874	74,192
1894.....	751	1,579	3,378	5,708	79,900
1895.....	1,020	1,248	1,462	3,730	83,630
1896.....	1,444	1,566	4,852	7,862	91,492
1897.....	854	1,337	2,351	4,542	96,034
1898.....	1,835	1,321	3,135	6,291	102,325
1899.....	951	1,545	4,932	7,425	109,753
1900.....	1,073	1,481	2,069	4,623	114,376
1901.....	743	1,412	2,590	4,745	119,121
1902.....	630	607	2,781	4,018	123,139
1903.....	2,947	1,467	6,516	10,930	134,069
Totals.....	27,371	27,393	79,305	.....	.....

These figures show the largest increase for a year in the past seventeen years. In the fall of 1902, Hon. John Martin gave his library to the Society, of which 1648 volumes were placed on our shelves, while duplicates were shipped away. Many accessions came through the government from Porto Rico, Cuba, the Phil-

ippines, and Hawaii, and the catalog work we are at, being in the nature of taking stock, developed many things missing, and suggested others, for which we searched, adding completeness and value to the whole. In the past there has been much criticism about drawing a line, but it has ceased—the duty of one handling books for the public is to make the sets as complete as possible, because the world has become so large, and wants and tastes so varied, that to draw a line would mean distraction. The expenditures of the Society show the style of books we buy, only 230 volumes per year, while 10,700 were by gift or exchange. Excepting a rare lot like John Martin's, the books under the head of gifts come from the government, other states, and from historical, charitable and other societies, doing business in all parts of the world, upon whose mailing list this Society appears. Without an accurate count, I should say the United States government sends us an average of three volumes a day. The duplicate room mentioned elsewhere has no doubt added much to our accessions, since it is practically an exchange bureau for Kansas documents and other books. The state has established a great business in charge of this Society; the world is going faster and doing more each day, and the state will keep up with less complaint each year.

The additions to the museum during the year have been of more than ordinary character. Mrs. Maude Whitmore Madden, wife of Rev. M. B. Madden, contributed a Japanese collection of unusual interest. There are sixty-seven articles, representing all phases of that interesting people. Mr. and Mrs. Madden are Topeka folks, who spent seven years in mission work in Japan. Sergt. Wm. L. McKenzie, of company C, Third Wisconsin Cavalry, since the war a prominent farmer in Wyandotte county, gave to the Society a pistol with which he killed two guerrillas, Frank Fry and Bill Rader, and one horse, in the Baxter Springs massacre, October 6, 1863. James F. Getty, of Kansas City, Kan., has deposited the certificates of the Wyandotte Town Company, redeemed by title to lots and restored to the original stubs. Mrs. Isabel B. Hinton, widow of Col. Richard J. Hinton, forwarded us about 412 letters from prominent men in all parts of the country, and about fifty photographs of John Brown and his men. Mrs. Susie J. Searl, widow of A. D. Searl, has donated the transit, tripod and chain with which her husband surveyed the town sites of Topeka and Lawrence. As Mr. Searl did a great deal of this class of work before a government survey was made, this instrument is a very significant relic of those days. It was doubtless used also in laying out the towns of Osawatomie, Burlington, and El Dorado. J. D. Quillen, of Overbrook, Osage county, placed with the Society a hand-press brought to Kansas in 1857, which started in business in Sumner. It attracts much attention as a curious piece of machinery, and it has been mentioned in all the printer journals of the country as a novelty whose maker and place of manufacture are unknown.

Friends of the families interested have contributed handsome paintings of Gov. James M. Harvey and Hon. John Guthrie, and life-sized photos of James R. McClure, Carrie Nation, Dr. John H. Stringfellow, Frederick Funston, Wilder S. Metcalf, Ernest Valetton Boissiere, Noble L. Prentis, Vincent J. Lane, and William S. Blakely.

The correspondence of the Society during the year amounted to 4100 letters and 1500 postal cards. The postal cards were simply tracers sent out after missing papers, and some acknowledgments made in this form. Seventy-five per cent. of the letters were inquiries for information along historical lines, or for official data pertaining to Kansas. The larger number of these letters were answered offhand, or after a few minutes' examination, but several hundred of

them were of a nature requiring from one hour to five hours each of research. The variety of calls makes the labor one of absorbing interest. We are called on for what we have about Toussaint Charbonneau, interpreter, his wife, and son, who accompanied Lewis and Clark in 1804: parties down East want an identification of one of the victims of the Benders: another wants to know all about "*Ad Astra per Aspera*" and the great seal, and we are required to do our utmost to locate a sod barracks made in July, 1857, on a branch of the Republican by Colonel Sumner, who at that time had a fight with the Cheyennes. We have constant calls for the definite location of old towns, forts, Indian battles, or other points named in early travels. I should judge that there are a score of people throughout the country writing books about Kansas or in which Kansas will figure. The amount of personal biography we are called on to furnish is endless, and when we do not have it, there is oftentimes indignant talk. John Brown, Quantrill, the sacking of Lawrence, the Louisiana purchase, scores and scores of territorial and western Kansas incidents, we are asked about. It is not possible to anticipate the character of the countless questions suggested by the early history of Kansas.

The legislature of 1903 treated the State Historical Society with increased liberality. The contingent fund was increased from \$500 per year to \$800, and the book fund from \$500 to \$700; the shelving of an additional room and the purchase of two glass show-cases and two revolving bookcases were authorized, and the salary of the newspaper clerk raised from \$60 to \$75 per month. A bill was introduced authorizing the reconstruction of the old capitol building on the Fort Riley reserve, at a cost of \$1800, and the ways and means committee, while withholding the appropriation because of the great demand upon them, said that, if the military maneuvers were to continue, it would be business for the state to restore the building for storage purposes. The old capitol was the center of Camp Sanger, a camp of 12,000 soldiers, and with the constant improvement of Riley, and the annual visit of troops, militiamen, and the distinguished military men from all over the world, it promises to be a point of great interest. The work of the Society is not only more accessible to all needing it, but is observable to the whole people. There was a genuine enthusiasm and pride with the last legislature, as well as with the hundreds of visitors, over the historic collection preserved by the state.

We are using these increased funds as judiciously as possible along the line of our work. Of the making of books there is no end, so that it is as hard as ever to know what to buy and what not to buy, but we have of late been giving the preference to local history and genealogical publications. We find an increasing interest in the picture feature of our museum, and with this fund we have had copied some of the early-day characters overlooked and neglected. We have been especially diligent in searching for pictures of Southern leaders in our territorial contest. Enlarged pictures have been placed on the wall of such men as Israel P. Donalson, William P. Richardson, Sterling Price, Alexander W. Doniphan, James G. Blunt, Henry Worrall, William C. Quantrill, Sol. Miller, Edward Russell, W. H. Adams, who started the *Leavenworth Herald*, in 1854, Samuel C. Pomeroy, A. H. Reeder (in disguise), Thomas Ewing, and a number of Indian and pioneer missionaries. There are others we will have as we move along. This expenditure of money delights the public. Then we desire to have a number of maps and illustrations in the next volume of collections, which are never paid for out of the general printing fund.

The duplicate room in the cellar and the care of all the surplus books about the capitol building, given this Society by the Executive Council in the year

1902, have been of great value in the distribution of publications among libraries in and out of the state. From December 1, 1902, to December 1, 1903, there were shipped to libraries, institutions and individuals 10,658 books and pamphlets, and for the fraction of the year preceding, 3303 books and 8890 pamphlets, or 22,851 to date. That seems much better than destroying them. Every institution and person was anxious to get them, and many regrets expressed that there were not more. The sets, however, have been broken, so that from now on books will not go out so rapidly. About 2500 books were added by friends of the Society to this great stock of duplicates. Of this contribution, many were used to fill in and augment the Society's collection, and practically all that were not needed were placed in libraries connected with schools in Kansas. But of the state's own publications, running back as far as 1870, there may be fully a carload on hand. There are some state officers' reports for which there is no demand, while others are all gone. We have a superabundance of public documents, from 1877 to 1882: state auditor's reports during the '90's: insurance reports, some early ones and some during the '90's: railroad commissioners' reports, first and ninth and late numbers; labor report for 1889; Mineral Resources, 1897; and "Kansas at the World's Fair," 1893. The law gives the Society, for exchange, sixty copies of everything published, and I suppose the necessity is upon us of handing over to the junk dealer all but sixty copies each of those of which there is an excessive quantity. All the Collections of the Society are out of print except volumes 6 and 7, and of these about 1000 each are on hand. At the rate they are going they will last scarcely two years.

The act of the legislature of 1903 requiring the teaching of Kansas history in the public schools has added much to the interest in these Collections of the Historical Society. The publications for which there is a demand are, the reports of the State Board of Agriculture, the Collections of the Historical Society, reports of the Labor Bureau, State Horticultural Society, and of the Board of Charities. The constant and wide-spread study of sociological questions gives these particular books some value. It has become the custom of state officers to place the surplus books received by them in this duplicate room, and many of these have been used to advantage. Hundreds of duplicates of government publications gathered from the various officers in the capitol building have been shipped back to Washington, or distributed in local libraries, a postal frank always being furnished us for this purpose. We have forwarded to the congressional library at Washington, during the past year, thirty-six complete volumes and 506 loose numbers of government and miscellaneous publications, and received in return sixteen complete volumes and 692 loose numbers. Only last week we received on this account publications for which we would have to pay a second hand collector thirteen dollars.

Several years ago much work was done toward cataloging the Kansas portion of this collection, but it was abandoned for lack of help. So many years have intervened since the work ceased, and methods improving greatly, it was concluded best to begin anew. The legislature of 1903 was asked for authority to publish a catalog. The senate, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution, as follows:

"WHEREAS, The large and valuable collection of books, newspapers, manuscripts, portraits, pamphlets and relics possessed by the State Historical Society of Kansas is being classified and cataloged by the Society; and

"WHEREAS, The publication of a catalog by the Society is of a large public and historical interest to the state: therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate, the House concurring therein, That the catalog of the State Historical Society, when completed, be printed and published at the expense of the state and paid for out of the funds available for public printing."

A unanimous sentiment seemed to prevail also in the house for such a resolution, but a legal point was raised, requiring that the subject-matter be placed in the printing appropriation bill. As the legislature could not appropriate beyond June 30, 1905, and it was deemed impossible to make the copy and print the book before that time, the matter was dropped.

The Executive Council kindly furnished us with a typewriter adjusted to catalog work, and a little more than one-quarter of the job is done. A change in our force and a readjustment of service gave us two persons who could put in their whole time on this class of work, and the Executive Council gave us a second typewriter, which will enable us to complete the task before the next session of the legislature. It will make quite a book, but it will be of immense value to the public service, and to historical and educational interests, affording an index to men and women and their actions for the whole state for fifty years, and to pioneers and Indians beyond that. We carry along with this work additions to our card catalog of the library, pictures, manuscripts, etc., for the daily use of the patrons.

The Society has adopted for its printed catalog of Kansas books the form used by Thomas M. Owen, founder of the Southern Historical Association, in his bibliographies of Southern states, as published in the annual reports of the American Historical Association. This indexes books by authors, with subject references. We have a constant demand for material on Kansas events, facts, people, and places. It is the intention to make the catalog an index to all such material as is hidden away in the various books, pamphlets, maps, newspapers, etc., gathered up by the Society. For instance, the history of the Kansas Indians has never been properly compiled. The Andreas History, or "Herd-book," has a fair history, but necessarily brief. The following are a few of the references where other material can be found: Bourgmont's visit among the Kansas in 1724, found at least in four different forms—in Du Pratz, French and English editions, in Margry, and in manuscript; reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs, yearly, from the early part of the last century to date; reports of missionaries, explorers, travelers; state and government reports; reminiscences. We have now forty entries, and they will probably be doubled. We have now seventy pages of index devoted to the Indian tribes of Kansas, numbering 980 single entries.

During the past year the Society has compiled a list of Kansas documents for R. R. Bowker's "State Publications," which is now in proof. It is safe to say that the Kansas list rivals those of the older states which did not begin so early in their history to save.

The society will be grateful to all Kansas authors who will bring in their publications, no matter in what form, magazine or special newspaper articles.

The subject of marking the Santa Fe trail through the state has made some progress. It was brought before you one year ago by Mrs. Fannie G. Thompson, in behalf of the Daughters of the Revolution. Mrs. Thompson was made chairman of the committee which took charge of the matter. She did some work in the way of correspondence and agitation, but she was taken from us by death February 17, 1903. Her work, however, was not lost, for friends outside and among the Daughters had caught her inspiration and zeal, and so a lively interest continues.

At the annual convention of the Daughters for the state of Kansas, held October 14 to 17, a committee was appointed to continue the work in conjunction with the State Historical Society. The Daughters are of the opinion that, if suitable maps are furnished of the route through each county and school district, they

can enlist the school-teachers and pupils in raising mounds of stone or simple markers on the road through their particular districts.*

I believe that the year 1904 will see much, if not all, of this done. Mr. A. S. Peacock writes from Wa Keeney, hoping that the Daughters will have great success, and that "then the Denver trail may be similarly marked. However, I suggest that the work be done under the direction of your Society, according to law, as it will require some show of authority to preserve the markers. Let a mark be placed every mile, at the crossing of streams, etc.: and at such places as 'Threshing Machine Canyon' and 'Fort Downer,' a stone might be set up to mark the site. Such a plan I think would not only preserve history, but it would be a stimulus to study on the part of young Kansans, and help them to understand and appreciate the difficulties encountered by the founders of the state and in the settlement of the plains." It would be a great undertaking for one authority, without means; hence I think the Daughters have the right idea, as it is possible to enlist the school-teachers and school children to care for the few miles in a given school district. The resolution of this Society covered the Denver and other trails. During the year the Daughters placed a tablet in the sidewalk on Kansas avenue, Topeka, marking the lots on which the Topeka constitutional convention assembled, and where Col. E. V. Sumner dispersed the Topeka legislature. The Historical Society should do much to encourage this work.†

The great flood in the Kansas valley in the year 1844 has always been regarded as something of a myth. There were but a few witnesses — army officers and missionaries; there was no property to destroy and no wrecks covered the land, and the Indians generally were regarded as romancers. The only visible evidence left for the early white settlers was the debris high up in the forks of trees. So improbable seemed the story of the flood of '44 that the residents along the valley generally would not believe possible what actually occurred in 1903. That a body of water 200 miles long and from a mile to three miles in width and from five to ten feet in depth, ever covered any portion of Kansas for a period of five or six days, will need some very strong testimony in forty or fifty years from now. Lack of faith in what trifling evidence we had concerning the flood of '44, I have heard it said, was responsible for half the loss of life and property in 1903. All the newspaper publications covering the flood of 1903 have been clipped and pasted, enough for four good-sized volumes, and we have about 100 photographic views of the water and the destruction from Salina to Kansas City. Mrs. Congressman Charles Curtis gave to the Society her family Bible, with the backs gone and encased in mud; also, we have the pulpit Bible of the Congregational Church, North Topeka, and an Episcopal hymn-book picked up on Kansas avenue in Armourdale, each with mud for covers. The water reached a depth of six feet in the

* UPON the suggestion of Prof. F. H. Hodder, of the State University, and the favor of Hon. Victor Murdock, members of the directory of the State Historical Society, we have found in the War Department at Washington copy of a survey of the Santa Fe road, made in 1827, by Joseph C. Brown. The survey and field-notes we will have copied, at an expense of about thirty dollars, to be paid out of the membership-fee fund.

The following constitute the committee of the Daughters: Mrs. S. S. Ashbaugh, Mrs. Elizabeth Bernard Rose, Mrs. William E. Stanley, Wichita; Mrs. F. Dumont Smith, Kinsley; Miss Jennie Brooks, Miss Grace Meeker, Miss Laura Sheldon, Ottawa; Mrs. Paul R. Brooks, Mrs. John G. Haskell, Lawrence; Mrs. Clara McGuire, Topeka. The committee on the part of the State Historical Society to cooperate is as follows: Mrs. Caroline Prentiss, F. H. Hodder, J. D. Milliken, J. R. Mead, and R. M. Wright.

† THIS year, in memory of Mrs. Fannie G. Thompson, who was an honored citizen of Topeka, the local chapter has offered prizes of ten and twenty dollars for the two best essays on the Santa Fe trail by the students of the Topeka high school.

church in North Topeka, and the mud left when the water receded was from one to two feet and a half deep. The organ and the furniture floated about, and the Bible was about fifteen feet from the pulpit; a list of those who shoveled the mud was furnished with the book. This Society should encourage and aid in the placing of stones for water-marks at different points along the river; for what has happened twice will happen again, and to be forewarned will save millions and millions of dollars.

The newspaper clippings have been pasted up to June 30, last, and the clipping continued to date. This is not as complete as it might be, because to be as close in detail as the professional bureau would require one or more additional employees. As we do it a wide field is covered, and these clippings are an endless fund of historical reference, culled over every day by newspaper men and others.

Since May, 1888, this Society has had possession of the two shin bones and of a lock of hair of William Clark Quantrill. They have not been entered among the accessions or exposed to the public because of an obligation not to do so until after the death of the mother. Mrs. Quantrill died Monday, November 23, at an Odd Fellows' home in Springfield, Ohio, aged eighty years. These relics of the most historic devil developed by the civil war were taken from his grave in Kentucky by W. W. Scott, of Canal Dover, Ohio, assisted by Mrs. Quantrill. The grave was opened to satisfy the mother of his death. Mr. Scott found two men who were with Quantrill when he was wounded in a fight with federal guerrillas, about June 1, 1865, one having been with him since leaving Kansas and who was in the massacre at Lawrence. Mr. Scott was a schoolmate of Quantrill, and spent twenty-five years in the study of his life. A response received November 30 from Mrs. Scott informs us that Mr. Scott died about a year ago, and thus is lost the most elaborate work concerning the famous guerrilla. In one of his letters Mr. Scott says that all the correspondence and papers accumulated in his investigation shall come to the Historical Society.

The territorial settlers of Kansas are rapidly passing away. Soon a personal source of information for that period will be closed. The year 1904 will bring on a number of semicentennial anniversaries of events of the greatest importance — the beginning of a decade not surpassed in the world's history, during which the pioneers of Kansas enjoyed an inspiration rarely vouchsafed to any other people. There have been other heroic pioneers in the westward development of things, but the sacrifices and successes of those of Kansas have left upon the world an impress the most enduring and attractive. There are events in the history of Kansas that will never cease to be discussed. The act of May 30, 1854, creating the territory of Kansas, transferred to this region the greatest issue that ever confronted the nation, marking our first ten years with violence and war. We passed through great bitterness and travail, emerging among the most conspicuous states in the Union, with a history as creditable as it was startling, commanding the constant attention of the people of the world. Our history has been personal, factional, and controversial, and we have listened to all sides with the utmost patience, which has added to the value of the work of this Society.

The splendid collection, now the property of the state of Kansas, is due to the fact that this Society began work while practically all the participants were yet in this life. Scattered all over the state there are yet many citizens in seclusion who passed through those stormy days. There were no listless men then. Every man appreciated the seriousness of the times. Lately I have visited several of these old men, and I am amazed at the new and unheard-of things they tell, backed by corroborating papers and incidents, showing that modesty has kept

much valuable material from the world. I have the promise of many interesting things, but men from seventy-five to eighty-five years of age, in Kansas, think they have abundance of time for fulfilment. The sin of delay and the uncertainty as well as the certainty of the grim reaper interfere very much with the workings of the Society. During the past month I called at Arkansas City on Mr. I. H. Bonsall, who was said to have many pictures of territorial individuals. He was a photographer at Leavenworth in 1857-'58, an ardent follower of James H. Lane. Up to three or four years ago, when they were destroyed, he had the pictures in good shape of all of the members of the Lecompton constitutional convention. He doubtless has many very interesting things yet, of which he promises the Society a portion. He gave a picture of Lane, taken in the morning, after an all-night's ride.

The year 1904 promises to be one of great inspiration, a renewal of local and state pride. The men and women who have spent their lives during the past forty or fifty years in Kansas have a right to be unspeakably proud of their citizenship and achievements. This should manifest itself in every school district in the state during the coming year. There has been no general effort in the way of historical collection since the year 1876, when the centennial thrilled the people with pride of the past. In some of the western counties of the state 1876 scarcely saw the beginning of things. It is hoped that the enthusiasm which characterized that year may not only move the older portions of the state to bring such work up to date, but that the newer counties on the western border may interest themselves in their local history while there are so many of the first settlers still living. The local newspapers in 1876 did great work along this line.

Several points in the state will observe with great demonstrations not only the semicentennial of territorial organization but the same anniversary of their local settlement. Topeka, Leavenworth and Lawrence are already moving along this line. The territory was created by the president signing the bill, May 30. On the 13th of June the Leavenworth Town Company was organized, and first lots therein sold October 9. The Atchison Town Company was formed July 27, and lots sold September 2. August 1 and September 1 the first and second parties of emigrants arrived at Lawrence. A newspaper appeared September 15, under a tree at Leavenworth. October 7 the first governor arrived in the territory. December 5 Topeka was founded. There were very few incidents occurring, but they were significant, while the whole country was preparing for the struggle which followed. We have been blessed with such remarkable success in a material way, and have achieved such a high position otherwise among the communities of the earth, that I think the entire year should be given to thanksgiving and jubilation.

May 30 next is a holiday, the outgrowth of a contest which began with the organization of Kansas territory, and the people who cast flowers on that day in memory of those who died from 1861 to 1865 may extend their thoughts and sympathies backward covering a period from 1854 to 1861. Nothing could be more fitting than a combination of the two events, for Kansas was the product and the prize of that great struggle.

I think every school district in Kansas should have a celebration and the people do honor to the territorial pioneers, and thereby to themselves. There ought to be a census taken by years of all those who lived in Kansas prior to statehood and who may still be with us May 30, 1904.

The death list during the year emphasizes the fact that the early settlers of Kansas are disappearing. Harvey D. Rice, a Kansas farmer, made a visit to

New England as early as 1858, in the interest of what is now Washburn College; the Rev. Peter McVicar, D. D., gave more than a third of his life to this institution; and W. W. Phillips was an active and earnest man for good in 1855-'56; Mrs. Fannie Geiger Thompson was brought to Kansas in her childhood, her family settling in Ellsworth in 1867. These four persons attained unusual prominence in the affairs of Kansas. They served as members and directors of the Kansas State Historical Society for several years. Rev. Francis L. Hayes, D. D., Rev. D. M. Fisk, D. D., and A. B. Whiting, were appointed to prepare a paper on the life and character of Harvey D. Rice; and Rev. Richard Cordley, D. D., Rev. J. G. Dougherty, D. D., and Prof. F. W. Ellis, on Rev. Dr. McVicar.

The list of directors and the membership of the Society are now on a practical basis. To be a member one must contribute a newspaper file or one dollar per year, and there are no names on the directory because of influence or position not legitimate members of the Society. There has been no solicitation for the membership as it stands, and quite an interest has sprung up to be on the directory. The work in charge of this Society—its great collection of books, newspapers and pictures, relics and curios, representing the progress and accomplishments of this people—should appeal to the pride and patriotism of all. It ranks very high among similar institutions in the country. The work it calls for is responded to as a labor of love by citizens proud of their state, with ability, accurate research and literary merit of a high order. It should be the leading representative body of citizens in the state, as the list of its past presidents shows that it has been. The founders of the Kansas State Historical Society builded better than they knew. The membership list should pass the 500 mark next year.

HISTORICAL WORK IN OSAGE COUNTY.

By CHARLES R. GREEN,* of Lyndon.

I am asked to make a report of my historical work in Osage county to the Society. I never have made a written one before, and do so now with pleasure, hoping that others may be thus encouraged, when reading my report, to look up local data in their respective communities, as I have in mine, and afterwards live to reap some of the fruits of their labors.

I joined the Historical Society January, 1892, and have paid out some fifty to seventy-five dollars cash since then as dues, traveling expenses and board in attending the annual meetings of the Society, at Topeka. I own a printing-office, and have operated it entirely in the interests of historical work for six years, but

*CHARLES R. GREEN was born November 8, 1845, at Milan, Erie county, Ohio. His father followed farming in Wakefield and Clarksfield townships, Huron county, where the subject of this sketch was raised, the eldest of ten children. He obtained such education as possible in the neighborhood. In the fall of 1861, at the age of sixteen years, he tried to enlist as a soldier in the Fifty-fifth Ohio regiment, but he was rejected because of his age. In the summer of 1862, after the seven days' battle, he succeeded in getting into company A, One Hundred and First Ohio. Nine enlisted from Clarksfield, Green's home town. Four were killed and two wounded. Judge E. W. Cunningham, of the Kansas supreme court, was one of the nine. Green was the only one of the nine to serve his time and return home with the company, although he was wounded three times in the battle of Chickamauga. Upon his return from the war he attended school for two years. In April, 1867, he settled in Kansas, at Lenape, in Leavenworth county. After a couple of months at this point he moved to the state-line bottoms in Kansas City, Mo. In the summer he joined a surveying party and made a trip through New Mexico and Arizona to California. In a year he returned by Panama and Old Mexico. He taught school in Leavenworth county and farmed some. He returned to Ohio and spent six years there. In 1880 he settled in Osage county, Kansas. December 28, 1869, he was married in Tama county, Iowa, to Miss Flavia Barbour, a playmate in childhood, who died March 21, 1883, leaving six children. He married Miss Annie Kring November 17, 1887. Mr. Green resides two miles south of Lyndon.

still I do not seem to come under the class that my brother editor does, who contributes his local newspaper to the Society, rides on his pass to the meetings, and thus, without dues, enjoys the same privileges that I do at so much cost.

In this time, as an active member of the Society, I have given many days each year in driving around over the country and taking down narratives from old pioneers' lips, gathering historical data, and copying from our county records hundreds of pages of valuable matter referring to our county affairs, to assist the pioneers in their memories. While our county-seat was on wheels the first twenty years of its existence, being in no less than three places, the records were well preserved. I was able to find, by diligent search in old boxes, nearly all the papers to establish my official early history of the county, which took the name of Osage in 1860.

The following-named pioneers, many of them now dead or moved away, have thus contributed to my "bureau of historical data" in these twelve years.

In and around Lyndon, and year of coming to Kansas :

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|--|---|
| Allison's History of School District No. 62, 1870. | Mrs. John Howe, 1868. |
| William Allison, 1869. | Henry Howell, 1870. |
| George Antrim, 1878. | Andrew J. Huffman, 1857. |
| Wm. J. Armstrong, 1884. | Jas. R. Humphrey, 1869. |
| Henry Austin, 1869. | Archie Ingersoll, 1876. |
| Wells P. Bailey, 1866. | Henry Ingraham, 1862. |
| Judge John Banning, 1855. | Horace W. Jenness, 1866. |
| Mrs. Elias A. Barrett, 1870. | Henry Johnson, 1870. |
| Sam. Black and son Walter, 1859. | Henry Keeler, 1870. |
| James F. Blackwell, 1877. | James S. Kennedy, 1869. |
| Judge Alex. Blake, 1870. | Leander Kimball, 1859. |
| Solomon Bowes, 1857. | Henry Lamond, sr., 1868. |
| Moses Bradford, 1866. | Dr. George Lash, 1868. |
| Joel H. Buckman, 1886. | M. L. Laybourn, 1872. |
| Lucas Burnett, 1858. | Wesley A. J. Mavity, 1867. |
| Mrs. R. H. Chittenden, 1879. | George McMillan, 1869. |
| Dr. David D. Christy, 1876. | Geo. Miller, son of Abra. Miller, 1856. |
| David F. Coon, 1869. | Dr. G. W. Miller, 1859. |
| W. A. Cotterman, 1870. | Capt. G. W. Morris, 1868. |
| Charles Darling, 1866. | Warren W. Morris, 1869. |
| C. C. Deaver, 1871. | John W. Nicolay, 1866. |
| Fred Downs, 1869. | Mrs. Ellen Leavery Nihizer, 1868. |
| James K. Duff, 1871. | Edward Norris, 1870. |
| G. Alec Fleming, 1883. | Elisha Olcott, jr., 1863. |
| L. D. Gardener, 1870. | Prof. L. A. Parke, 1885. |
| Flavius J. Glenn, 1857. | Robert F. Patterson, 1876. |
| Wm. Gregory, 1870. | John Payne, 1871. |
| Wm. H. Green, 1872. | Soren Petersen, 1869. |
| Wm. Haas, 1868. | Pete Peterson (of Dragoon), 1858. |
| Mrs. Benj. G. Hall, 1870. | Robt. D. Pleasant, 1879. |
| Monroe W. Heaton, 1877. | Abram Primmer, 1878. |
| John Hedges, 1869. | J. A. Reading, 1871. |
| James J. Henton, 1868. | Lewis A. Reynolds, 1893. |
| John R. Henton, 1869. | Francis Marion Richards, 1856. |
| Nelson Hollingsworth, 1872. | Mrs. M. W. Richardson, 1860. |
| Samuel H. Holyoke, 1857. | Wm. Rock, 1870. |
| | Ezekiel Rogers, 1887. |

A. J. Roy, 1872.
 Chas. W. Ruggs, 1869.
 John Rynerson, 1866.
 A. M. Sanderson, 1878.
 Wm. H. Seever, 1863.
 Mrs. Sarah E. Shoemaker, 1871.
 Jacob Smell, 1870.
 James Smith, 1878.
 James Hurd Smith, 1868.
 Orlando S. Starr, 1869.
 William Stavely, 1878.
 Mrs. Amanda Still, 1885.
 Mrs. Julia Stonebraker, 1869.
 Isaac Stump, 1870.
 Edmund Tarver, 1868.
 Dr. Eber Topping, 1867.
 Silas B. Tower, 1870.
 Mrs. P. M. Tyler, 1866.
 David Uber, 1870.

Jesse Underwood, 1871.
 Mrs. Rachel Varner, 1869.
 Matthew M. Waddle, 1876.
 Thomas M. Wallace, 1874.
 James M. Watkins, 1869.
 George Weber, 1867.
 James Wells, 1878.
 J. Milt Whinrey, 1873.
 Leivonia Pryer Whinrey, 1869.
 Horace Whitman, 1868.
 Prof. J. S. Whitman, 1868.
 George Wiggington, 1884.
 Geo. M. Wilden, 1870.
 O. C. Williams, 1858.
 Lewis T. Wilson, 1883.
 Charles Woodward, 1868.
 Robert H. Wynne, 1869.
 Mrs. Nancy E. Wynne, 1860.
 James Yearout, 1867.

Former Burlingame pioneers interviewed or notes obtained from date of coming to Kansas:

Lucien R. Adams, 1856.
 Mrs. Sophia McGee Berry, 1854.
 James Bothel, 1854.
 Joseph Bratton, 1854.
 Grandma Caruthers, age 97, 1860.
 J. M. Chambers, supt., 186-. History
 of first twenty school districts.
 John H. Crumb, 1857.
 Thomas R. Davis, 1856.
 George J. Drew, 1855.
 Josiah Drew, 1855.
 Wm. J. Drew, 1855.
 Mrs. Levi Empie, 1857.
 Judge Robert Heizer, 1858.

Ellis Lewis, ex-county attorney, 1872.
 Wm. H. Lord, 1855.
 Mrs. Isabella Rambe Mercer, 1856.
 Frank M. Nelson, 1871.
 Mrs. Anna Todd Palmer, 1855.
 George W. Perrill, 1858.
 N. A. Perrill, 1858.
 Mrs. Mary Hoover Pratt, 1854.
 James Rogers (the historian), 1856.
 Henry D. Shepherd, 1858.
 Mrs. H. D. Shepherd, 1857, daughter
 of Abial T. Dutton.
 John Smith, 1854.
 Ithiel Street, 1854.

Ridgeway, Carbondale, Scranton, "110," Valley Brook:

Lars Anderson, 1859.
 Elijah S. Boreland, 1859.
 Wm. Brown, 1858.
 D. B. Burdick, 1857.
 Wm. T. Eckart, 1857.
 Charles G. Fox, 1859.
 Ansel B. Hackett, 1857.
 Alvin Hamilton, 1870.
 Mrs. Hiram H. Heberling, 1855.
 S. L. Heberling, 1856.

Wm. Hupp, 1854.
 Aaron Kinney, 1855.
 John Kinney, 1855.
 George McCullough, 1858.
 Isaac B. Masters, 1858.
 Mrs. Geo. W. Metzler, 1869.
 Charles Rubow, 1854.
 Judge John G. Urie, 1858.
 Capt. Robert D. Watt, 1854.

Osage City:

Dr. Albert C. Brown, 1871.
 James H. Kibbie, 1865.
 Sam Marshall, 1857.

Charles S. Martin, 1866.
 Horace E. Strong, 1857.
 Mrs. Nellie Norton Strong, 1856.

Quenemo Junction and Pomona:

J. C. Curry, 1877.
Mrs. Sarah Duvall, 1860.
Dr. E. B. Fenn, 1866
Robert G. Graham, 1868.
John Krauss, 1871.
George Logan, 1858.

Josiah Middleton, 1866.
Dr. David B. Moore, 1865.
John C. Rankin, 1865.
Mrs. Lida Saylor Fox, 1869.
W. K. Thomas, 1869.
Henry Wiggins, 1855.

Arvonia, Olivet, Melvern:

Arvonia residents, 1873-'74.
Cyrus Case, 1869.
Charles Cochran, 1860.
Noble G. Elder, 1869.
Wm. Francis, 1868.
Joseph G. Grant, 1872.
Lewis Humphries, 1859.
James W. Jessee, 1866.
Robert Jones, 1872.

Charles C. Judd, 1869.
Henry Judd, 1856.
Thos. B. McGregor, 1883.
Max Morton, 1870.
Lemuel W. Powell, 1870.
John Price, 1871.
Asher Smith, 1859.
Lemuel F. Warner, 1860.

Santa Fe Trail:

Mrs. Elizabeth Clousing Eden, of Allen, Lyon county, 1861.
Judge Robert Heizer, Osage City, 1858.

Jacob Van Natta, now of Burlingame, 1860.

On the building of the Union Pacific railroad from Kansas City up the Kaw to Topeka, 1863-'65, and incidentally various items of Delaware Indian history:

Mrs. Joseph Glimpse, Linwood, 1866.
Merlin C. Harris, Tonganoxie, 1865.
John C. Hindman, Linwood, 1858.
Capt. W. T. Hindman, Lawrence, 1858.
Martin Kapp, Linwood, 1867.

Rev. A. M. Richardson, Lawrence, 1870.
Thomas A. Shaw, Wyandotte, 1863.
John Tudhope, Linwood, 1866.
George C. Wetzell, Linwood, 1868.
Thomas Williams, Linwood, 1860.

John Brown days on the Pottawatomie:

Wm. H. Ambrose, Greeley, Anderson county, 1857.

J. N. Baker, Greeley, 1854.

D. Bradley Randall, Greeley, gives an excellent history of his youth in Ohio, 1840-'58, and civil-war history, 1871.

Quantrill raid matters:

T. J. Hadley, Kansas City, Mo., lieutenant in Fifth Kansas, 1863, 1856.
George W. Hanes, Waverly, Coffey county, 1856.

Henry Ingraham, Lyndon, Second Ohio volunteer cavalry, 1862.

In a several hours' talk with Lewis Kellerman, Burlington (1866), which I made notes of, he tells how in 1828 he was postillion on a horse-railway from Baltimore to Frederick City, Md., later the Baltimore & Ohio railroad; was also a freighter on the United States national road, from Cumberland to Indianapolis. This talk was in 1901, shortly before his death, at the age of eighty-nine.

Mrs. Sarah A. Whistler, Stroud, Okla. (1847): Widow of Hon. Wm. Whistler, of Osage county, daughter of Julia Goodell, a Sac Indian, and John Goodell, a white man, interpreter for the Sac and Fox tribes, 1840-'60. In several interviews when she was here, spring of 1903, visiting the Cappars, relatives of hers,

she gave me the genealogy of the Whistler family in Kansas and their history. She and her sister, Mrs. Fannie Whistler Nedeau, of the Sac and Fox agency, have given me a good deal of Sac and Fox history in many interviews.

A total of 212 names and dates are given.

The presentation of these names and dates of their coming to Kansas does not reveal the fact that they have been pioneers of many early-day places otherwise than Osage county. But their narratives, often the work of a half-day to take down, or, if sent me by mail, the work of days for them to remember and write out correctly, introduced to us history on almost every phase of Kansas life and struggle since 1854—life on the plains, army life, the golden days of '49, the removal of the Indians from Kansas, and many other subjects too numerous to be mentioned.

Two hundred or more pioneer narratives, mostly by old people, who are invariably invited to commence with their youth and give a life sketch, give the historian material fresh from life and true as life itself. All honor to our fathers and mothers, who came here, fought the battles and endured the privations that now, a half-century later, make Kansas foremost in the van of states, and we live to enjoy. We will prize their stories in the years to come. So many of them, I notice, have passed away in the ten years. I preserve these notes and records of theirs with great care in my vault, where they are systematically filed in a large case, and where I can find them on short notice.

I have considerable historical data, drawn from personal examination of hundreds of books, pamphlets and manuscripts in the possession of our Kansas State Historical Society, during the eleven years I have belonged, mostly bearing on the Sac and Fox Indian history. The Mississippi band of those Indians was removed to Kansas in 1845, and to the Indian Territory in 1869. Weller county, in 1855, only had a narrow strip of two and one-half miles wide by twenty-four miles long of territory outside the Sac and Fox reserve, which covered all the rest of the county, and what few folks settled in it considered themselves a part of Shawnee county. It was never organized as a county until 1859, when a change of name to Osage, and the addition of a nine-mile strip from the south end of Shawnee, with a part of the Indian reserve thrown open a year or two later, brought the county into prominence. Superior was its first county-seat. To-day a barn and well are about all that are left of that once busy place. By close inquiry I have found a few of its former citizens.

In my field-work I have visited and made plans of the old Sac and Fox agency, established in the county in 1845-'46. By considerable correspondence I have been able to get possession of the papers, some sixty, of the late United States Indian agent, Albert Wiley, who was the last agent of the Sacs and Foxes here in Kansas, and who helped to select their reservation in the Indian Territory. I have to pay for their use, and return them as soon as convenient. I am engaged now in compiling the material of this ten years' gathering, along the Sac and Fox history line, into a suitable volume, that will be printed by some one of our book-making firms during 1904, a permanent monument, I trust, to the memory of our old Sac and Fox reserve pioneers, as well as to the old Sac and Fox Indians themselves.

When the Indians settled on this reservation, now embraced mostly by the counties of Franklin and Osage, about 1846,* they numbered about 2000. A visit to

*Mr. Green, in a letter dated February 20, 1904, says regarding the removal of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi to Kansas: "They left Iowa in the fall of 1845, traveling to Brunswick, Mo., on the Missouri river; thence Keokuk, during the winter, came up to the Wakarusa, south of Lawrence, where the tribe had permission from the Shawnees to camp, and where they

their present home in Oklahoma, November, 1903, by the writer, developed the fact that only 492 are living there now. Some returned in the early years of their Kansas experiences to their old hunting-grounds on the Iowa river, and purchased a little land, 1500 acres, in Tama county, where they yet live. This was contrary to the policy of the government, but in the confusion of the war days, change of parties, and the fact that they bought the land out of their own savings, and could not be lawfully dispossessed, allowed them to get permanently settled. They are known as the Mesquaka* band, and now number about 300. They are mostly the Fox branch of the tribe. Their most noted chief of the last century, Pow-e-shick, died here of good age, and was buried at the junction, before Kansas was made a state. Iowa has not only honored this chief, but many other of the Sac and Fox chiefs, by naming her counties and towns after them.

Another band of the Sacs and Foxes lives now upon the Nemaha river, in north-eastern Kansas and southern Nebraska. They removed direct from Iowa with the Ioway band of Indians to that place about 1837. I think now that there are less than 100 of the Sacs among them. Intermarriages, however, take place often between these widely separated bands. The Indians have caught on to the white man's ways, and, having plenty of money after their payments, they take the cars and make these trips speedily. They even go down to Old Mexico to hunt, where some of the Kickapoos live.

The Sac part of the tribe here in Osage county had a noted chief, Moko-hoko, who, at the head of a following of some 100, more or less, refused to sign the treaty of 1868, to cede these lands to the United States. They had become attached to this Marais des Cygnes valley, and, like the Mesquaka band, of Iowa, they determined to stay here, and only by force were they removed with the rest of the tribe in 1869. They immediately returned from the new home. Some of the teamsters who hauled them down said the Indians beat them back here. In 1876 they were removed again, but the larger part came back the second time. Their houses were along the banks of the Marais des Cygnes, above and below Melvern, for ten miles. For the next ten years they were left alone, though they did not buy any land. Indulgent settlers tolerated them because they were honest, and the adults became good assistants at farm labor. In 1886, after Moko-hoko's death, they were removed again, and guarded a year at their new home, until they got over their homesickness, and found the annuities paid them there a greater advantage than the half-vagrant life they led here. They are known there now as the Kansas band of Sacs and Foxes. I have many portraits and much history of these Indians who lived among us so long.

The great dearth of any printing matter about our Osage county pioneers and early history of the county induced me, in 1896, to go into the publication of many pieces in our local newspapers, in order to arouse a greater interest in historical matters.

Our county has been one of great activity in politics. When Governor Humphrey was elected, November, 1890, Mrs. Mary E. Lease, then an obscure woman of Wichita, a day or two after election was invited here to Lyndon, and in a large

mostly stayed during the season of 1846. During this time John Beech, the agent, was arranging about the buildings for the agency, which in the '50's was known as the Greenwood Sac and Fox agency, on the Marias des Cygnes river, several miles southeast of Pomona, Franklin county. This was on the eastern boundary line of the Sac and Fox reservation. The Gode! family, interpreter, remained at Brunswick two years. Many of the tribe went *via* other tribes, visiting and hunting a year or two, but Moses Keokuk said, in 1883, that over 2000 came out with his father. Before leaving Iowa they numbered 2400 or more."

*This word is spelled "Muskwaki" in Royce's "Indian Land Cessions in the United States, and "Mus-qua-kie" by Horace M. Rebok in his pamphlet on the tribe, 1900.

mass-meeting, well represented from all over the county, she declared from the rostrum "that the tyranny of such Republican tactics as were then in vogue by the state of Kansas ought to be put down, and that the new party, then known as the Farmers' Alliance in Osage county, or People's party, ought to march upon the state capital armed with pitchforks, scythes, and other handy implements of yeoman's toil, and take the state government into their own hands." From that time on, the next several years were hard ones for me to do any great good here in the public press, as a bitter political war raged, to the exclusion of all other matters. My best material was often in the ranks of the opposite party, where an unguarded word from me closed all historical talk and started politics. Through it all I avoided politics, and carried on my historical work in such a manner that to-day some of my best supporters of the work are what used to be known here as "Pops."

The publication of my books has been delayed, as I have seen up to this time no profitable market for my labor. Two books, "Annals of Lyndon," an edition of 240 copies, 400 pages printed, and "Early Days in Kansas," an edition of 200 copies, 215 pages printed, both octavo works, printed in my own printing-office, tied up in bundles, lie here in my library room, reminding me of about \$300 in typesetting, paper and ink that I have expended, besides my labor as editor and printer for several years.

I have a large fire-proof room, well lighted, where I keep all my records, museum, and a library (at present numbering over 1500 volumes, along historical lines), and this enables me to get much of my reference matter, so necessary to a historical writer, right at home without delay; whereas, in the past I used to make two or more trips to Topeka yearly, often spending the whole week in the Historical Society rooms. Now, by a large correspondence with various societies, and an annual visit to Topeka, I get along very well. My requests for information from our Society are met as promptly as the nature of it and the force there employed admits. Thus, as a Kansas farmer, legitimately sticking to that as a livelihood, as I have prospered in this world's goods, instead of putting the money into another farm, I have invested it in this line of work, until in all its parts it equals the value of my homestead, and, at the age of nearly sixty, when one must begin to lay aside manual labor, affords me far greater pleasure and more agreeable work than that of the farm, where, in these late years, work has been so difficult to carry on from the want of laborers hunting farm work.

Coming to Kansas after the civil war, in which I participated three years as a member of the One Hundred and First Ohio volunteer infantry, I was so fortunate as to get appointed, at Wyandotte, May, 1867, a member of Gen. W. W. Wright's Union Pacific survey party, to make the preliminary survey of that railroad to the Pacific coast *via* New Mexico, Arizona, and Los Angeles, Cal. The Santa Fe now runs over the route we surveyed. Returning to Kansas in 1868, I commenced teaching my first school in Leavenworth county that fall, in the empty Delaware Indian trading store, at a station on the Union Pacific in the Kaw valley, about thirty-two miles from Wyandotte, known first as Journeycake, later Stranger station, and, in 1875, Linwood. Having met the Delaware Indians there the year before, and learning much history about them in my school-teaching days up to 1874, I have in these later years interviewed many pioneers of that section, and recently visited the Delawares in their homes among the Cherokees, south of Coffeyville, Kan. I have made contributions of several articles to the Tonganoxie *Mirror* along these lines, whose columns have always welcomed such data. I have much unpublished matter about the Delawares.

Mrs. Lawrence D. Bailey, of Lawrence, widow of the late Judge Bailey,* of the supreme court first after Kansas became a state, has let me have for publication quite a good deal of his old papers—printed ones. The judge was the president of Lyndon's first town company, later editor of a paper at Garden City. I compiled from his papers a 100-page octavo pamphlet, and issued a small edition entitled "Border Ruffian Troubles in Kansas." I have issued seven other pamphlets, all being prominent chapters in my books "Annals of Lyndon" and "Early Days in Kansas." One was a directory of Lyndon, Kan.—a historical geneological list of 3200 men, women and children for the years 1895-'97 in an area of fifteen miles in and around Lyndon.

These pamphlets seem to keep up interest best in the people's minds about our historical work, and in no wise detract from the prospective sale of my historical books.

COMMITTEE ON EXPLORATIONS.

By W. J. GRIFFING,† of Manhattan.

As a member of the committee on explorations, I have the following to report: The last week in August, 1903, Mr. J. S. Cunningham and I, equipped with a complete camping outfit, started up Wild Cat creek—a stream emptying into the Kansas river above Manhattan.

This creek seems to have been a favorite camping-place of the aborigines, there being scarcely a farm of any size along its valley that does not give evidence of having been the stopping-place of Indians.

The abundance of game, fish and flints was probably not the sole reason of the frequent encampments, as the valley of this stream formed a natural highway for tribes living eastward along the Kansas to follow on their way out to the buffalo plains.

Some of the old village sites still show elevations where earthen lodges once stood; flint fragments, broken clay pottery, flint knives, scrapers, arrow- and

* LAWRENCE D. BAILEY was born August 26, 1819, at Sutton, Merrimack county, New Hampshire. His ancestors came from Yorkshire, England, in 1638, and built the first woolen factory in America, at Rowley, now Georgetown, Mass. He was educated in Franklin, Unity, Pembroke and Atkinson Academies, but he never entered college. He read law, and was admitted to the bar July 9, 1846. He practiced at various points in New Hampshire until December, 1849, when he started for California by way of Cape Horn. He spent four years in California lumbering, gold digging, and practicing law, and editing a Whig paper called the *Pacific Courier*. He returned to New Hampshire in the fall of 1853, and practiced law. On the 2d day of April, 1857, he arrived in Kansas, and settled on a claim in Douglas county, near Clinton. In the following September he moved to Emporia, and opened a law office—the first in southwestern Kansas. In 1858 he was elected to the territorial legislature from a district known as the "nineteen disfranchised counties." He was elected associate justice of the supreme court of Kansas in 1859, under the Wyandotte constitution, and reelected in 1862, after statehood, for six years. In 1863 he assisted in organizing the State Board of Agriculture, and was its first president, for four successive terms, and in the same year established the *Kansas Farmer*. He had much to do with establishing the State Normal School. He became a large farmer, and, in 1870, located the town of Lyndon. He afterwards became a resident of Garden City. He died in October, 1891.

† WILLIAM JAMES GRIFFING was born on a farm east of Topeka, in Shawnee county, November 24, 1860. He attended district school until he entered the Kansas State Agricultural College, from which he graduated in 1883. His natural liking led him to farming and fruit-growing, at which he has made good success. His first dollar was made while a boy, catching rabbits at five cents apiece. He settled on a farm near Manhattan, Riley county. He has served the public officially as justice of the peace and member of the school board, and in agricultural and horticultural clubs, and along historical and archaeological lines. He has been steward of the Methodist church at Manhattan for several years, and president of the alumni association of the State Agricultural College. February 17, 1884, he was married to Miss Hat-

spear-heads are scattered over the ground. At other points the encampments seem to have been only temporary.

We followed the stream to Riley, crossed over to Broughton, on the Republican river; here we noted a few burial mounds on the bluffs near to town. Turning south, we followed the public road down the river, locating the scattered mounds along the bluffs, and opening the most promising ones. We found several mounds near Streeter's mill, on Madison creek, two miles above Milford.

C. A. Streeter presented the Society with a fine granite ax found on Shannon creek, Pottawatomie county, Kan.

Passing through the Fort Riley reservation, we camped one night at the government ford on Seven Mile creek. This spot proved to have been a favorite resort for the Indians, and must have been occupied by a village of considerable size.

We spent two days on the south side of the Kansas river, near Ogden, continuing the work of the previous year on the land of V. E. Schermerhorn and Charles Schiller. We were well rewarded for our labor here, and secured a fine lot of relics to add to the Society's collection.

I have either opened or assisted in opening more than 100 of these burial mounds, and while there is a slight diversity in the shape of the ornaments buried, the greatest difference is in the amount of material found. The small mounds as a rule contain nothing of interest but fragments of human bones, sometimes charred by fire.

The larger mounds often, but not always, contain war-arrow and spear points, knives, and scrapers, all of flint; bone, shell and stone beads; bone awls; also ornaments made of a variety of materials, such as bone, teeth, and stone.

The objects found in the various mounds show a marked similarity, the slight variations being due to the individual tastes of the artisans.

I have endeavored, by close observation, to gain light on the method of burial that prevailed among these Indians.

There are several methods of disposing of the dead practiced by Western tribes: one common among the Sioux was to wrap the deceased in blankets and place the body on an elevated platform of poles, where it would remain until complete decomposition of the flesh had taken place; the bones were then removed and buried.

The Kaws, while living at their old village near Manhattan, buried their dead in graves on the bottom land near the village, leaving no permanent markings of any kind which might lead to the identification of the spot. In later years,

tie Clarke, and they have been blessed with two girls and two boys. He is the son of the Rev. James Sayre Grilling and Miss J. Augusta Goodrich. Their parents were both of English ancestry. The father was born October 28, 1822, at Owego, N. Y., and died April 3, 1882. He was sent by the Methodist church as a missionary to Kansas in 1854, arriving November 4. His circuit reached from the Wyandotte reservation, at the mouth of the Kaw, to Fort Riley. He rode this circuit usually alone on an Indian pony, and in 1855 took a claim two miles east of Topeka. He organized classes wherever possible, the first at Lawrence, with a membership of eleven; next at Auburn (then Brownsville), with a half-dozen members; at Tecumseh, with a membership of nine; at Topeka early in 1855; Clinton, Douglas county, next; and out at Juniata, in Riley county, and other points; total enrolment for the first year of 200. He also assisted in organizing the Kansas and Nebraska conference, at Lawrence, October 23, 1856, and never missed a conference during the remaining twenty-six years of his life. He was elected county superintendent of public instruction for Shawnee county. While stationed at Seneca he joined a militia company, which was soon ordered out to go after the Cheyennes, who had made a raid along the Platte. They went as far as the mouth of White Rock, on the Republican, thence north, and buried the dead at different ranches that had been looted. The company was again called into service during the Price raid, in 1864. He planted an orchard in Kansas in 1858.

stones were heaped over the graves, to protect the bodies from wolves. Often a horse was killed over the spot, whose spirit was supposed to convey that of the departed to the happy hunting-grounds. The tribe that occupied the territory around Manhattan some two or three centuries ago, and constructed the burial mounds I have mentioned, is thought by the best authorities to have been Pawnees, who afterward migrated up the Republican river, and to the Platte river, Nebraska.

The evidence goes to show that before burials were made in these mounds the bones were broken up, often burned black, and scattered in a layer through the mound as it was gradually erected by heaping up earth and stones. They seem never to have been disturbed after the mound was once finished—later burials requiring a new and different mound. Only once have I ever found an exception; this was in a mound in Pottawatomie county, near the mouth of Cedar creek; here we found the complete skeleton of an Indian buried in a sitting posture; the other burials in the mound were the same as in all others. It was plainly an intrusive burial.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MOUNDS AND VILLAGE SITES.

By W. E. RICHEY, Chairman of Committee.

Explorations have been made on the Kansas, Republican, Smoky Hill, Verdigris and Marais des Cygnes rivers, and interesting Indian relics from the streams named are now on exhibition in the rooms of the Society. Many flint implements, buffalo bones and pieces of pottery have been unearthed at a village site near Lindsborg. A piece of petrified wood was also unearthed here, which apparently was once the end of a stick drawn by dogs, and on which Indians moved their tents and equipage. This is indicated by one end being worn smooth at a certain angle. The flint implements found on this side are of different colors, showing that the people of the village had communication with Indians of remote localities. It is possible that some of them were obtained by conquest, but the probability is that the greater number were acquired by barter. This village was situated between two never-failing streams. In places the ground near the stream rose to a considerable height. When buffaloes came to slake their thirst at these cooling waters, the Indians of the village could approach the stream and kill their choice from the drinking herds. The facility with which these animals were slaughtered here may account for the unusual number of their bones unearthed on the village site.

The amount of pottery unearthed here is also a noticeable feature. The village was likely an important one. Professor Udden, formerly of Lindsborg, wrote a small volume descriptive of this site and the objects found there.

East of this site, some sites on Gypsum, Holland and Turkey creeks have been examined, and a number of interesting relics found, among them a mottled flint hoe. This flint came from a distance, nothing like it being known in the locality. The indications are that small areas on these streams were cultivated. It is believed that Coronado crossed these streams on his march from the big bend of the Smoky Hill to the Kansas river. His narrators speak of corn in Quivira, and the hoes and digging implements indicate that it was raised there, but the buffalo furnished the main food.

Last winter Mr. J. A. Johnson, a bridge contractor, in excavating for the abutments for a bridge on Clark's creek, near Skiddy, Morris county, at a depth of fifteen feet, came to a fireplace, or hearth, made of stones, matched and fitted together, and resting on a solid ledge of rock, lower than the present channel. On the fireplace were found charcoal, ashes, a buffalo bone, a flint knife, and a

coin-shaped piece of brass. Above the fireplace, and six or seven feet beneath the surface, an oak tree, two feet thick, had grown. The stump was removed in excavating. This was undoubtedly a camping-place of white men in communication with Indians a long time ago. Another fireplace has been found since in the same locality.

I examined a very interesting village site and fort on the Verdigris river last spring. Rev. M. E. Fraser, of Neodesha, and Mr. Knaus had written the Society concerning this site and fort. The fort was built on a part of the site three miles north of Neodesha, near to and east of the river. The lodge sites occupy a considerable area, and the village seems to have been an important one. Its occupants must have been known for long distances, as small flint implements of many kinds and colors have been found different from any known there. There seems to have been no other village of equal importance in that whole section of country. Shells, stone mauls, flint arrow-points, hammers, rubbing-stones, scrapers, pitted stones, flint chips and other objects were found on the site. The presence of pitted stones seems significant. The animal bones found indicate that these Indians derived their main support from the buffalo. On the highest ground of the site are two parallel lines of pits. The dirt from these pits had been thrown between the lines of pits, so as to make one line of elevated places between the two lines of pits. The form of this fort is almost that of a horseshoe, with the opening toward the east. The pits and the elevated places between them were from one to two rods long, and the pits were about three and a half feet deep.

A piece of the butt plate of a gun and an old iron ax beveled only on one side were unearthed near the fort: also bullets and trinkets, probably traded to the Indians by white traders, were found. These things and the Indian relics found are deposited in the rooms of the State Historical Society and on exhibition there. Conjectures have been made as to the time and by whom the fort was built. It was quite likely the work of white men, and I do not think it is very old. The probabilities are that the fort was built while the Indian village was in existence. This is indicated by the beveled ax and the trinkets found. Investigation of this fort and site will be continued, and possibly facts may be developed which will throw further light on both. There seems nothing definite now as to either.

There are mounds in various places in Kansas which may develop interesting facts. The village sites are continually yielding their treasures of the past. These should be carefully preserved. They throw much light on the manner of living of those who formerly held the soil. Back of written records, if a history could be written of those who roamed over the sunny plains of Kansas, it would surely be a very interesting one.

Mr. W. J. Griffing has collected during the last year a lot of interesting relics near Manhattan and deposited them with the Society.

While the members of the committee are interested in the work, it is inconvenient and almost impracticable for them to get together and make examinations of mounds and village sites.

Everything seems to indicate that what can be learned of the aborigines of what is now Kansas is well worthy of investigation and study.

A FAMOUS OLD CROSSING ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL.

From an address by GEO. P. MOREHOUSE,* of Council Grove, before the State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

THE great flood of 1903, which washed away the Main street bridge over the Neosho river at Council Grove, has called attention to this famous crossing of the old Santa Fe trail over that stream. This bridge marked the exact location, and the city has always preserved a convenient passway down the river banks to the fine rock-bottom ford, that stock and teams could go over in the old way. This is right in the center of the town, and has always been a splendid watering-place, noted as such long before the time of the white man.

The three spans of this bridge were destroyed on the night of May 28, 1903, when two-thirds of Council Grove were flooded by a sudden and protracted rise of the river, several feet higher than recorded by the oldest settler. The tradition of the Kaws, who lived here from 1847 till 1873, that "once the valley was washed from hills to hills" was verified, but no one dreamed of a wave of water high enough to carry off this strong structure and to flood every business house in the city. The Kaws used to tell of this tradition, and say "White man heap big fool to build big house near river," and for a time last spring we thought they were correct.

Nothing much remains of this bridge except the abutments and piers, which stand as mute monuments of not only the power of the highest water ever known, but also a very noted spot in the history of Kansas. The first structure was of heavy oak timber, sawed out of the original "council grove," and was built some forty years ago, and was for a time a toll-bridge, and known as the only bridge this far west in the state. When a boy, I remember the old oak bridge leaned fully two feet down stream before it was finally taken down. In early days it furnished a convenient scaffold from which to drop those sentenced to death by the court of Judge Lynch, which often held sessions here. The last execution to take place here was during the winter of 1866-'67. Jack McDowell was a noted horse-thief and outlaw from Missouri, and understood to have been with Quantrill at Lawrence and on other expeditions, but his career of crime came to an ignominious end at this spot. As a suspicious character he lounged

*GEORGE PIERSON MOREHOUSE was born at Decatur, Ill., July 28, 1859. His father, Horace Morehouse, is still living, at the age of 78, a retired merchant and farmer. He was one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois. The mother was Lavinia F. Strong, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, a lineal descendant of Elder John Strong, who came from England in 1630, in the good ship Mary and John, and founded Northampton, Mass. The family came to Kansas in 1871, and opened a stock farm at Diamond Springs, in Morris county. George P. Morehouse started his life in the rough and tumble of ranch life. His first expense money for school-books was obtained from the sale of fur skins and wolf pelts. He went to Albion, New York, Academy, graduating in 1884, and he also became academic graduate of the University of New York. Here he won three prizes. He began the study of law in New York, but returned home, and managed the ranch for two years, which is still owned by himself and brother, finishing legal preparation at Council Grove. He was admitted to the bar in 1889, and served six years as city attorney of Council Grove and county attorney of Morris county. He was elected state senator from the twenty-third district, composed of the counties of Chase, Marion, and Morris. He is the author of the law making the sunflower the state flower, and of the first legislation regulating automobiles; an active advocate of manual training, and other reforms in our systems of education and taxation. He is a bachelor, of the law firm of Morehouse & Crowley, Council Grove, a member of the Presbyterian church, a Modern Woodman, and a Knight of Pythias.

around town for several days, and then stole the best span of horses in the valley. He was tracked into Nebraska by the owner, William Pollard, who took with him the sheriff of Morris county. They took no chances of delay, but brought him back without a requisition, a formality too slow for that time. To track a horse-thief or prairie outlaw then was far different than now, assisted as the officers are by thickly settled country, railways, telegraphs, telephones, and so many means of communication and interception.

McDowell seemed to have some confederates or friends right in town, who made a demonstration for his rescue and secretly furnished him with arms. It failed, however, and two well-known citizens were given "six hours to sell out, pack up, go, and never return," a frequent order by the mysterious "committee of safety." They promptly obeyed orders. While preparations were being made for "the preliminary," that he might be "bound over to the district court," he was confined in the old log guard-house. It was a long time to the spring term of court, and McDowell became so violent in his abuse and unspeakable execration of his captors, the town, and its leading citizens, whom he threatened with all kinds of vengeance in the future, and so openly boasted of his numerous killings, that it became unbearable "to the peace and quiet" of the old town. "After due deliberation," so called, it was thought best summarily to dispose of him and not wait for the next term of court to send him to the pen. This decision was hastened by rumors that some of his old-time friends were coming with a band of rescuers. One cold, bright moonlight Saturday night after business hours, the "inner council" of the committee of safety assembled as executioners and took him down Main street to the old bridge, with a convenient rope coiled around his neck. The loose end was properly fastened to an extended cross-beam, and McDowell was duly rolled off into eternity. When he saw that his end was near he became very meek and begged for delay, and confessed his many crimes as a heartless outlaw and thoroughly bad man that he was. His body was left hanging for a day from this prominent place, as a warning to others.

This old wooden structure was replaced by an iron bridge, which, having no walk-way, was converted into three country bridges, and the fine structure recently destroyed was erected. Since the May flood, the river has been crossed in the old way of early trail days, and frequently this summer was too high, and wagon and passenger traffic between east and west Council Grove has been carried on with much difficulty, giving good examples of the many trials experienced in overland teaming when this was one of the most noted highways in America.

The extremes to which men would go in old times to get their wagon-trains across this spot is noted in the following account recently related to me by an old-timer: Pawnee Bill was a rancher and freighter, and, with a long train of empty wagons going east, he was detained at this crossing by continued high water. Becoming restless at the delay, he ordered his men to chain all wagon-boxes to the gears and prepare to advance. The Mexican "greasers," not given to such violent baths, objected, and started a mutiny. He ridiculed them as cowards and children, and said "all such could crawl in the high wagons and ride, but brave men would ride and drive oxen or swim along with them," as he would.

He set the example by forcing the head outfit, a wagon drawn by five yoke of oxen, into the mad current, and arrived safely across. He was an expert swimmer, and would go along the side of the oxen, punching them and urging them on with terrific yells, now on one side, and would even dive under the floating mass and come up on the other side to urge them along. The entire train fol-



Group of Kaw Indians in full dress. Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, with shield; Sha-ga-in-ka, with horns; Margaret Ma-huo-gah, with pappoose, belle of the Kaws.



Famous crossing over the Neosho, on the Santa Fe Trail, at Council Grove, after the flood of 1903.

lowed, some "greasers" swimming, others riding oxen, and when the entire train reached the east side only two or three oxen were drowned. Many other trains were stopped that time by the high water, but none tried the strenuous method of fording adopted by Pawnee Bill. The best view of this old crossing is taken from the east abutment, looking west over the two piers and along Main street, which bears southwest about fifteen degrees, and which is a part of the original surveyed Santa Fe trail. This trail was used as a base line from which west Council Grove was platted, and hence all streets are "askew with the world." When the city was laid out a few rough log and stone structures had been erected along the trail, and they were thought to be too valuable to be disturbed.

The Daughters of the Revolution propose the worthy movement among the school children of the counties along this trail of marking by lasting monuments its course through the state. It is being obliterated in the grain counties, but through the large pastures of Morris and other counties, its sod-frozen washes, ruts and ridges are still plain. Main street of Council Grove and this old crossing over the Neosho are probably the most prominent, well preserved and permanent monuments along this noted thoroughfare. Several business places still stand which date back to the old days, when the long lines of white-covered, creaking, lumbering prairie schooners, drawn by oxen or mules, crossed the river at this point, and rolled past on their way to the far Southwest.

The first building to the left is the old trail blacksmith shop, right where the overland traffic swung up the hill into the broad street, of the last outfitting town and place where "store supplies" could be obtained. The next building to the left is the old hotel, substantially built of native lumber, oak frame and black walnut siding. The third story is an addition of this generation. For many years this was the most noted man hostelry from the Missouri river to Santa Fe. During those old trail days, and the great cattle drives of subsequent times, when vast herds of long-horn Texas cattle were driven through here, it was often the scene of noted events, dances, "social round-ups," "fandangoes," and the like, which early frontier belles and boys traveled many miles to attend. Many other quaint and celebrated business places still stand, relics of those palmy days when Council Grove was the second most important trading center in Kansas. To the right, set back from the street is the famous Hays building, also built of native lumber, and which in some way once stopped a great fire, after burning a half-block of brick stores. Up-stairs was the public hall, where many noted old Kansans held forth, where court convened, and the theatricals, which had ventured thus far west, turned back.

A block west of this crossing was the "pioneer store," recently changed some from its former odd proportions. It was a long, two-story stone building, with thick walls, and was the "last chance" to buy neglected supplies. Here the Kaws and other Indians traded buffalo-ropes, deer and wolf skins and other peltries for coveted things, and through its wide double doors the festive cowboys sometimes rode their ponies and traded with the astonished clerks. Here everything needed was kept, from a cambric needle to a complete frontier outfit, and every luxury could be obtained, from a cathartic pill to a cask of whisky. At this point people from the "effete East," who had foolishly worn "biled shirts" or sported stiff or plug hats, discarded these badges of luxury and purchased reliable soft sombreros and hickory or woolen shirts. If not, they met trouble, for it was a frequent custom to smash such hats down over a man's ears or shoot holes through the crown. This old crossing, camp-ground, grove and bridge were common and convenient places for meeting to exchange news, trade horses, sell cattle, outfit for the plains, and gather information upon all subjects from

the many travelers going east and west. A sort of bureau of general information and trail statistics was kept of those who passed, and even now passing suspicious characters are often noted and facts gained which lead to their destination and final capture. It was an abandoned horse and buggy crossing here at midnight a few years ago that gave the clue and led to the capture of that noted outlaw, mutineer, and murderer, Estelle.

As the number of passing wagons, oxen, horses, mules and tons of merchandise in the trains of the trail days was here noted and booked, so also this is the place even to-day where the length and character of modern parades and processions are counted and recorded. Few places in Kansas have a more favorable spot at which to congregate large crowds than this grove and crossing. For forty years some of Kansas' greatest political events have been held here: events of more than local importance, as either party could easily gather its devotees to this Mecca, even from surrounding counties. Spell-binders and sages of all political faiths have made this old camp ground and grove echo with their eloquence. All of Kansas' old-timers have been here, and such noted outsiders as George Francis Train, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were here in one season. During later years some of these events have brought long processions over this crossing, and it has been the custom to measure the length and count the teams and persons passing, and it is considered an omen of victory to the political party managing the longest and most attractive display. The Democrats will always boast of the most costly, artistic and well-managed procession and spectacular display, when Judge John Martin was their candidate for governor.

The longest procession to pass here, and the one that caused Republicans the most anxiety, was when, on a cloudy and unfavorable day, Mrs. Lease, as the "Joan of Arc," and Senator Peffer, the "prophet of Populism," headed a parade, with banners galore, which, for two long hours, rolled down the street and crossed this bridge. It had been quietly worked up, for no previous advertising announced its coming: but it came—came in long and enthusiastic delegations—from Morris and adjoining counties, and was a prominent mark of the high tide of the political fervor of that party. In some respects, the grandest and most potent political event ever held here was on a favorable October day in 1891, an "off year," but one of remarkable political activity. It was known as a "rally and barbecue," and, while a Republican affair, was quite unique and unusual, in that the "straight-out" Democrats favored it, and to a degree participated in cooking the beef and helping in the entertainment. This was in recognition of the nomination by the Republican party of James Humphrey, of Junction City, for district judge. The "medicine made that day" and the good feeling prevailing, probably, were the cause of his election. Fully 10,000 people assembled—many from other counties—and for about an hour and a half a procession passed, which for enthusiasm and patriotic display could not have been excelled. Unlike the other procession, with its caustic and caricature banners which cut and hurt and rankled, this parade only displayed the stars and stripes, which decorated every horse, cart, wagon, carriage, and were held by every man, woman, and child. It presented a remarkable scene—a line of winding, rising and falling red, white, and blue, as far as the eye could reach. After a barbecue, which consumed several head of fat cattle and numerous hogs, besides great stacks of bread and barrels of coffee, ex-Gov. Geo. T. Anthony delivered the political address. Its earnestness, its logical reasoning, its clear and convincing presentation of the fundamental principles and powers of government, will never be forgotten, and had great influence upon the thousands who heard. At that

time he was five years ahead of his party, which arrived at his reasoning in the St. Louis platform of 1896, and adopted his arguments in that campaign. I mention it here because it was an eventful day in Kansas politics, an address which will long live as a political classic, and was delivered in this famous and historical spot by one whom some may not have admired, but all will admit had no superior in our Western country upon the stormy forum of public debate.

The recent flood, which destroyed the bridge at this crossing and submerged the town for a night and day, had such swift currents across this street that hose-carts were overturned and men and horses washed from their feet while on the way to the burning and floating lumber-yard and flooded and blazing buildings. To reach such a height and force, the river at this old ford had to be about twenty-five feet above ordinary water-mark.

There has been much speculation as to the earliest use of this crossing, but no one knows how far back it extends. While it is true that there was no Santa Fe trail till the white man made it, however, the old Indian traditions and other proofs clearly establish that, along parts of its very course, there was a pre-historic, well-marked and used highway to and from the Southwest. There are strong reasons for believing that back to the days of the mound builders this natural route was in use. It is well established that it was a common pathway for ancient Indian tribes hundreds of years ago. Many think that a part of Coronado's expedition crossed here in 1541, as pieces of chain mail and other ancient relics have been found near here. The first known man who camped at this crossing on his way to Santa Fe was La Lande, a French Creole, in the year 1804.

The year following, a man by the name of Purcell passed here bound for the same place. William Becknell, a Missouri trader, crossed this ford in 1821, with the first successful trading outfit that transported merchandise to the Mexican civilization of the Southwest.

There is record of three men, guided by a Spaniard named Blanco, who in 1809 went across to Santa Fe, and in 1817 Mr. Choteau, for many years afterwards a trader among the Kaws, covered the same route. He being at that time from St. Louis, the erroneous idea prevails that the first trading expeditions to Santa Fe over this route originated in that city. But to the old town of Franklin, in Howard county, Missouri, belongs the honor of fitting out the first trading expedition, which was the small pack-train of William Becknell, that made the journey in 1821.

The trading expedition of Augustus Storrs, of Franklin, Mo., who crossed here in 1824, and his elaborate report made to Senator Benton, regarding the trade possibilities with New Mexico and northern Old Mexico, stirred up Congress to make an appropriation for the survey and improvement of this avenue of coming "commerce of the prairies."

On the 10th day of August, 1825, right here under a monster old oak, "council oak," still standing, the United States commission and chief representatives of the powerful Osage nations met in council for several days, and made that treaty which led to the establishment of the Santa Fe trail and this crossing, and gave to this historic spot the name "Council Grove." During the same year, 1825, an expedition under Major Sibley commenced the survey, and for three years was engaged in formally laying out this highway and securing the proper concessions for its recognition. Within a few rods of this ford still stand some of the old giant oak trees, estimated to be over 200 years old, a part of the original "council grove," which for ages has been, and still is, the largest body of natural timber from here to the Rocky Mountains. This being the last timber crossing to Santa Fe, caravans carried a supply for repairs, which they hung in convenient

logs or timbers beneath their wagons, and sometimes they were carried to Santa Fe and back, when not used in repairing disabled wagons.

The first caravans to cross at this point were composed of pack-animals— Missouri mules. In 1824 a few wagons were successfully used. About 1830 the regulation high-box prairie-schooner was introduced. These wagons were drawn by from five to six yoke of oxen or as many mules, and had a capacity of about three tons. These trains numbered at times hundreds of wagons and several thousand animals, and thus thousands of tons of merchandise were transported. Is it any wonder this vast wagon commerce left an indelible mark on the plains or at a crossing like this?

This fine old forest of oak, hickory, walnut, and elm, with its abundance of wood and water, its shade and shelter, was a common gathering-place and council ground of the overland caravans westward bound, and the welcoming oasis, retreat and post of recuperation for the returning voyagers from the dust, heat, fatigue and dangers of the great plains, which, from this beautiful and protecting valley, stretched—

“In airy undulations, far away,
As if an ocean in its gentlest swell
Stood still, with all its rounded billows fixed
And motionless forever.”

It was here at this famous meeting-point, where parties assembled, organized their long caravans of wagons and pack-animals, and elected their train bosses and other officers to manage their future journey and enforce the “code of the plains,” which they had adopted and which governed. It was here, in 1842, that Marcus Whitman, that intrepid Presbyterian explorer and missionary, found shelter on his historic winter ride from Oregon to Washington, the most-noted long overland trip in American history; a ride that saved Oregon, now three states, as he arrived just in time to prevent Tyler and Webster from trading it (then thought to be “a worthless wilderness”) to the British for some fishing privileges. Whitman avoided the impassable snows of the middle Rockies by coming around South and striking this trail in New Mexico.

It was near this crossing of the Neosho, in July, 1846, that Colonel Doniphan and Sterling Price stopped and rested their regiments of Missouri volunteers on their way to the Mexican war. This march, from Leavenworth to the land of the Aztecs, 4000 miles, has no rival in the great marches of the world. The word “Neosho” means a river with water, so different from many Western rivers with their dry and sandy beds.

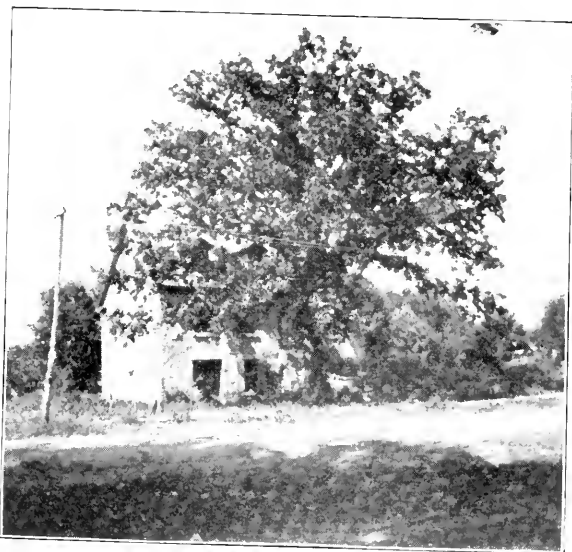
Over this crossing have passed most of the famous expeditions to the West and Southwest, and both man and beast, thirsty and famished, welcomed a river with water, and naturally lingered in the shelter of this favored spot.

This famous old crossing, with its rich traditions and historic interest, is right in the busy center of a growing Kansas town, and will always be marked by a large bridge and a convenient ford across its refreshing waters. This noted highway at this point has never been closed, but our broad Main street, through which poured that great overland commerce, and which once resounded with the creaking, groaning wagons, the tread of thousands of patient and faithful oxen and sturdy mules, accented by the emphatic imprecations of the drivers, is now lined with modern business houses, beautiful homes, and at night is made brilliant with electricity for a mile of its original course.

Multitudes cross here daily who never think of this historic ground or recall that primitive civilization of Indians, hunters and plainsmen, freighters, cow-



Pioneer Store on Trail at Council Grove. Built in the early '50s
Last chance for supplies.



Under this oak at Council Grove treaty was made with the Great and Little Osages
for right of way of Santa Fe Trail, August 10, 1825. Estimated
age of tree, 250 years.

boys, and soldiers, who were the every-day actors of those strenuous times, and if they should remember that period of our historic past, they would probably say :

“Look now, abroad,
Another race has filled these borders ;
Wide the wood recedes, fertile realms are tilled,
The land is full of harvests and green meads.”

Years may come and go ; the old “council oak” and the grove may wither, decay, and die ; our present civilization may almost obliterate the Santa Fe trail and scatter its quaint and interesting relics, but as long as Main street of Council Grove endures, the course of this noted trail, the magnitude of its trade, will be indelibly marked on earth, and at no more interesting and historical spot than at this famous old crossing over the Neosho river.

BUSINESS THEN AND NOW.

An address by JAMES C. HORTON,* of Kansas City, Mo., before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

IN 1861, when Kansas was admitted, the taxable property of the state was about \$16,000,000. It is now nearly \$390,000,000. The seven-per-cent. bonds of 1861 brought only thirty-five to forty-two cents on the dollar. The state at that time would exchange a hundred-dollar bond for seventy dollars of state warrants, there being no money in the treasury for redemption of the warrants, which sold for about fifty to sixty cents on the dollar. This made the price to the buyer of state bonds thirty-five to forty-two cents. The interest on every Kansas bond issued by the state was always promptly paid, and every such bond redeemed at maturity.

Considering the fact that the debt was limited to \$1,000,000, and the state was forbidden to become a party to any work of internal improvement, this was a very low figure for the bonds, but those were critical times.

Kansas is now practically out of debt, but could borrow at three per cent., if needed, on an issue of state bonds.

BANKS OF KANSAS.

There were no banks of issue in Kansas up to 1861, unless, possibly, the Lawrence Bank, which had a territorial charter, and issued bills which circulated

*JAMES CLARK HORTON, of Kansas City, Mo., was born at Ballston Spa, Saratoga county, New York, May 15, 1837. He is the son of James W. Horton and Abba Clark. His father was county clerk of Saratoga county from 1845 to 1885. In November, 1884, he was elected for the fourteenth term of three years, but died soon after the beginning of the term. He was warden or vestryman of his church for over fifty years, and chairman of the Republican county committee for thirty years. Ancestors on both sides were from Connecticut. James C. Horton attended Doctor Babcock's school at Ballston Spa, a school at Lockport, and the Kinderhook Academy, at Kinderhook, N. Y. He came to Kansas in March, 1857, and settled in Lawrence. He worked for a year as a copyist in his father's office before coming to Kansas. After settling in Lawrence, he engaged in manual labor. In 1858 he was made deputy to S. S. Prouty, register of deeds, and was afterwards elected for three terms to this office. He was then express and railroad ticket agent at Lawrence until his removal to Kansas City, Mo., in 1878, when, in company with B. W. Woodward and Frank A. Faxon, the wholesale drug house of Woodward, Faxon & Co., now Faxon, Horton & Gallagher, was established. He represented Douglas county in the house of representatives in 1874, and in the state senate of 1875 and 1876. He was chairman of the ways and means committee of the house in 1874, and chairman of the same committee and of the joint committee during his two years in the senate. He is a vestryman in Trinity Church, Lawrence, and Grace Church, Kansas City, Mo. He was married April 23, 1867, to Fannie B. Robinson, widow of John W. Robinson. His wife died June 14, 1901. Mr. Horton is one of the survivors of the Quantrill raid at Lawrence.

and were honored. The bills were printed in red ink. I think this bank was the only one incorporated by the territory.

There were some private institutions in Leavenworth, Atchison, and Topeka, and a few other of the larger towns, but all together there were not more than fifteen or twenty, with deposits of less than \$1,000,000. The national, state and private banks now number over 650, with deposits of nearly \$100,000,000.

ONE BANKER'S CHEAP AND QUICK METHOD OF MAKING COLLECTIONS.

In Lawrence, in 1857, Samuel N. Wood had a bank office in one corner of a small grocery store on Massachusetts street. There were piles of flour and bacon in the little building, Wood's corner occupying about eight feet square, with a bay window in front, in which he displayed land-warrants, gold and bank-notes in a tempting manner. One day a debtor of this banker passed by in the middle of the street, being somewhat intoxicated. Mr. Wood rushed out and seized him, throwing him down and taking his pocketbook. After helping himself to the amount due him he returned the pocketbook to its place and allowed him to proceed. This was a novel, but an economical and expeditious way of making a collection—quite a contrast to the delays which creditors sometimes experience in the courts nowadays.

THE CURRENCY.

Our currency at the time was gold, silver, and paper, but the paper money we had was mostly issued by banks either chartered and controlled by a state, as in Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio, or secured by pledges of state bonds, as in New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, and some other states. Unfortunately, when the Southern states seceded, their bonds depreciated rapidly, in some instances becoming entirely worthless—and the currency for which such bonds had been pledged fell far below par.

When I was register of deeds of Douglas county, I recall an instance where an old gentleman was paid \$300 in bank bills, mostly on Illinois and Wisconsin banks, in satisfaction of a mortgage which he held on a farm in that county. This was in the forenoon. That afternoon the stage brought the Leavenworth morning paper, which this old gentleman was in the habit of reading every day soon after it arrived. He always came around to the office to look it over. We had no telegraph or daily paper in Lawrence at that time. He had not read many telegraphic items before he discovered quite a list of banks whose currency was depreciated for the reason above stated. He said he would like to take the paper home with him, and the next day he sold the bank bills he had received at par the day before to Simpson's Bank for fifty cents on the dollar, and said he was glad to get rid of them.

No matter what panic overtakes the country now, the holders of its paper money, either that of the government or of the national banks, are secure against loss on that score. In those days a *Thompson's Bank note Reporter*, issued weekly, was to be seen in every place of business. No prudent man could be without it. It described counterfeits, of which there were a great many, and gave quotations of uncurrent money—nearly all bank issues being at a discount away from home.

RATES OF INTEREST.

The interest on money at that time ranged from twenty per cent. annum to five per cent. per month, and in some instances even ten per cent. a month was obtained. Twenty per cent. a year was considered very reasonable, and thousands of dollars were loaned in the towns where the land-offices were located at three per cent. a month for the purpose of entering lands. Kansas people are not borrowing to a great extent now, but rates are from six to eight per cent. per annum.

In Douglas county, in 1858, the county board determined that it was necessary to have a jail, and the chairman, Judge Josiah Miller, together with Henry Barwicklow, one of the board, gave a note to a Lawrence merchant, George Ford, with interest at five per cent. a month, for materials furnished for a jail. It cost about \$800, was built of hewn logs and had a shingle roof, but the windows were well barred and the jail had a very heavy oaken door, secured with a strong padlock. Soon after its completion an unfortunate individual charged with a slight offense was incarcerated, but through the kindly aid of a friend, who handed him a small saw between the window bars, he cut a hole through the roof and escaped that night.

The rate of interest paid in this necessity was not then considered unreasonable, but it is quite likely that Douglas county could to-day borrow all the money it wanted at the rate of four per cent. per annum.

Geary county, four years ago, sold its four-per-cent. court-house bonds at five per cent. premium.

BOND VOTING FOR RAILROADS.

About 1868 what Web Wilder called the "bond-voting mania" swept over Kansas, and many thousands of dollars were voted in aid of railroad enterprises. Fortunately the state herself could not be involved, as the constitution prohibited her from becoming a party to works of internal improvement, and limited the amount of the state debt. It might have been a blessing to Kansas if the Wyandotte convention had made that section read: "Neither the state, nor any county, city, or township, shall become a party to any work of internal improvement."

There was, however, a great desire for railroads, and the people wanted them quickly: they were tired of hauling their products over muddy roads. As to prices paid for construction, the iron for the road between Pleasant Hill and Lawrence was bought in England, and brought by way of New Orleans, costing \$140 a ton in greenbacks (which would have been about eighty dollars in gold). Steel rails can now be bought for twenty-seven dollars a ton or less, and a steel rail will outwear twenty-five iron rails.

The railroads were expensive luxuries to the taxpayers, but there were compensations, and the people were glad to get some other mode of travel besides the stage-coaches.

Sometimes, when roads were bad, it would take from six o'clock at night until six in the morning to go by stage from Lawrence to Topeka, a distance of only twenty-eight miles.

STEAMBOATING.

All goods for Kansas in the early days were brought up the Missouri river by steamboat. These were well equipped, carried a great many passengers, and the service was good, considering the difficulties of navigation at some seasons of the year. Flour, bacon and other staple articles were imported in large quantities. Kansas now exports largely both wheat and flour, and in 1903 had the largest wheat crop of any state in the Union. There are not enough cars and locomotives to handle this enormous crop.

The Kansas river was navigated from 1854 until 1864 at certain seasons of the year. We had a regular boat at Lawrence which took corn to Kansas City, and then went to Leavenworth for lumber, making the round trip in about four days.

Boats also went as far as Fort Riley, and one contractor for freight to be hauled by wagon from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley made a handsome profit, the stage of water being favorable, by bringing this freight up in a steamboat. Capt. Bertrand Rockwell's father (George Rockwell), then in business in

Junction City, told me that he freighted salt by wagon from Leavenworth and sold it in Junction City at \$6 a barrel. Now Kansas is supplying salt not only for all the state, but for some distance beyond. The packers in Kansas City use Kansas salt by the car-load, and in barrel lots it is worth about \$1.25.

EXPRESS BUSINESS AND THE STAGE COACHES.

In those earlier days I was express agent at Lawrence, and at that time the transmission of money was largely done by express, as we had but few banks to furnish drafts, and postal and express money-orders were unknown. Now the shipments of currency and specie are by express almost entirely—the large amounts shipped by banks and the government. Before there were any railroads thousands of dollars were carried on the stages, much of this money not being accompanied by a messenger. We had steel-bound trunks which were filled with money packages and the agents at different points had duplicate keys. These trunks were usually closely packed with money and valuables. This opportunity should not pass without a tribute to the fidelity of the stage-drivers who had them in their charge. I do not recall one instance on any stage route in Kansas where a dollar was stolen. These men were experts in driving, had a pride in their profession, and could handle four- or six-horse teams with ease. With hardly an exception they were temperate and careful, but not highly educated men. Some of them swore occasionally, on rainy nights, when roads were bad, but their integrity was unquestioned and their standard of honor very high. Acquisition of knowledge, desirable as it may be, does not of itself make people honest.

ELECTRICITY AS A POWER.

Within the past twenty years the development in the electrical field has been greater than in any other, and the use of this power is increasing so rapidly it may be confidently predicted that the time is not far distant when it will supersede steam as a motive power on all railroads, both for passenger- and freight-trains. Since this article was written it is announced that the New York Central railroad is to adopt electrical power for a portion of its road, at an expense of twenty to thirty millions.

THE PACKING BUSINESS.

One of the greatest changes in business pertains to the meat supply. Some years ago every village had its slaughtering establishment. Now the great packing centers furnish these foods.

Over \$300,000 a day is paid out at the Live-stock Exchange, in Kansas City, for cattle, hogs, and sheep.

The use of refrigerator-cars and cold-storage houses has brought about this change, as meats, dressed poultry, etc., can now be sent to the seaboard and delivered in prime condition. Shipments of dressed meats are made across the Atlantic from New York, Boston, and Baltimore.

THE MERCANTILE BUSINESS.

Before the railroads were built in Kansas the jobbing trade in all lines was of course confined to the towns on the Missouri river, principally at Leavenworth and Atchison, in Kansas, and Kansas City and St. Joseph, in Missouri. While a large business is still done from the river towns, many of the interior cities now distribute goods and enjoy an excellent trade. The wants of the people of Kansas have always been varied; they buy only the best goods, and are good customers for merchants.

INCREASE OF GOLD SUPPLY AFFECTING VALUES.

The opening of new gold mines and the improved methods of treating low-grade ores within the last ten years have enormously increased the world's supply of gold, and it being the measure of values, it cannot be otherwise than that the prices of real estate and other property, except watered stocks, will continue to show a healthy advance.

NEWSPAPERS IN KANSAS.

In 1857 there were only twenty newspapers published in Kansas: now there are over 750 newspaper publications, and the dailies published in Kansas City, Mo., have a large circulation in the state. We had some great editors in Kansas, among them John A. Martin, afterwards governor of the state: T. Dwight Thacher, D. R. Anthony, both members of the legislature: Jacob Stotler, speaker of the house; George T. Anthony, afterwards governor; George W. Brown; Hovey E. Lowman; Milton W. Reynolds; Ward Burlingame; Sidney Clarke, afterwards member of Congress; F. P. Baker; Henry King; George W. Martin, now the honored secretary of this Society; D. W. Wilder, once auditor of state; O. E. Learnard, one of the few survivors of the first free-state territorial council, 1857; Albert H. Horton, afterwards chief justice of the supreme court; John J. Ingal's, United States senator; J. K. Hudson; S. S. Prouty; George A. Crawford; P. B. Plumb, United States senator; George R. Peck; Charles S. Gleed, now a director of the Santa Fe road; Leslie J. Perry, a survivor of Andersonville; John Speer; R. G. Elliott; E. G. Ross, whose vote saved Andrew Johnson from impeachment; B. F. Simpson, once attorney-general, and many times a representative from Miami county; Samuel C. Smith; D. W. Houston, at one time U. S. marshal; R. B. Taylor, once a representative from Wyandotte county; V. J. Lane, also a representative from that county; Sol. Miller, several times a senator from Doniphan county; J. C. Vaughan; Champion Vaughan; J. M. Winchell, president of the Wyandotte convention; Samuel N. Wood; Noble L. Prentis, second to none in ability, and one who could write more funny things than any man in Kansas; Wm. A. Phillips, who was correspondent of the *New York Tribune* during the eventful years of 1856 and 1857, and probably did as much as any one in directing attention to Kansas territory; he was afterwards a member of Congress, as was also John A. Anderson, preacher, editor, and the man who gave us two-cent postage; also, C. V. Eskridge, often representative from Emporia; the Murdocks, and many others—all have done unselfish work for the business interests of Kansas. Thomas A. Osborn, governor for two terms and minister to Chili, was at one time a typesetter on a paper in Doniphan county, also on the *Herald of Freedom*, in Lawrence.

COURT BUSINESS.

In the territorial days we had no court-houses, but courts were held in the storerooms, halls, and possibly in the summer-time there were some that held sessions in places where trees afforded a comfortable shade. I remember one justice's court which was held during a forenoon in the Congregational church in Lawrence, the building having been just completed. Some horse-thieves were to be tried, but they were turned over to a crowd in the afternoon, which, after considerable and rather boisterous discussion, finally gave them a whipping and ran them across the river, out of town.

Josiah Miller, probate judge of Douglas county, who was a sort of a "Poohbah," holding several offices, held his court in a small room which had formerly been used for a meat market. It was in this room that Judge Miller, having become somewhat weary at the length of a trial in a replevin suit for a calf worth

83 75, awoke from a nap of an hour or so in the afternoon of the third day of the controversy and commanded that the suit should stop, stating that he would pay for the calf himself.

Rush Elmore was one of the judges of the United States territorial court. He was from Alabama, a man highly esteemed for his ability and his integrity by people of both political parties. In Lawrence the sessions of his court were held in the old Morrow hotel. The floor of the court-room was covered with sawdust six inches deep, this being renewed after it had become discolored by the mud brought in from the street, as there were no sidewalks then.

At one time, the docket in the court having become somewhat crowded, it was thought best by the court and the bar to have evening sessions. On the first evening the sheriff was unable to find one of the attorneys, Col. Samuel A. Young, who represented a party in a case which had been called. Mr. Safford, another attorney, in a very modest way, suggested to the court that Colonel Young had "gone to the ball." The judge very promptly inquired "wha the ball was," and Mr. Safford informed him that it was a ball of the German Turnverein Society, at Miller's hall. Judge Elmore then announced that "the coht was adjourned until to-morrow mornin' at nine o'clock," and a few moments later he was gliding through the giddy mazes of the dance at Miller's hall.

The courts are closely identified with business interests and Kansas can justly be proud of her bench and her bar. Thomas Ewing, jr., of national reputation, was chief justice of the first supreme court. Samuel A. Kingman was one of the associate justices of that court. Judge Kingman was also one of the framers of the Wyandotte constitution. He is still living, at Topeka, enjoying the well-earned honor and the deserved respect of all who have had the good fortune to know him. David J. Brewer, now one of the judges of the United States supreme court, was formerly one of the associates judges in Kansas.

RESOURCES OF KANSAS THEN AND NOW.

In those early years we knew nothing of the treasures hidden beneath the earth's surface. We only knew that Kansas was a fair country; as John Pierpont said, in the summer of 1857, looking over the valleys of the Kaw and Wakarusa from the hill west of Lawrence, where the University now stands, "God might have made a more beautiful country—but He never has." Only eastern Kansas was settled then, but hardly touched by the plow, and, in our conceit, we thought that the great plains west of us were only fit for the home of the buffalo and the antelope: yet a few years ago Sedgwick raised more corn than any county in Kansas, and this year Barton is the banner county for wheat.

Nearly fifty years ago the struggle between the mighty forces from the North and from the South for the possession of this fair territory occupied the attention of those pioneers, to the exclusion of their material interests. One would be rash, indeed, to attempt to prophesy what wealth is in store for Kansas, in her mines of lead and zinc and coal: in her wells of gas and oil: in her beds of gypsum, clay, and salt: and in her rapidly developing agricultural resources: but, above and beyond all these, she possesses within her borders an energetic, intelligent, a happy and a generous people: a state which suffered more than any other for the cause of freedom: from which old John Brown went to his fate at Harper's Ferry—yet could send to the house of representatives and to the United States senate a gallant soldier who rode with "Stonewall" Jackson.

THE FOURTH KANSAS MILITIA IN THE PRICE RAID.

An address by WILLIAM T. McCLURE,* of Bonner Springs, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

THE Fourth Kansas mounted infantry was organized August 31, 1863, with William D. McCain as colonel. The headquarters were at Oskaloosa, Jefferson county, Kansas. I was a member of company D, at Winchester, and John Rogers was the captain.

We were called to drill every Saturday afternoon, and received orders for guard duty for a week at the same time. Our signal for meeting was the firing of a blacksmith's anvil. We did guard duty and watched for bushwhackers and thieves.

We were called into active service once. Company D was ordered to Fort Leavenworth, and stationed inside of the fort, doing guard duty, for thirty days, while the regular volunteers were out looking after rebels. We were ordered another time to Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.), and guarded the pontoon bridge over the Kansas river. No citizen was allowed to go over without a pass. These passes, issued by the United States government, read as follows:

"Headquarters, station Westport, March 26, 1864.—Permission is granted Archibald Love to reside on the farm known as the Widow McGee farm, in Kaw township, Jackson county, Missouri, on the road leading from Westport to Little Santa Fe, about two miles from the station. Archibald Love has blue eyes, gray hair, fair complexion, and is about five feet six inches high, and fifty-four years of age, and says he is the head of a family consisting of the following-named adults: Caroline V., William T., James T., Alphas A., and Garland A. The condition on which the foregoing permit is granted:

"1. That the said Archibald Love, and each and every member of his family, will at all times give every possible aid and information to persons in the service of the government of the United States, to enable them to find and destroy rebels and guerrillas, and detect all persons or parties engaged in disloyal acts or practices.

"2. That the said Archibald Love, and each and every member of his family, will at all times withhold aid and assistance of every kind from rebels, guerrillas, and other enemies of the government of the United States.

"Fulfilling the above obligations, they will be protected as far as possible in life and property by the military authorities of the government of the United States.—W. W. GREEN, captain commanding station, Westport, Mo. Approved, by order of COL. JAMES H. FORD, commanding subdistrict; EDMUND L. BERTHOUD, A. A. A. General.

"I, Archibald Love, of the county of Jackson, state of Missouri, do solemnly swear: That I will support, protect and defend the constitution and government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; that I will bear true faith, allegiance and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution or law of any state, convention or legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; and further, that I will well and faithfully perform all the duties which may be required of me by the laws of the United States; and I take this oath freely and voluntarily, without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever, with a full

* WILLIAM T. McCLURE was born at Adamsville, Ohio, August 10, 1845. He removed to Kansas with his father's family, landing at Wyandotte April 29, 1860. Lived on a farm with his father, except the time he was in the service, until 1869, when he married Laura M. Allen, and took a homestead in the south part of Washington county, near Clifton. His wife died in 1874. He then took a course at the State Normal, and, January 14, 1876, married Sarah C. Glidden, of Leavenworth. In November, 1876, moved back to Jefferson county, and bought a farm near Boyle station. Sold in 1889, and moved to Holton, and engaged in the insurance business. Farmed again, six miles north of Olathe, and in 1893 settled in Bonner Springs, where he is engaged in the real-estate, loan and insurance business.

and clear understanding that death or punishment by the judgment of a military commission will be the penalty for the violation of this my solemn and parole of honor. And I also swear that under no consideration will I go beyond the military lines of the United States.—ARCHIBALD LOVE.

“Subscribed and sworn before me, this 26th day of March, 1864.—W. W. GREEN, Captain Second Colorado Cavalry, commanding station.”

[SEAL.]

Our next call was October 10, 1864, general order No. 53, from Maj.-gen. S. R. Curtis, at Fort Leavenworth, ordering all men into the military service of the United States. At this time our regiment was given new guns, the Enfield rifle, a muzzle-loader, the best the government then had.

We were ordered to Shawnee Mission, near Westport, Mo., and from thence to Independence, and in a week active duty was on. We were east of Independence, in front of Gen. Sterling Price's army, October 21. We were compelled to retreat to the Blue river, on the Kansas City road. This crossing had been well fortified. I had been in my saddle all the night before, and I felt as though I would get a good night's rest. But at about five o'clock in the evening we were ordered into line, and given three days' rations in new haversacks, and told to take good care of these, because we might need all before we got any more.

We were now ordered to go up the Blue, south six miles, and hold Byron's ford, and not let Price cross: Colonel Ford, of the Second Colorado, in command. Our force consisted of the Second Colorado, Fourth Kansas, and two sections of a battery. Colonel Ford thought best to recross the Blue and go up on the east side, and about six o'clock we started. When we were out about three miles we ran into a squad of cavalry from the rebel army, and they were evidently moving to the right also. A halt was made, and every man was ordered to see that his gun was well capped and loaded, but not to shoot if it could be avoided. A council was held, and we cautiously advanced, stopping every little while to do some scouting. We were nine hours making these six miles. We reached the ford, recrossed, and camped on the west side.

I hitched my horse to a rail fence in a corn-field, and laid down in a furrow, with my saddle for a pillow and gun by my side, and slept soundly. We were ordered to be in fighting trim in a moment. At daybreak the bugle sounded, and we were almost instantly in line. Price had evidently started for this crossing (Byron's) and went into camp, waiting for daylight. Two government wagons came up, loaded with new axes, and these were issued about one to every three men. Our horses were sent to the edge of the timber, one man detailed to care for four horses. The axes were used in felling trees, thus blocking the road and ford, so that Price's army could not cross. About nine o'clock Price's men came up, and two pieces of Union artillery commenced firing across the Blue at them. A sharpshooter with the rebels killed a young man by the name of Cook. A squad of twenty-five men were sent further up the Blue, and these were all captured by the rebels. We were ordered to support the battery, and to the right in the timber we found a rail fence, which we rapidly improvised into a breastwork by taking the upper rails and stopping the cracks below. Here we remained until noon, tired and worn out, not caring whether dead or alive, trying to hold in check an army of 30,000. Our entire force was 7000 regular three-year men and 20,000 Kansas militia. Under a similar call, at this date, Kansas could place 250,000 men on the border. We were compelled to retreat again.

General Curtis sent his army to our relief, and regiment after regiment began to arrive, and from out near where Tobner park is we tried them again. We were now out on the open prairie. A rock fence ran right to make a breastwork for our men. The Shawnee county militia were here placed and ordered to hold it, while other regiments were engaged elsewhere. The Eleventh regiment was

fighting on the east, but the rebels continued to advance, and massed on the edge of the timber, to make a charge on the rock fence. It was far enough so that a rifle could not reach it from the timber. They moved out of the woods several columns deep, and double quick for the fence. The Topeka militia held their fire until the rebels were within fifty yards of the fence; then they poured such a deadly fire that they mowed down nearly all of the first line. This checked the rebel line for a few moments, but they came again and again, and the Topeka boys lost twenty-two of their men killed. Night came on, and the firing ceased all along the line. Generals were busy all night, and great anxiety was felt. The night was spent in distributing ammunition, some regiments having used all their supply. The men again slept on their arms.

Sunday morning, October 23, 1864, dawned clear and calm, soldiers and officers anxious to know the result of the day. At eight o'clock Price again attacked with a great deal of skill. I believe, if General Pleasanton had not come, Price would have done us up.

At about eleven o'clock we had twenty-four cannon working on the rebel lines. At this juncture General Pleasanton came up with 10,000 Missouri cavalry. At Independence he divided his army into two squads. Five thousand of them crossed at Byron's ford and attacked Price in the rear, while Pleasanton crossed the Blue on the Kansas City road, with the other 5000, and attacked Price's army on the east. Our commander at once ordered a forward movement on the rebel line. A Kansas yell went up, and all advanced. The rebel lines broke, and they were not allowed to stop. So ended the fight and Kansas City was saved.

The ground was looked over and the wounded cared for. Monday morning the dead were gathered. The rebel dead were buried on the field, and the Kansas dead were taken to Wyandotte and either buried there or sent to their friends at home. Young Cook lay where he fell at Byron's ford Saturday morning until Monday. Tuesday morning four women and two old men from Jefferson county drove into camp with a two-horse wagon loaded with canned goods, dried fruit, dried beef, and such luxuries as they could gather. They came to help care for the wounded. Jefferson was my county.

God bless the women of Kansas and of our country.

EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND INDIAN IMPLEMENTS IN KANSAS.

An address by W. E. RICHEY,* of Harveyville, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

KANSAS is great in her material resources—her crops, her minerals, her oils—but her crowning glory is her history. It is a record of the transformation of a desert into a garden. The best civilization of the ages is deeply rooted in the soil once trod by the buffalo and the Indian. The founding and growth of our institutions and the marvelous progress and development, marked by the vast improvements which dot our landscapes and border our streams, have wrought a story never surpassed by man. But while every Kansan should rejoice at the matchless career of the state, the first efforts in the great drama of civilization on our soil, amidst the darkness and discouragements of a past century, should not be forgotten.

Special interest attaches to the early Spanish explorations, particularly to that of Coronado and his companions, because when their armor glittered on the sands of Kansas they became the first white discoverers of what has become an empire—a star of brilliant splendor in the constellation of civilized states.* The narratives of this remarkable expedition are a part of Kansas history. They are full of interest, and vividly describe the passage over swollen rivers, rugged mountains, and boundless plains. Many have been the theories as to the territory traversed. The subject has been treated by scores of books, in various countries and languages, until it seems to be regarded as a problem of the centuries. In my researches it has been my aim to be guided by a close study and comparison of the narratives of the explorers themselves, as published in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The object of the Coronado expedition was to explore the country north of

*See sixth volume, Collections Kansas State Historical Society, page 477; also, volume 7, pages 43, 45.

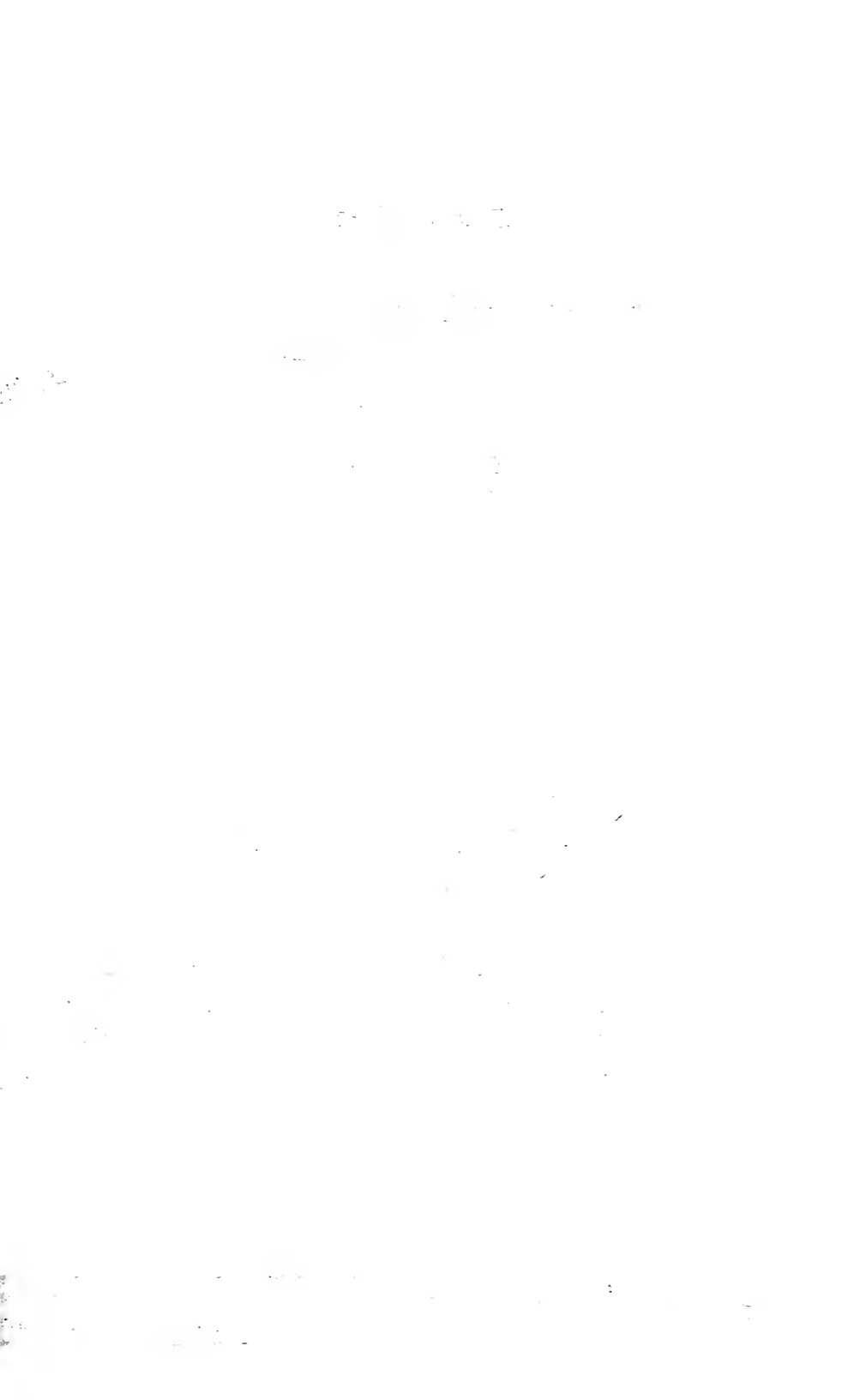
*Mrs. E. F. Hollibaugh, in "Biographical History of Cloud County, Kansas," 1903, p. 7, says:

"In the home of William J. Ion, of Grant township, the author found among many other heirlooms a volume of ancient history published in 1670-'71. The manuscript was prepared forty years prior to that date by the Rev. Samuel A. Clark, a Welsh historian. This intensely interesting and valuable work was handed down to its present owner from a grand-uncle, John Ion, who was a son of Mr. Ion's paternal great-grandfather. It was brought to America by Mr. Ion's mother, Mrs. Maria Williams, of Ebbwvale, Merionethshire, South Wales, Great Britain. This priceless work was also the property of Mr. Ion's great-grandmother, Maria Gregg, given her by her father, Thomas Gregg.

"The following quotation is a *facsimile* of an article contained on its pages regarding Quivira, that once included the fair state of Kansas within its boundaries. In the copy which follows it will be noticed that the letter f takes the sound of s in most instances, making the literature difficult to read. The Rev. Samuel A. Clark, who compiled the work, evidently believed in the fulfillment of the scripture which reads: "The first shall be last and the last shall be first," as this historical volume is published in two editions, the last one being issued first, and are bound together in that form.

"Next to Mexico is Quivira, which is feated on the moft weftern part of America, over againft Tartary, from whence probably the inhabitants firft came into this New World, that fide of the country being moft populous, and the people living much after the manner of the Tartars, following the Seafons of the Year for the Paftrage of their Cattel; that fide of America being full of Herbage, and enjoying a temperate Air. The People defire glafs more than Gold. Their chief Riches are their Kine, which are Meat, Drink, Cloth, Houfes and Utensils to them: for their Hides yield them Houfes; their Bones, Bodkins; their Hair, thread; their Sinews, Ropes; their Horns, Maws, and Bladders, Vessels; their Dung, Fire; their Calves, Skins, Budgets to draw and keep water in; their Blood, Drink; their Flesh, Meat, etc.

"In Quivira there are but two Provinces that are known, Cibola and Nova Albion, fo Named by Sir Francis Drake, when he compaffed the World. It abounds with Fruits, pleafant to both eye and palate. The people are given to Hofpitality, but withall, to Wich-craft, and worshipping of Devils."



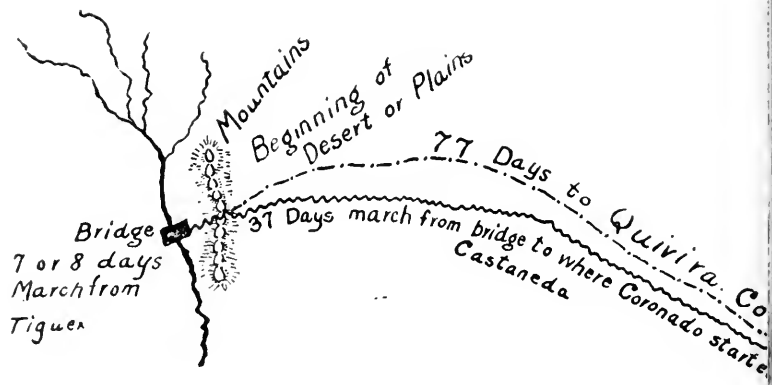
Explanation:

March described by Jaramillo and
Relacion del Suceso
by Coronado -
by Castaneda ~~~~~

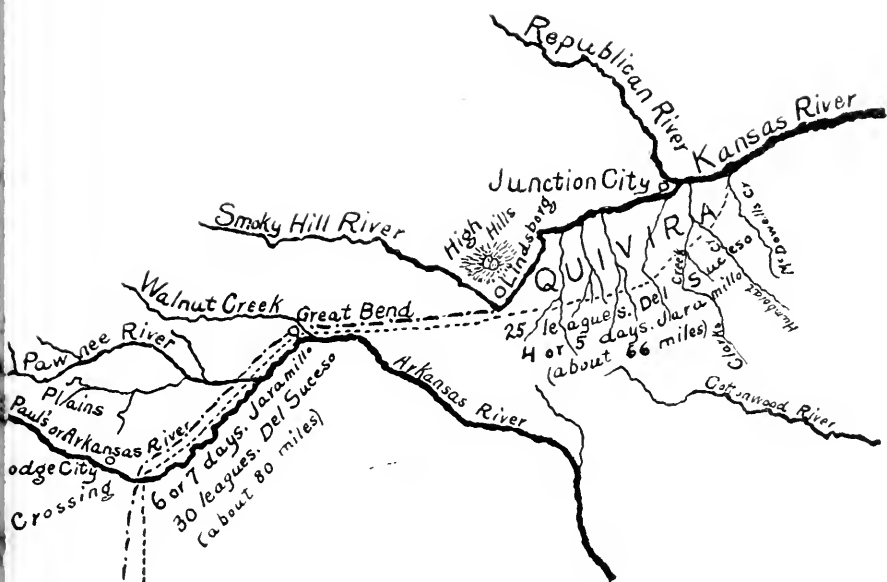
St. Peter's

Arkansas R

P



NO ME SAQUES SIN RAZON
NO ME ENBAINES SIN HONOR



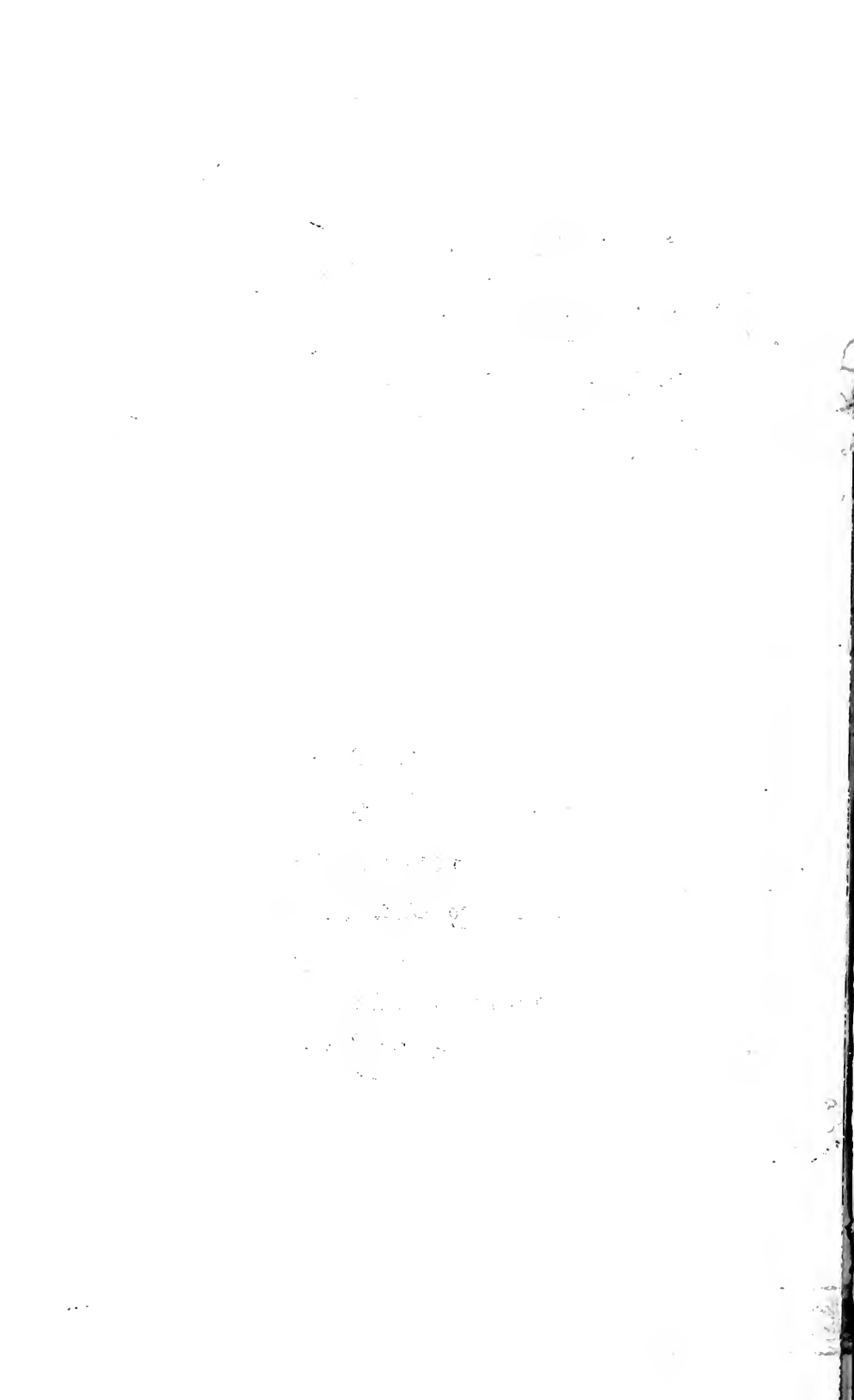
42 days to Quivira, Coronado
 30 days to Arkansas Crossing, Jaramillo
 30 days to Arkansas River, Del Suceso

Map Showing
 Coronado's Route to Quivira
 in the Year 1541
 and Giving Distances Between Points

Drawn for
 Kansas Historical Collections, Vol 8.

By Geo. A. Root
 1904

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 toward



Mexico, supposed to have much silver and gold, and to add it to the dominions of the Spanish crown. Reports of the precious metals and great cities north of Mexico had reached that country at various times after its conquest by the Spaniards. Indian traders were said to have brought gold and silver to Mexico from the mysterious region. Renewed interest was created by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the remnant of the disastrous expedition led into Florida by Narvaez. These unfortunate men, after much wandering and suffering, had made their way to Mexico, arriving there in 1536, and giving to the viceroy glowing accounts of "large and powerful villages" in the territory to the north, whence had come tales of gold and silver. The amount of this kind of wealth found in Mexico and Peru had prepared the Spaniards to expect the same in other quarters. Mendoza, the viceroy, therefore raised an army for the exploration and conquest of the "seven cities of Cibola" and the unknown land which seemed to possess riches like those of the days of Cortez and Pizarro.

This army consisted of about 300 Spaniards, well mounted, and 1000 friendly Indians and servants. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was appointed commander. Neither pains nor expense were spared to carry out the object of the expedition. Arms, supplies, horses, cattle and sheep were supplied in abundance for the use of the army. On February 23, 1540, the army started from Compostela on its northward march through the Pacific coast country of Mexico. The march was slow and difficult. Considerable delay was experienced in getting the cattle across the rivers. The food supply of Coronado's force was beginning to fail before it reached Culiacan, where fresh provisions were obtained. This coast city was the outpost of Spanish civilization. Thence, following the coast and cutting across to the Rio Sonora, the advance body, under Coronado himself, penetrated the mountains through a pass near the source of that stream, entered the White Mountain Apache country, and came in sight of the first of the "seven cities." The food brought from Culiacan and gathered since the advance force left that point was now exhausted. The Spaniards made an assault on the city and drove out its Indian occupants, who abandoned to the captors an abundant supply of corn, beans, fowls, and salt, common productions of the region.

The significance of the "seven cities" suddenly vanished. The one which the Spaniards now occupied was a flat-roofed pueblo village, and the others were found to be similar, such as yet exist in New Mexico.

The Spanish commander next sent out exploring parties to the grand canyon of the Colorado, Tusayan, and eastward to the pueblos along the Rio Grande and the Pecos. The main portion of the army, which had been left at Culiacan, was now ordered forward, and went into winter quarters in the pueblo villages at Tiguex (Tewa), on the Rio Grande, near the site of Bernalillo. Considerable corn was left in the pueblos by the Indians, and to this means of subsistence the Spaniards added the live stock brought from Mexico with the army.

The names of Bandelier, Hodge, Simpson and Winship will always be conspicuous in the literature of the Coronado expedition. To these writers we are indebted for much valuable information, including the identification of the pueblos known as the "seven cities of Cibola," and the practical tracing of the line of march to the Rio Grande and the Pecos.

The campaign had been one of privation and disappointment. No gold and silver had been found. The winter of 1540-'41 on the Rio Grande was severe. For nearly four months the river was frozen over at Tiguex so that men on horseback crossed it on the ice. A revolt of the natives was quelled with merciless

cruelty. Indian warfare was no match for that of the Europeans with the weapons of civilization.

Indian shrewdness matured a plan to get rid of the troublesome visitors. A Quivira Indian, held as a prisoner or slave by the people of one of the pueblos, was persuaded by his Indian masters to represent Quivira to the Spaniards as a land where gold was found in abundance. This Indian was called "the Turk," because he resembled one. He at last admitted that the pueblo Indians had induced him to lead the Spaniards on the great plains, where water was scarce and corn unknown, to perish there, or be too weak to make resistance should they find their way back to the pueblo settlement.

The army was eager to go to this new land of promise. In April, 1541, the whole force, guided by "the Turk," left the Rio Grande country, and, pursuing a northeast direction, in eight days came to another river, which was bridged and crossed. The evidence seems conclusive that this river was the Pecos. From this point to Quivira we have the accounts of Coronado himself, Captain Jaramillo, Castaneda, and the "Relacion del Suceso."

THE GREAT PLAINS AS SEEN BY THE SPANISH IN 1541.

Soon after leaving the bridge the army came to the great plains, on which roamed buffaloes in such immense herds that their numbers seemed incredible. Among these herds were found two tribes of plains Indians, first the Querechos and next the Teyas. It is very interesting to study the plains tribes as found 300 years ago. The very existence of these nomads depended on the buffaloes. Their flesh was used as food; their hides as clothes, shoes, blankets, tents, and ropes; their bones as needles; their sinews and wool as strings; their dung as fuel; their stomachs and larger entrails as water-vessels; and their horns as cups.

The flesh was generally eaten raw, rarely warmed over the fire. When they killed a buffalo they cut the hide open at the back and pulled it off at the joints, using a flint knife as large as a finger tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. Seizing the flesh with the fingers, they would pull it out with one hand, and with a flint knife in the other cut off mouthfuls. The blood and the water of the stomachs were used to quench thirst. The flesh was sometimes cut thin, like a leaf, dried in the sun, and ground into a meal to keep it and to make a soup. A handful thrown into a vessel of water would increase much in size. Some poles drawn together at the top in tripod fashion and covered with hides served as tents. These Indians could make themselves very well understood by signs. In traveling they exercised discretion. In the morning they would notice where the sun rose, observe the direction they intended taking, and then shoot an arrow in this direction. Before reaching this they would shoot another arrow over it, and in this way they would go all day toward the water where they intended to camp.

When they moved their tents they carried them on poles. The ends of two poles were fastened, one on each side of a dog, the other ends dragging along on the ground. These animals, called dogs by the Spaniards, were undoubtedly tamed wolves. On these poles the Indians tied their tents and other things. There were no roads except those of the buffaloes, but the Indians wandered much among these animals over the country and knew it perfectly. They undoubtedly had trails or routes between points for long distances. Coronado was piloted to Quivira and back to the pueblos by them, but their trails were often those of the buffaloes, which ran in various directions and especially between watering-places. Many of these paths, cut deeply in the banks of streams, are yet visible. At the best crossings these beaten tracks were probably traveled by animals and Indians for hundreds of years.

In killing animals and in fighting, bows and arrows were used with skill. On one occasion a Teya was seen to shoot a buffalo bull right through both shoulders with an arrow, "which," the narrator adds, "would be a good shot for a musket." These Teyas were skilful warriors. They had destroyed one large pueblo village. The Spaniards saw many stone balls as large as twelve-quart bowls still lying about the ruins, and thought they had been thrown by engines or catapults. The contestants had become friendly, and the Teyas spent the winters under the wings of the pueblo settlements. The Indians in the pueblos, however, would not allow them to enter the buildings after night.

There was an aboriginal commerce on the plains at that early day. The Querechos and Teyas took tanned skins to the settlements, and spent the winters there, each party going to the nearest settlement: some going to the settlements on the Pecos, others toward Quivira, and others to the settlements in the direction of Florida. These hides were traded at the settlements for corn, and, likely, at times for flint weapons, bows, and arrows. Beans and melons were also raised by the Indians at the settlements, and may have been sometimes traded.

Castaneda says the country was so level that in traversing 250 leagues not a hill nor a hillock three times as high as a man was seen. The grass raised up, after being tramped, so that no tracks were left. The advance-guard found it necessary to make piles of buffalo chips to guide the army.

When the army was resting in a large ravine, a tempest came up one day, which battered the helmets, broke all the crockery of the army, and caused nearly all the horses to break away and run up the side of the ravine, so that they were gotten down with difficulty. Had this storm struck the army while it was on the plain, there would have been danger of losing all the horses.

This march, over vast and unknown regions, has had few parallels. The Spanish navigators in Coronado's time had the same daring spirit. In small, inferior and poorly supplied vessels, with crews that were nearly destroyed by scurvy, they fought their way northward, along the Pacific coast of North America, to the wildest parts of the Alaskan coast, and almost regardless of season. Prof. George Davidson, an assistant of the United States Coast Survey, who has identified many of the points visited by these navigators, as recorded in the Spanish charts, says: "There were giants in the earth in those days."

CORONADO'S MARCH FROM THE RIO GRANDE TO QUIVIRA AND HIS RETURN.

After leaving the Rio Grande, crossing the bridge mentioned and reaching the edge of the plains or desert, the army guided by "the Turk," marched over the plains in a general direction of east and southeast, without any guiding landmarks, until reaching a Teya encampment. These people told the Spaniards that Quivira was far to the north. With the army was another Indian from a neighboring tribe of the Quiviras called Harahay. This Indian, named Isopete, was returning to his country, and had stoutly maintained that "the Turk" was lying, and leading the army too much toward the east. The army was getting short of provisions, and, at a council of the officers, it was decided that the main body of the army should return to the Rio Grande, and that Coronado, with thirty picked horsemen, including Captain Jaramillo, should proceed northward to Quivira. Isopete was now believed, and he and some of the Teyas were taken with Coronado's detachment as guides. "The Turk" was taken along in chains and afterward strangled.

From this point we learn from Jaramillo and the "Relacion del Suceso" that Coronado's detachment, guided by the compass, pursued a northward direction, and, after thirty short days' march, came to a river which was given the name of the St. Peter's and St. Paul's. The explorers crossed this river, and, traveling

along it toward the northeast for thirty leagues (about eighty miles), came to the village of a supposed Quivira hunting party. This river was certainly the Arkansas, because it is the only one near the latitude mentioned along which the Spaniards could have marched eighty miles in a northeast direction. The explorers must have crossed near the bend below Dodge City in order to follow the river eighty miles in a northeast direction, which distance would have taken them to the site of Great Bend, where the river changes direction from the northeast. The village of the hunting party must, consequently, have been in the vicinity of Great Bend.

The Spanish narratives state that the approximate distance through Quivira, as marched by the explorers, was twenty-five leagues (nearly sixty-six miles). They also described the surface of Quivira as being rough, and state that mulberries, plums and grapes were found there. But the country stretching northeast, and in fact in every direction, from Great Bend is level, and at that time had no such fruit.

Many localities have been proposed for Quivira, and rejected because the Spanish line of march could not be traced to them, or because they could not be identified by the narratives of the Coronado expedition. Surely no other manner of identification is possible.

In order to locate the Quivira of Coronado, it is evident that his march to that region and its identification should be established by the narratives of the explorers themselves, and that the natural landmarks, the distances between them, the latitude and the topography of the country traversed should all be as described by these narratives. They are our only guide and proof. Nothing can be established without them, and nothing can be eliminated from them.

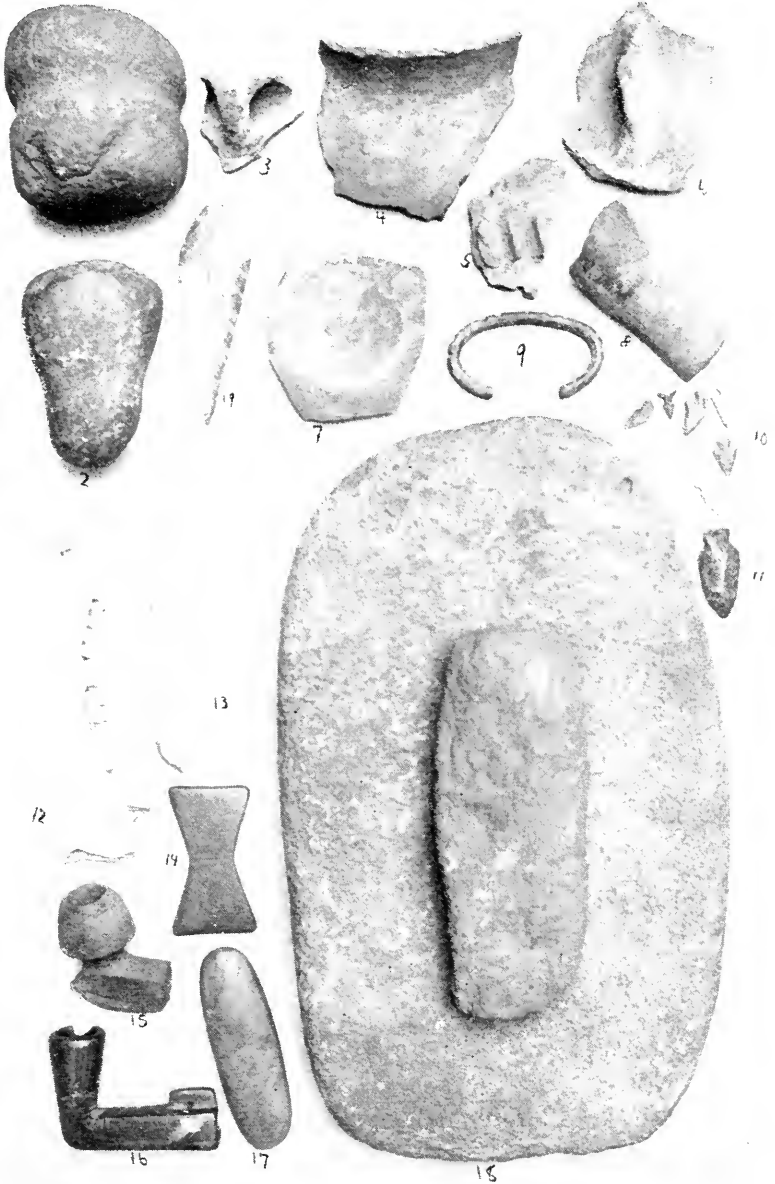
CORONADO'S MARCH TO THE END OF QUIVIRA.

Let us now aim to trace Coronado and his party to and through Quivira. Jaramillo says that from the point where the river was crossed to the Indian village was six or seven days' march. This, added to the thirty days' march before the river was reached, would have made about thirty-seven days' march from the point where Coronado's northward journey commenced to the first Quivira village, near the site of Great Bend.

By a close study of the narratives, I have learned that Coronado, in his official report to the king, states that from the point whence he and his detachment started northward it was forty-two days' march to Quivira. This is five days more than the thirty-seven days stated by Jaramillo. Coronado confirms his statement by saying in the same official report that he journeyed across the desert seventy-seven days to reach Quivira. Castaneda says that up to the point where Coronado started northward the army had made thirty-seven days' march, evidently meaning from the bridge which the army made and crossed before entering the plains. Everything shows that this bridge was near the edge of the desert or plains: in fact, the statements of Coronado and Jaramillo make the distance just two days' march from the bridge to the beginning of the plains. Deducting these two days' from the thirty-seven, there would have been, from the beginning of the plains to the point where the northward march commenced, just thirty-five days, which, added to the forty-two days from this point to Quivira, would have made seventy-seven days of desert marching, the exact number officially reported by Coronado. Thus the double official statement of Coronado shows that from where he and his detachment started northward it was forty-two days' march to Quivira.

Castaneda says: "The country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains." These were the high hills along the Smoky Hill

PLATE I



river, which have the appearance of low mountain chains. Jaramillo says of Quivira: "It is not a very rough country, but is made up of hills and plains and very fine appearing rivers and streams." Jaramillo also says the Quivira settlements were found (first) "along good river bottoms," and (second) "good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned."

It is evident that Jaramillo's count of thirty-seven days carried the Spanish party only to the level country near Great Bend, where the village of the Quivira hunting party was seen, while Coronado's count of forty-two days carried the Spauiards five days further, to the hills and "good river bottoms," where the first settlements were found, not far from the "mountain chains" or high hills spoken of by Castaneda.

Northeast is the only direction given of the march after the Arkansas was crossed. Five days' march in this direction from Great Bend would have taken the Spaniards to the "good river bottoms," the hills and rough country along the big bend of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg, and this five days' march added to Jaramillo's thirty-seven would have made his statement agree with the official report of Coronado as to the distance marched (forty-two days), and also with the statement of Jaramillo himself as to the hills and the "good river bottoms" at the place where Quivira was reached.

Jaramillo speaks of the abode of the hunting party as a village or "houses," and says the Spaniards proceeded until they reached the settlements, which must have taken five days, as shown by the fact that they are included in Coronado's official report of the number of days' march, and the different topography of the country reached by this five days' march.

Thus the narratives, taken together, show conclusively that the Indian village seen near the site of Great Bend was merely that of a Quivira hunting party, and that the "good river bottoms" and the hills of the Smoky Hill river near Lindsborg located the first settlements and marked the beginning of the land of Quivira.

The approximate distance through the Quivira settlements was as has been stated twenty-five leagues (nearly sixty-six miles), according to the "Relacion del Suceso." Of this part of the journey Jaramillo says: "There were, if I recall correctly, six or seven settlements, at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled for four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and the other." This indicates about the same distance as given by the "Relacion del Suceso." An approximate distance of sixty-six miles from the Smoky Hill south of Lindsborg, in a northeast direction, would have carried the line of march of Coronado and his companions through the country south of the Smoky Hill to the Kansas, several miles below where it is formed by the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican, and near McDowell's creek, ten or twelve miles northeast of Junction City. It should be remembered that the waters of the river with "good river bottoms," where the first settlements were found, and of the "good streams" on which the other settlements were found, flowed into a larger river. This was evidently the Kansas. Here was the "end of Quivira," and Jaramillo says the river had "more water and more inhabitants than the others." The tributary "good streams," where the intervening settlements were found, were the creeks which flowed into the Smoky Hill and the upper Kansas from the south side, in the section of country extending from the big bend of the Smoky Hill near Lindsborg to McDowell's creek.

The natural features of the country between the big bend of the Smoky Hill and the upper Kansas precisely answer the description of Quivira given by the

narratives of Coronado himself and the other Spanish explorers. Here are the hills, plains, springs, rivulets, "very fine appearing rivers and streams," and even the mulberries, plums, grapes and nuts described by the narratives. At that time such fruit would not have been found west or north of the Smoky Hill.

Attention is called to the map accompanying this paper, showing the natural features of the country traversed and the distances between points. Between points, the line of march as indicated may be only approximately correct.

It will be seen that the distance was from the beginning of the plains thirty-five days' march to the point where Coronado started northward, thirty days thence to the Arkansas crossing, seven days (eighty miles) thence to the Indian hunters' village near the site of Great Bend, five days thence to the Smoky Hill south of Lindsborg, and approximately sixty-six miles (four or five days), thence to the Kansas, at the "end of Quivira," near McDowell's creek.

As indisputable evidence, I cite the fact that the beginning of the Quivira settlements, as located by the "good river bottoms" and high hills of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg, is the distance required by the narratives from the Indian village near the site of Great Bend, from the crossing of the Arkansas, from the point where Coronado started northward, from the point where he entered the desert or plains, and also from the river and settlements at the "end of Quivira."

At one of the meetings of the State Historical Society, Professor Williston stated that an old sword bearing a Spanish inscription had been found in western Kansas. In August, 1901, this sword *came into my possession. It seems that it had not previously been examined by any one posted on the Coronado expedition. When found it was partly concealed in the hard ground and roots of the buffalo-grass, and not in the roots of a tree, as dispatches stated. It was deeply covered with rust and was rubbed with brick dust until the letters appeared. No vestige of a handle remained. Not including the part which held the handle, it is a little more than twenty-six inches long, straight, double-edged, and tapers to a beveled point. From near the broad end two parallel grooves extend almost half-way toward the point, and in them are these words in capitals:

"NO ME SAQUES SIN RAZON ;
NO ME ENBAINES SIN HONOR."

This, translated into English, is: "Draw me not without reason; sheath me not without honor."

This inscription was put on Spanish swords during Coronado's time and before. Between the inscription and broad end are two crosses in the grooves and four lines across the sword. Between these is the name "Gallego," in script. Opposite this, on the other side, are the letters "a" and "n" joined. To the left of the "a" are two marks, evidently a part of a capital "J" and a "u," as

*See sketch at bottom of map accompanying this article.

The following letters and affidavit give the history of the finding of the sword:

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 24, 1899.

"Mr. John T. Clark, Ellis, Kan.: DEAR SIR—With reference to your letter of November 14, addressed to Mr. Paul Beckwith, I am informed by Mr. A. Howard Clark, custodian of the section of American history, that swords having the inscription which you have quoted date from medieval times down to the period of the revolutionary war. The one in question would seem to be a Spanish sword, as the inscription is in that language.

Yours respectfully, F. W. TREE, Executive Curator."

GARDEN CITY, KAN., July 19, 1901.

"Mr. W. E. Richey, Harveyville, Kan.: DEAR SIR—The Spanish sword about which you wrote me some months ago is now about to be disposed of. An offer of five dollars has been refused, as it seems to me that the price at which I hold it (eight dollars) is little enough for such an interesting relic as this may prove to be. It is in a state of good preservation and I enclose a reference to it from the National Museum. Please let me know if you still desire to purchase this sword, and whether the above price is satisfactory. The inscription on the sword translated is, 'Draw me not without reason; Sheathe me not without honor.' Across the end are two

they appear in the word "Juan." There is also under this word a capital "G" and an "I" at the distance it would appear in the word "Gallego." The name can be no other than that of Juan Gallego, one of Coronado's officers. Each side is a duplicate of the other, except the script letters, as stated. The sword was likely made at Toledo, Spain. There is some etching. The metal is steel and exceedingly hard. This and the dry climate undoubtedly preserved it. Articles of steel have been exposed to the elements for longer periods of time and still retained letters written or stamped on them.

Double-edged swords were used for cutting armor, but when armor was done away with, about the year 1600, single-edged swords became common. The finding and authenticity of this sword are verified by affidavit. In fact, it would seem impossible to bring it to its present condition mechanically. The name, style, material and the opinions of able archaeologists all tend to show that it is the sword of Capt. Juan Gallego. It is the first thing ever found that gives indisputable proof of having belonged to any of Coronado's force. I regard it as undeniable evidence of his presence in Kansas. It was found in 1886, about thirty miles north and a little west of Cimarron, on the head waters of the Pawnee. This would seem to be a little off Coronado's march, but he may have sent a detachment up the Smoky Hill, Walnut, or Pawnee. He states that he sent "captains and men in many directions." It may have been left by a scouting party, or it may have found its way into the hands of Indians and been lost. But if not left here by Coronado's men, I do not think it was carried far. Castaneda says that Coronado's detachment returned from Quivira lightly equipped, indicating that some things had been thrown away.

If the sword found its way into the hands of Indians, why should they have carried it in the direction and to the spot where it was afterward found rather

names in script, and, as they have not been translated, must be proper names. In length this sword is about sixty-two centimeters, width at hilt about three centimeters; evidently an officer's sword, as only the point has been sharpened. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am, yours respectfully,
JOHN T. CLARK, Garden City, Kan."

"State of Kansas, Kearny county, ss.

"John T. Clark, of lawful age and sound mind and memory, being by me duly sworn, deposes and says, that in the year 1886 there was found on the prairie, in what was then Finney county, an old sword, partly concealed in the grass-roots and was much rusted, which, when rust was removed by scouring with brick dust, was found to bear this inscription, written in two parallel grooves running from hilt toward the point:

'NO ME SAQUES SIN RAZON;
NO ME ENBAINES SIN HONOR.'

"This sword was about thirty inches in length and one and one-half in width at the hilt. Sides, or edges, blunt. Point sharpened to a length of perhaps three inches. No handle or other parts found. Etching on sword and some script words written across broad end of sword, apparently proper nouns. Sword is quite flexible, very resonant, and exceedingly hard. Each side of the blade is an exact duplicate of the other, including motto, etching, grooves, etc. The place of finding was near the head waters of the Pawnee, close to the north line of Finney county, and nearly due north of the town of Ingalls, on the Santa Fe railroad. This sword was found about seven miles northeast of an Indian burial-ground, known as White Mound, where several articles have been found; as beads, teeth, bracelets (brass, copper), arrow-heads, bones, etc. I further state that I have disposed of this same sword to Mr. W. E. Richey, of Harveyville, Kan.
JOHN T. CLARK."

"Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me, this 2d day of December, 1901.

E. R. SHARPE, Notary Public. (My commission expires January 26, 1905.)"

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 11, 1902.

"MY DEAR SIR: Pressure of official duties has prevented me from giving the attention your letter of February 5 (kindly handed to me by Mr. Miller) deserved. I am deeply interested in the discovery of the sword, and your sketch of it renders a very adequate idea of the relic. The occurrence of Gallego's name is very significant, it seems to me, and it is not at all unlikely that the sword belonged to that distinguished member of Coronado's expedition. Care should be taken, however, lest too much stress be laid on the place in which it was found, for there seems to be no evidence that it was lost or thrown away at that point by the Spaniards. The sword may possibly have found its way into hands of Indians and afterward lost; for I have known Indians to lose things as well as whites. Nevertheless, the relic is most interesting and important, and I hope that, after it has been fully described in print, that it may be deposited in some institution where it may be cared for for all time. Thanking you for calling my attention to it, and hoping that I may have a copy of your printed description, I am, very truly yours,
F. W. HODGE."

than any other? There seem to be a hundred probabilities that it was left there by Coronado's men to one against it.

Castaneda states that at the organization of the Coronado expedition Juan Gallego was one of the gentlemen placed under the flag of the general with other distinguished persons: but he became a captain later, and kept the way open between Coronado's army and Mexico. Castaneda credits him with feats of great bravery and skill. He evidently regards him as one of Coronado's most distinguished officers. As he equipped himself for rapid traveling he likely loaned or gave this sword to some friend, probably at Tiguex. It was quite likely carried to Quivira and thrown away when Coronado's men lightened their equipment for the return journey.

This sword is regarded by antiquarians as most interesting and important. Perhaps no one is more thoroughly qualified to judge of it than Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington. In a letter to me dated June 11, 1902, he says: "The occurrence of Gallego's name is very significant, it seems to me, and it is not at all unlikely, that the sword belonged to that distinguished member of Coronado's expedition. The relic is most interesting and important, and I hope that after it has been fully described in print it may be deposited in some institution where it may be cared for for all time."

A piece of chain armor has been unearthed at the prehistoric dwelling sites near the Smoky Hill, a few miles south of Lindsborg. About fifteen miles east of this point, near the S. E. Miller village site of Gypsum creek, the iron part of an antique Spanish bridle was unearthed, and is now in my possession. Competent antiquarians say it is as old as Coronado's time. During the first settlement of this vicinity an old weathered inscription was seen on a rock, but it has since disappeared. Mr. James T. Hanna has furnished me the following proofs found at other points in McPherson county: The plain marks of an ax near the center of an oak tree, long dead, and about five feet in diameter: the bones of a horse found in muck at the bottom of a stock well dug several years ago near a hill: a bar of lead with a Spanish brand on it. The ax marks were likely made by Coronado's men. The horse likely mired, probably in Coronado's time, where its bones were found, and the hill afterward caved in on it. The facts concerning these finds are fully established by the parties named, and by other reliable citizens in the same localities.

Last winter Mr. J. A. Johnson, a bridge contractor, in excavating for the abutment of a bridge on Clark's creek, a half-mile south of Skiddy, at a depth of fifteen feet, unearthed a fireplace, or hearth, of matched stones, nicely fitted together, on a ledge of solid rock. On this fireplace Mr. Johnson and his workmen found ashes, coals, a buffalo bone, a flint knife, and a coin-shaped piece of brass. The flint knife was of a different color from that found cropping out of the hills near, and had undoubtedly been brought from a distance. It had, very likely, been used to cut the meat from the buffalo bone. Near the fireplace a spring or vein of water was uncovered. Above the fireplace, six or seven feet under the surface, an oak tree, two feet thick, had grown. The stump was removed in excavating. There is an unmistakable trace of an ancient channel a short distance east of the fireplace, which was, apparently, at one time west of and near this ancient channel. The present channel is west of and near the fireplace. In the depression where the ancient channel was many large trees have grown. Everything shows that this fireplace was used a long time ago. Another fireplace has since been unearthed in the same vicinity.

This locality was an excellent camping-place. Good springs are near. The probabilities seem strong that this was a camping-place of Coronado's force. It is directly on the line of exploration herein indicated.

PLATE II

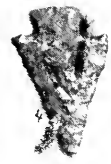
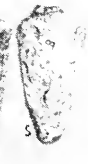
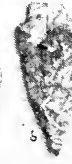
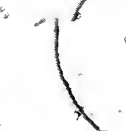
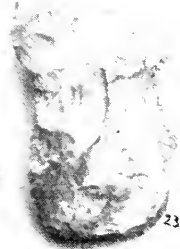
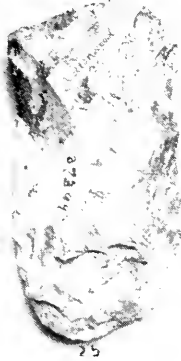
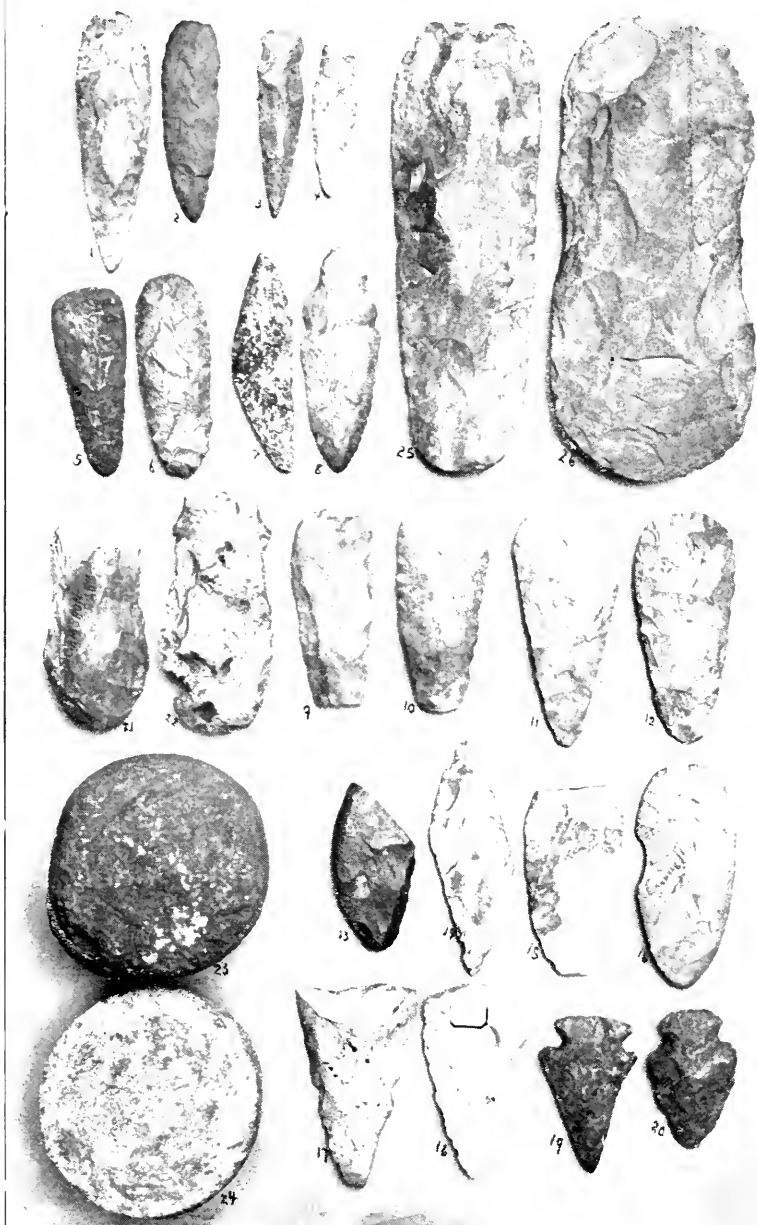


PLATE III



Mr. R. P. Church, of Channing, Tex., informs me that an old Spanish armor was found on the Canadian.

In the sixteenth century the Spanish reckoning of latitude made it too far north. This is shown by Mr. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology. I have learned from the records of the United States Coast Survey that nearly forty points on the Pacific coast of North America, located in Coronado's time by the Spanish navigators Cabrillo, Ferrelo, and Vizcaino, were all too far north, as now reckoned. Coronado states that the place where he reached Quivira was in the fortieth degree. Allowing for the difference in reckoning, the fortieth degree would have been at the "good river bottoms" and high hills of the Smoky Hill, near Lindsborg. This difference in latitude seems not to have been noticed by the earlier writers, who, therefore, improperly regarded the Nebraska boundary, which is on the fortieth degree, as the beginning of Quivira.

Castaneda says that when Coronado started northward it took him forty-eight days to reach Quivira. Castaneda kept with the main army, and did not go to Quivira with Coronado, Jaramillo, and the author of the "Relacion del Suceso"; therefore their statements should take precedence. Castaneda may have included a delay during which Coronado sent to the main army for new guides; but he most probably included the march through Quivira in counting the number of days' march. He was evidently confused by what he heard. He states that the country was level as far as Quivira, but his account of the march reaches farther than where Quivira began. He says of Quivira: "There are other thickly settled provinces around it, containing large numbers of men," and that it "is in the midst of the country." He could not have thought that other provinces or tribes were around Quivira unless the Spaniards had marched through one of them. None of the explorers, after the northward march commenced, speak of seeing any Indians until the hunting party was met, but Coronado says there were different languages in Quivira, showing that there were at least two tribes. The narratives also indicate that there were Indians of another tribe seen in Quivira west of the Quiviras. Castaneda very probably included the distance through this tribe and to the "end of Quivira," which would practically make his statement agree with the others.

Jaramillo says that on the return from Quivira the Indian guides brought the Spaniards back by the same road to the crossing of the St. Peter's and St. Paul's (Arkansas), and there, "taking the right hand," conducted them to Tiguex. This indicates a direct route. Careful investigators have pronounced the Santa Fe trail a prehistoric route, and this was likely it. The narratives repeatedly say the only roads were those of the cows (buffaloes), which of course means the buffalo paths running in various directions. In the spring of 1902 I examined the Arkansas river at the McKinney ranch, where the river makes a sharp turn toward the northeast, below Dodge City and for some distance above. Many old things found here indicate a route and crossing which may have been preceded by one more ancient. There seems to be no landmark here, however, except the bend, but there was surely a known route.

In company with Professor Welin, of Lindsborg, I made three visits to the prehistoric dwelling sites near the Smoky Hill in the vicinity of Lindsborg. We had a number of these sites plowed and scraped and unearthed a number of interesting objects, but none showing evidence of civilization. The piece of chain armor before referred to was found here. President Swensson and Professor Welin, of Bethany College, at Lindsborg, are deeply interested in these sites, and kindly provided facilities for their examination.

My study of the route of Coronado began thirty years ago. I was led to an

investigation of the Smoky Hill region, about the year 1890, by Hon. W. A. Phillips, of Salina, now deceased, who told me he had seen the Spanish flag cut on stone, presumably by Coronado's Spaniards, on Big creek, a tributary of the Smoky Hill. I was prompted to renewed researches in the same region by Mr. L. R. Elliott, several years ago.

During my investigation I have been on explorations in Kansas, Nebraska, and Indian Territory, and I have also conducted, by correspondence, a number of lines of investigation with parties in Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Texas.

HUMANA'S EXPEDITION.

An expedition is attributed to Humana, in 1595, which likely reached Kansas. Bonilla was the real commander. The party was sent out on a raid against rebellious Indians, apparently in 1594-'96. Bonilla, hearing the current reports of northeastern wealth, determined to extend his operations to Quivira. The governor sent Cazorla to overtake the party and forbid the expedition. The progress of the adventurers to and through New Mexico has no record. They were next heard from far out on the plains, in search of Quivira. Here, in a quarrel, Humana killed his commander and assumed command. A little later, when the party had passed through an immense settlement and reached a broad river, which was to be crossed on balsas, three Mexican Indians deserted, one of whom, Jose, survived to tell the tale to Onate in 1598. Once more we hear of the adventurous gold-seekers. While they were encamped on the plains, at a place then called Matanza, the Indians rushed, thousands strong, upon the Spaniards just before dawn. Humana and nearly all his men were killed.

ONATE'S EXPEDITION.

Governor Onate, of New Mexico, marched with eighty men in search of Quivira in 1601. Guided by the Mexican Indian who had accompanied Humana on his expedition, he crossed the buffalo plains and, journeying an estimated distance of 200 leagues in a northeasterly direction, arrived at the territory of the tribe of Indians called the Escanjaques. These Indians were preparing to make war on their enemies, the Quiviras. A large force of the former joined Onate's troops, who entered the country of the Quiviras. The Escanjaques began to set fire to the Quivira villages. The Spanish commander tried to stop these and other outrages, the Quiviras having fled. Enraged at the Spaniards for the interference, the Escanjaques attacked them and a battle ensued, the Indians losing 1000 of their number killed. The Spanish loss was slight.

PENALOSA'S HOAX.

Don Diego Penalosa, another governor of New Mexico, becoming involved in trouble with an officer of the inquisition, went to London and Paris in 1673, and presented to the French government what purported to be an account of an expedition to Quivira made by himself in 1662, written by Padre Freitas, one of his friars, and sent to the Spanish king. He never made any such expedition or submitted any such narrative to the Spanish monarch. The researches of Bancroft have shown that the narrative was that of Onate's expedition of 1601, slightly changed to suit Penalosa's purposes in Paris.

Bancroft says that Onate's battle with the Escanjaques was near the scene of Humana's defeat. An attempt to locate these fights with the Indians would be a mere guess. Many indications lead me to believe that the country about the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill has been noted Indian ground for centuries. The name of Quivira was applied to various sections of country after Coronado's time, but future researches may show that Humana and Onate reached

the lower Republican. A river described by Padre Freitas, Penalosa's friar, corresponds with the Republican for one or two days' march above its mouth. The adjacent country corresponds in topography with that described by Freitas. Mr. Alvin Gates, of Clay Center, informs me that, near the junction of Madison creek with the Republican river, large leaden bullets have been taken from near the center of large trees. As the accounts state that these later expeditions crossed the buffalo plains to the hills, the inference seems reasonable that they reached the hilly country. It may be that the fullest narrative of Onate's expedition was the one written by Freitas for Penalosa's use.

INDIAN IMPLEMENTS IN KANSAS.

Flint hills were the gold-mines of the Indian. Knowing little of metals, he wrought flint, his best material, into various implements for his uses. These are scattered over many parts of Kansas. The typical arrow-point and spear-head are most frequently found, but pieces are also found which show that they have been used as hoes, digging implements, sledges, axes, hammers, scrapers, knives, and drills. Many of these are paleolithic or rough, but some are neolithic or smooth. Among these latter are celts and axes which have been worn smooth by rubbing or grinding. These axes commonly have a groove around them, for facility in hafting. Strings of buffalo or other hide were fitted into the groove and passed round the handle in such a way that the ax and handle were firmly bound together, thus making an effective implement or weapon. Wood being scarce in prairie countries, there were not as many axes used as where timber abounded. Materials best suited for the purposes of the Indians were eagerly sought by them, and the localities where they were obtained were known for hundreds of miles. The catlinite, a soft red stone found in Minnesota, was wrought into pipes and tablets, after having been carried long distances. Many of these pipes have been found in Kansas. The material of which they were made was highly prized, and it is said that such was the reverence for the locality where it was found that hostile tribes suspended hostilities when near it.

It is very probable that certain Indian implements found in Kansas were used for more than one purpose. A hammer or ax, besides being a formidable weapon in war, was also useful for other purposes. The same may be said of arrow-points and spear-heads. While they were useful in killing animals for subsistence and to supply other wants, they were the main weapons on the war-path. The bones of the buffalo and other animals were sometimes fashioned into implements.

The Indians of Kansas, or at least some of them, certainly had a love for the beautiful. In my collection there are pieces in which streaks of beautiful red alternate with others of white. Others have an attractive mottled appearance, while still others have the appearance of miniature rainbows. In my rambles over the state I have frequently seen intermingled many objects of flint differing in color and quality from those manufactured from the flint in the vicinity. This is an indication, if not a proof, that the Indians residing in such localities had communication with others from remote distances. It is not at all likely that all, or even half, from a distance were obtained by conquest. Near Marquette, on the Smoky Hill, and in other places, I have obtained some very small pieces of rare beauty. Some of these were likely used as ornaments, and, indeed, they would be appreciated as such at the present day. These pieces are very interesting, and the skill by which flint was wrought into such small and beautiful forms is worthy of our admiration and study.

A certain writer has assumed that the western limit of Quivira was on the Arkansas, near Great Bend; and, in support of that theory, he states that some flint Indian relics have been found near that point, as though that was a signifi-

cant fact. Old settlers and others have known, since the earliest settlement of the country, that such Indian relics are found in many localities in Kansas, as well as elsewhere. He has gone so far as to represent on a map that Quivira extended from the Arkansas, near Great Bend, to near the mouth of the Smoky Hill. This would be twice the distance of sixty-six miles, which the narratives plainly state was the length of the journey through Quivira. It is plain that, if the western limit of Quivira was near Great Bend, as he states, Quivira could have extended only sixty-six miles from that point. But he utterly ignores and eliminates this distance of sixty-six miles, and, stretching it about twice its extent, to some Indian-village sites, declares that the relics on these sites, like the relics near Great Bend, mark the location of Quivira.

Besides the fact that he eliminates the part of the narratives giving the sixty-six-mile limit of the journey, and, consequently, does not trace the march to these sites, they are far beyond the sixty-six-mile limit from Great Bend, his western terminal, and, consequently, he utterly fails to connect them with the Spanish line of march.

It is surely obvious that no location of Quivira can be made by ignoring or eliminating the narratives of the explorers, especially as regards distance.

The significance attached by this writer to the Indian relics found on the village sites referred to led a few people temporarily, and in a complimentary way, to give countenance to that theory. It was soon learned, however, that it had no foundation, for a personal investigation showed that flint implements, similar to those on the lower Smoky Hill, were found in Nebraska, on the Verdigris, the Cottonwood and other streams in Kansas, and in disconnected localities elsewhere. Much, therefore, as we might wish that these flint relics would throw light on the subject, their wide distribution eliminates their evidence, and renders them inconclusive, if not worthless, as factors in determining the location of the Quivira of Coronado. Besides this, the most of them may have been manufactured since Coronado's time.

In the accompanying illustrations I call attention to the similarity of flint implements found on the Smoky Hill with those found on other streams. For convenience of illustration, many of the implements illustrated are placed in groups of two, and in each group one of the implements is from the lower Smoky Hill, or the region near its mouth, and the other is from the Cottonwood, the Verdigris or some other stream. Mr. G. U. S. Hovey, of Wyandotte county, who has traveled over Kansas a great deal collecting Indian relics, has found flint implements similar to those illustrated in localities different from those named, while others have found similar implements in still other localities. Surely these facts show that a claim of locating Quivira by Indian relics has no foundation; there is no warrant or justification for such a claim. Neither Coronado nor his explorers describe or even mention the flint implements of Quivira. We do not know that any were found there, if we take the narratives of the explorers as a guide, and we have no other guide. Fragments of Indian pottery are also found in many parts of Kansas. It has been asserted that the Quiviras had no pottery, but pottery is found along the lower Smoky Hill, as well as elsewhere. On the streams flowing into the lower Smoky Hill from the south side, investigation has shown that pottery is found where it has been alleged that none existed.

PLATE IV



THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The illustrations are one-third the size of the objects illustrated. A classification according to use would be about as follows:

Plate 1.

- 1, 2.—Grooved hammers.
- 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.—Fragments of pottery from various Kansas streams.
- 8.—Bone showing action of fire; found on a lodge site. The Indians frequently ate buffalo and other meat raw, but sometimes warmed or roasted it. The burning of this bone was likely caused in this way.
- 9.—Copper wristlet.
- 10.—Small arrow-points from the Big Blue, the Republican, and other streams.
- 11.—Arrow-point, very thick.
- 12.—Jaw-bone found on an Indian village site two feet below the surface, the sand having drifted over the lodge site.
- 13.—Bone implement, sharpened at broad end and straight side. Probably used as a skinning knife.
- 14.—Catlinite tablet bearing Indian pictures.
- 15, 16.—Pipes showing excellent carving.
- 17.—Smoothing stone.
- 18.—Metate, a flat stone for grinding corn, with rubbing-stone upon it. This metate is made of Sioux quartzite, and, to bring it to its present form, must have required much labor and patience. Metates were made of other kinds of stone, and are sometimes worn through in the center.

Plate 2.

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.—Arrow-points of various forms.
- 13, 14, 15, 16.—Spear-heads.
- 17, 18, 19, 20.—Drills.
- 21, 22.—Scrapers, probably used for scraping hides and arrow-shafts.
- 23, 24.—Hammers, probably used also as tomahawks.
- 25, 26.—Hoes. The portions near edges are worn by stirring the ground. Some of these were hafted, and others not. The depressions seen in these and the hammers were undoubtedly made for hafting. Handles were firmly bound to these implements by strong pieces of hide or tough wood, which passed around these grooves and the handles.
- 27, 28.—Picks or digging implements. The points are worn by digging.

Plate 3.

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.—Knives of various forms. The diamond-shaped knives have generally four beveled edges, one being on each side of the diamond form. One edge could be kept sharp, while the others might remain dull, to be used in their turn. Many of these sixteen forms are thin, and show much skill in flint chipping in the process of manufacture. The diamond shapes seem to be of a later culture than the others. No. 8 seems to be a connecting-link between the diamond shapes and the others. Nos. 11 and 12 are broad and thin, and are marvels of manufacture. How such broad, thin implements of flint could be made seems a mystery.
- 17, 18.—Probably used as spear-heads.
- 19, 20.—Arrow-points.
- 21, 22.—General utility implements, used for various purposes.
- 23, 24.—Rubbing-stones, probably used at times for other purposes.

Plate 4.

1, 2.—Diamond-pointed knives.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.—Knives, many of them showing skill in chipping. Nos. 3 and 4 are broad and thin, and are fine specimens.

13, 14.—Blades, unused, probably intended for hoes.

15, 16.—Sledges (?). They are thick and heavy. One side of each is flat.

17, 18.—Scrapers (?). Probably used for scraping arrow-shafts.

As before stated, in each group of two, one is from the lower Smoky Hill, including the region near its mouth, and the other is from the Cottonwood, the Verdigris, or some other stream. Many other forms similar to these might be submitted, but the illustrations prove that the similarity of the implements near the lower Smoky Hill with those of other regions is complete.

It may seem strange, but it is a fact that this writer assumes that the Quivira Indians, a wild, barbarous tribe, had a "seat of empire," and even pretends to show where this "seat of empire" was, locating it on a stretch of upland between two creeks.

The bold assumption that this barbarous tribe had a "seat of empire," such as existed in strong Indian confederacies, or in Mexico, where history, monuments and architecture show that the people had attained to a higher level, is equaled only by the assurance as to where that supposed "seat of empire" was located.

The narratives indicate that the Quivira Indian settlements were on streams and plainly state that the country between the streams was understood to be uninhabited.

This supposed "seat of empire" is as far from Great Bend as the village sites referred to, and, like them, is not connected with the line of march pursued by the explorers.

It is proper to say that the statements and conclusions of this writer are not shared by investigators and scholars of Kansas who have studied and understand the subject.

It is to be regretted that one Kansas man, in order to assist the writer referred to, has given him hundreds, perhaps thousands, of these flint implements, which have been deposited in a museum elsewhere, instead of being kept in Kansas, as mementoes of our prehistoric people. These implements are rude and rough—genuine paleoliths—and frequently indicate the uses for which they were intended. In my own collection, deposited in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka, are many interesting pieces wrought from flint by chipping. These include hoes or digging implements, spades, sledges, axes, hammers, drills, knives, spear-heads, arrow-points, and other things. The hoes and digging implements are worn smooth at the edges, where they have been used in stirring the ground. The existence of metates or grinding stones is further proof that corn was raised and ground. The hoes, axes and hammers are frequently notched and some of them may have been hafted. Some of these objects may have been rejects but others show marks of use.

Besides these rough, thick implements, thin ones are found, but the fact that they are intermingled with the others and are also widely distributed shows that they cannot be attributed to any particular locality.

Similar Indian implements being found in so many different sections of country, it naturally follows that an attempt to locate Quivira by the implements found in one locality is an absurdity. The necessities of primitive man often produced implements of uniform shape and material in widely different regions.

For instance, flint arrow-points and other implements found in America are similar in form and material with others found in Europe.

For courtesies and encouragement extended during my researches, I tender my thanks and grateful acknowledgements to various directors and members of the Kansas State Historical Society, its very efficient librarian, and other prominent citizens of Kansas; to Hon. Eugene F. Ware, commissioner of pensions, and Prof. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.; to Profs. F. H. Hodder and F. W. Blackmar, of the University of Kansas; to President Carl Swensson,* Professor Welin, and faculty, of Bethany College, at Lindsborg, and to the Texas Historical Society.

I also thankfully express my obligations to Mr. Alvah Lowman and his brother, Mr. E. W. Lowman. These gentlemen have shown a praiseworthy zeal in collecting interesting flint Indian implements, and have submitted for examination and comparison many typical specimens of their collections, representative pieces of which are now on exhibition in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society. If there were no other evidence, these implements would prove conclusively that flint implements similar to those found on the Smoky Hill and near its mouth are found on other streams of Kansas. The Messrs. Lowman have examined with me many interesting Indian village sites and have given me information of others. Thus a flood of light has been thrown on these silent witnesses of the past and their relation to history. The Lowman brothers are entitled to much credit.

I also extend my cordial thanks to John Madden, G. U. S. Hovey, W. J. Griffing, J. R. Mead, Gen. C. C. Carr, commanding officer, and Capt. Granger Adams, an artillery officer, at Fort Riley, Hon. George P. Morehouse, of the Kansas senate, Ralph Sage, Lawrence Coddington, Capt. Robert Henderson, S. T. Pember, Miss Estella Doyle, Sol. Miller, G. A. Reece, James T. Hanna, Chas. C. Sorenson, G. P. Farnstrom, A. L. Evers, B. D. Fry, E. L. Falen, C. S. Everhart, Dr. E. B. Cheney, O. G. Bigford, David Martin, R. P. Church, W. M. Atkinson, Hon. J. M. Miller, Hon. Frank Nelson, ex-state superintendent of public instruction, M. D. Umbarger, Mrs. Pracht, Asa M. Breese, G. C. Atkinson, A. L. Loomis, Mr. Kershaw, W. L. Morris, A. Hill, J. M. Claypool, J. F. Hughes, Mr. Hoff-

* REV. CARL A. SWENSSON, PH. D., D. D., president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, McPherson county, died at Los Angeles, Cal., early in the morning of February 16, 1904. He left Lindsborg February 1 for San Francisco, where he dedicated a church. He was buried at Lindsborg, Tuesday, February 23. There were present 150 ministers from all parts of the country, and about 7000 people attended the obsequies. The Messiah chorus of 600 voices took part in the services. Doctor Swensson was born at Sugar Grove, Warren county, Pennsylvania, in 1857. He was the son of the Rev. Jonas J. Swensson, for fifteen years pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Andover, Ill., and who was at one time president of the Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of North America. Doctor Swensson was educated at Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., graduating in 1879. He afterwards settled at Lindsborg, in Kansas, and in 1889 became president of Bethany College. Doctor Swensson's efforts brought Bethany to a high rank among the institutions of its kind in the United States. It was by his efforts for fifteen years that "The Messiah," the yearly musical festival, was built up. King Oscar of Sweden was so impressed by Doctor Swensson's work for Swedes in America that he conferred upon him the Order of the North Star. This carries with it Swedish knighthood. It was conferred at the yearly musical festival, in November, 1901. He was a personal friend of President Roosevelt. President Francis, of the St. Louis World's Fair, had asked him recently to dedicate the fair with a prayer. He was married in 1880 to Miss Alma Lind, of Moline, Ill., who with two daughters survives him. He was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1889, and in 1890 refused to be a candidate for Congress. He was a delegate at large from Kansas to the convention which nominated McKinley in 1896. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from his *alma mater* and one or two other institutions. The Royal University of Upsala, Sweden, also conferred on him the degree of doctor of philosophy. He traveled extensively in Europe, particular in the Scandinavian countries, and at the court of King Oscar was recognized as one of the Swedish leaders in America.

hines, D. N. Myers, Geo. N. Norton, H. W. Brown, Edward Nelson, J. P. Noll, George Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, who presented the Pike Pawnee village site to the state, John Briggs, John Garenson, John Cameron, L. H. Langvardt, Bert Brown, J. R. Murie, an educated Pawnee Indian, Daniel McArthur, Alexander Smith, C. S. Martin, Mr. Engel, Charles Shane, John Miller, J. R. Ingram, J. C. Jones, C. A. Jones, the last three residing near the big bend of the Arkansas, below Fort Dodge, W. W. Graves, H. W. Brown, Rev. M. E. Fraser, Rev. J. K. Morgan, Perry Cope, J. F. Hull, John Argo, Warren Knaus, Doctor McCartney, Thomas Coon, Horace H. Day, and George A. Root.

The parties whose names appear in the last list have all extended courtesies, furnished Indian relics, or given information. A number of them are residents of other states.

Much praise and credit are due Mr. Wehe, photographer, of Topeka, for the illustrations accompanying this paper.

After Coronado's return to the Rio Grande, Father Padilla, one of his faithful priests, came back to Quivira to preach to the natives, and suffered the death of a martyr there by the Indians for whose spiritual elevation he was zealous. Thus was Christianity first carried to Kansas, and the first white man's blood shed on our soil.

Centuries have elapsed and may elapse, but as long as the Smoky Hill and Kansas bear their waters onward toward the ocean these noble streams will commemorate the marvelous journey of Coronado and his knights of sunny Spain, which led to the discovery of a land which in glory and progress has eclipsed the world's past career, and which leads the nations in all that pertains to the elevation and happiness of mankind.

REMINISCENCES OF THE YEAGER RAID, ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, IN 1863.

An address by D. HUBBARD,* of Olathe, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

AMONG the many important and exciting events of the early years of the war which have held the attention of the loyal people of Kansas by their tales of suffering and endurance, of fire and blood, there may be some interest accorded to one of the minor events which filled those trying times. The following account of the return of Dick Yeager's band to Missouri is gathered from authentic sources for the purpose of adding to the history of the making of Kansas.

The writer was then living in Marion, Douglas county, Kansas, seventeen miles southwest of Lawrence, and on the old Santa Fe trail, being engaged in

*DAVID HUBBARD was born in North Charlestown, N. H., December 3, 1833, and reared on a New Hampshire farm. Outside of the district schools, he attended Meriden Academy and Norwich University, Vermont. At twenty-one he went to Green county, Illinois, where he taught school three years. On March 10, 1857, he landed at Leavenworth, and enlisted in the cause of making Kansas a free state and the building up of a future home. He filed on and improved a claim on Deer creek, Shawnee county. During a temporary absence from the territory his claim was jumped and preempted by Ike Edwards, one of Buford's men, from Georgia, who was afterwards hung by a mob while in jail for killing an Indian without provocation, on a street in Topeka. [In the winter of 1860-'61.—Giles's Thirty Years in Topeka, page 377.] He subsequently preempted a quarter-section in Marion township, Douglas county, where he resided until September, 1863, when he was employed in the commissary department, with the thirteenth army corps, until the close of the war. On returning to Lawrence he was appointed assistant United States assessor, and moved to Olathe, where he now resides. For several years he was county surveyor of Johnson county, has also been engaged in the milling, grain and lumber business, and at the present time in the loan and brokerage business and farming.

farming and running a small store, post-office, and stage stand. His family consisted of his wife and an infant daughter less than one year old, and there was living with him Mr. Henry Waters and wife and a daughter about six years of age. Mr. Waters now resides at Iola, Kan.

The summer of 1862 had been filled with raids by Quantrill and his men upon the towns along the border, including Gardner, Olathe, and Shawnee, burning and destroying property, and killing many Union men. This had aroused the public feeling to a high pitch, and was the cause of Governor Robinson organizing a home guard of militia. In Douglas county, the three townships through which the Santa Fe trail ran, Palmyra, Willow Springs, and Marion, each organized a company. The writer was the captain of the one in Marion, Fortunatus Gleason was its first lieutenant, and William Baldwin was its second lieutenant. The latter is still living, near Overbrook, in Osage county. It was composed of about thirty men, furnished with arms and ammunition by the state, and was called out several times during the year 1862, but each time upon a false alarm.

In the month of May, 1863, as soon as the grass was sufficient for grazing their horses, a considerable number of Quantrill's men, under the command of Dick Yeager, left Missouri and went west on the Santa Fe trail, in squads of twos or threes, so as not to be observed. This was the same man who was Quantrill's lieutenant at the Lawrence raid, the following August, where he won, with his comrades, a name of undying infamy. These men congregated near Council Grove, Morris county, and there went into camp. It has never been known to history just what was the real object in making this movement. Some have suggested that it was their intention to organize a raid in New Mexico. Others believe that they were bent upon plunder and destruction among the interior towns of the state. Whatever their purpose, they were evidently foiled by the United States soldiers stationed in the vicinity.

The following is furnished by Mr. John Maloy, county attorney of Morris county, and written seventeen years ago, as a part of what he is preparing for a history of that county:

"With all of their military preparations, our people were unable to prevent guerrillas from making incursions into our neighborhood. On the 4th of May, 1863, Dick Yeager's band of Missouri guerrillas encamped on the General Custer farm, now owned by M. K. Sample, near Council Grove, and after insulting and threatening the lives of some of our best citizens, a portion of them, some ten or twelve in number, proceeded on the following day to Diamond Springs, and about ten o'clock at night three of them rode up to the store of Augustus Howell, and, without any ceremony, shot him to death. His wife was also shot, but recovered, and afterwards married a Mr. Stokes, of Chase county. During this excitement Captain Rowell, of Colorado, was stationed at Council Grove to protect the people of the county and to guard the mails and merchants, as well as the Santa Fe trains.

"Yeager rode to Dr. J. H. Bradford's office and had a tooth pulled. He was visited in his camp soon after he came by M. Conn, now a resident of Kansas City, then of Council Grove, where he remained for some time. Many criticized the visit as an act of disloyalty, without inquiring into the object of his visit. He went to prevail on Yeager not to burn the town and succeeded in his mission, which was quite up to any reasonable standard of loyalty. He had known Yeager well in the years before the war. He was a freighter on the Santa Fe route. They had been friends, which was a most lucky thing for Council Grove."

Thirteen of their number started back on the 8th of May over the trail and under the lead of Yeager. Nothing is known of their movements or doings until they reached Rock Springs, late in the afternoon, near the line between Osage and Douglas counties. At that time there was a stage stand, formerly kept by a man by the name of Walters, but the name of the proprietor at that time I do not

remember. A soldier by the name of George N. Sabin,* of company K, Eleventh regiment of Kansas volunteer cavalry, was spending the night there. He had been visiting home on a furlough, and was then on his way to his regiment, at Fort Scott. Over a dozen bullets were his fate. The next morning he was buried by the neighbors on the open prairie.

The family of this soldier lived near Auburn, Shawnee county. The widow could learn nothing of his fate, and continued in ignorance of the circumstances of his death until two years ago, when, by a most remarkable chain of circumstances, the writer's daughter became acquainted with the soldier's daughter at Salt Lake City, Utah. The soldier's widow then for the first time learned the facts surrounding her husband's death.

It may be of interest to refer to the remarkable career of the daughter of this soldier, who was born to him while at home on his last furlough. At the tender age of eleven years, having a burning thirst for an education, she left home, her ambition being to reach the State University. After a long struggle, without any aid or encouragement from any relative, the dream of her life was accomplished. During the fourth year at the university she accepted a position in the Topeka public schools, where she remained until married to a Mr. Rose, who is now a prominent official of the Illinois Central railroad, being a foreign representative of the road, and stationed at London.

The same evening the bushwhackers shot Sabin they arrived at my home, seven miles farther east. Mr. Waters came in about dusk and said it was reported that the bushwackers were at some point west of us, committing depredations. The report was treated lightly by us all, and we sat down to supper. The daughter of Mr. Waters soon came running, and called out that a lot of horsemen were coming down the road. They came to the door, where I met them, and I was seized, searched, and questioned as to my politics and the state I came from. The answers not being satisfactory to them, Yeager gave the order to shoot. Three of them obeyed the order. One bullet went through my lungs, the other two missed—they being less than ten feet away. After going through the house and taking what they wanted, and taking a horse from the stable, they left, following the trail east. Among other things, they took Mr. Waters's pocket-book. Mrs. Waters asked the privilege of taking out some valuable papers, and they allowed her to select some of the most-important ones.

They passed through Baldwin without molesting anybody. At Black Jack, four miles further east, they met the Santa Fe stage, in which, among others, was ex-Sheriff Jones (appointed the first sheriff of Douglas county by the bogus legislature, at Shawnee Mission, Johnson county), who was on his way to his home, then in New Mexico. The passengers were all relieved of their money and watches. Even the notorious Sheriff Jones they did not spare, nor stop to inquire as to his politics.

From information furnished by George W. Cramer, now of Paola, Kan., who was then living with his father, A. Cramer, who kept the Stone hotel, at Gardner, Johnson county, I learned that at some time past midnight Yeager's command reached Gardner. They first quietly took Garrett Rhue, afterwards representative to the legislature from that county, who was express agent, and made him prisoner. They took from him an express package containing \$200,†

* George N. Sabin enlisted from Louisville, Pottawatomie county, September 5, 1862.

† The express package referred to belonged to Mrs. Harriet L. Waugh, and was money sent to her by her husband, Col. G. M. Waugh, who was away in the army. After a period of forty years, the last legislature made good to the widow (who now lives in California) the original amount in the package taken. See Session Laws of 1903, chapter 62, page 108.

then made him go with them to the hotel and get the hotel-keeper, A. Cramer, to open the door, saying that they were some men who wanted to stay all night. The door was opened, and they rushed in and made Mr. Cramer prisoner at the point of their revolvers, and ordered him to show them where the other men were. They were taken up-stairs into the room where G. W. Cramer and Ben Francis were sound asleep. They jerked them both out of bed and demanded their money and clothes. Francis answered that the clothes they saw there were all he had. They answered that they knew better, and that he must have better clothes, and ordered him to show them his trunk, which he did. They smashed it in with their feet, and, not finding what they expected, said they would shoot him any way. Francis replied that the clothes were good enough for bush-whackers. They acted on his suggestion and gathered up all the clothes, but did not shoot.

The men were all taken out into the street under guard, while a part of the gang took Mr. Cramer to the stables and made him get out his best horses, which they appropriated. They then marched him to the front of the house and ordered the command to fall into line. It was thought by all that he was then to be shot; but then Yeager rode up in front and asked him what his politics were. He answered that he was a Democrat, and always had been: so his life was saved, and the command were given orders to march.

This is the last that is known of the Yeager raid.

THE WICHITA INDIANS IN KANSAS.

An address by JAMES R. MEAD,* of Wichita, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

AMERICAN history has no topic comparable for its enduring interest to that of the Indian tribes. And of such history Kansas can furnish a generous share. A true record of the battles fought and tragedies enacted on Kansas soil, and the deeds of valor, endurance, daring and hardship of her sons, both white and red, would make a volume of entrancing interest.

Until recent years our brother, the Indian, has occupied Kansas since the

*JAMES RICHARD MEAD was born May 3, 1837, in New Haven, Conn. His great-grandfather, Ebenezer Mead, was a major-general in the revolutionary war, and was shot through the lungs, but recovered. His home was in Connecticut, thirty miles from New York, and included Putnam's hill, down which General Putnam made his escape on stone steps. His father, Enoch Mead, graduated at Yale, and was a prominent minister of the Presbyterian church. He emigrated to Davenport, Iowa, in 1839, and established many Presbyterian churches in that state. James R. Mead was educated at Iowa College, Davenport. He became interested in the Kansas struggle, and in 1859 settled in Saline county, and engaged largely in hunting and the fur trade with the Indians. He spent eight years on the plains as hunter, trapper, and trader. In the spring of 1863 he removed to what is now Butler county, and established a trading-post. At the close of the war he removed to the junction of the two Arkansas rivers, and in connection with others laid out Wichita. He organized the Wichita & Southwestern, was its first president, and in six months built the road. He aided in building a bridge across the Arkansas, and in establishing the First National Bank of Wichita. While a resident of Butler county he was a commissioner, and aided in locating the town of El Dorado. In 1864 he was elected to the legislature from Butler county, and aided in the election of James H. Lane to the United States senate. In 1868 he was elected to the state senate from the counties of Morris, Chase, Marion, and Butler. He was married at Burlingame, December 1, 1862, to Miss Agnes Barcome, who died April 19, 1869, leaving two sons and two daughters. At Wichita, August 23, 1872, he married Miss Lucy Inman. Mr. Mead was the companion on the plains of Kit Carson and Colonel Boone, and he had great influence with the Wichitas, who sought refuge in southern Kansas, during the war, from the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy. His home is at Wichita, where he continued his interest in everything to advance Kansas and his immediate locality.

glacial era, and perhaps for a longer time, as his remains have been found under the glacial drift by myself and others.

The first Europeans to penetrate this region found him here in thousands along the Kansas and other rivers. Within the memory of men now living, the Indian owned or occupied as hunting-grounds the entire state.

There were three indigenous tribes in eastern Kansas; perhaps others. The Osage, Pawnees and the Kansas, or "Kaws," as they were nicknamed by the French. To the west were the roving nomads of the plains, who had no particular abiding-place, whom, I believe, constituted the lost "Paducas" spoken of by De Bourgmont and other early explorers.

In 1859, when I went upon the plains, I found the Osages, and other frontier Indians who had hunted buffalo to the west, constantly speaking of the "Paducas," and, on inquiry, they described them as a fierce, savage, warlike tribe of roving horsemen, ranging the western plains, of whom they were in constant dread, and described them as being as numerous as the blades of grass on the prairie, and indifferent to cold or danger.

I believe the Paducas, visited by M. du Tisne in 1719, and M. de Bourgmont in 1724, on the head of the Smoky Hill river, to have been the Comanches. I am confirmed in this belief by information I obtained from the aged chief of the Acomas, in New Mexico, many years ago.*

Commencing about 1832, the Indian population of Kansas was increased by seventeen tribes, who were located on reservations in the eastern fourth of the state—occupying about all of that region—a greater number of tribes than had ever assembled on the same amount of territory in the history of the government. Evidently the Indians knew a good country, and all wanted to get here.

These were the remnants of once powerful nations of the Eastern and Middle states, who fought long and bravely to beat back the host of invaders from across the sea until, decimated, impoverished, the bones of their great chieftains and warriors whitening many a battle-field, the remnant submitted to the inevitable, and finally were removed to Kansas.

It may be of interest here to mention that in 1847 these Kansas reservations were valued by the government at seven cents an acre.

All of Kansas west of these reservations, comprising about three-fourths of the state, was the best hunting-ground on the continent; contained no permanent villages or settlements; was the common hunting-ground of all the Kansas Indians and the roving tribes of the plains, who outnumbered the reservation Indians and were usually at war with them.

When the Santa Fe trail was established, and there was no Santa Fe trail until the white man established it, passing through the center of the state and on across the plains with its constant stream of travel, it became the objective point of all the predatory hosts from Dakota to the Rio Grande.

To protect this route of traffic, and later the settlements, the government has at various times constructed and maintained in Kansas twelve forts and numbers of military posts, at vast expense, to keep in check our red brothers and hold this fair land of ours for those who were yet to come.

Our reservation Indians were promised, by ancient treaties, their lands "so

* "Claude Charles du Tisne, of Paris, an ensign in the French marine, was married at Quebec (1708) to Marie Anne Gautier, by whom he had three sons. La Harpe says that du Tisne went to Mobile late in 1714; and the latter's name occurs, at various times, in the early annals of Louisiana. In 1722 he was appointed captain, as a reward for his military services. An old manuscript, published in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Athenee Louisianais*, mentions him as commandant at Natchez in 1728, and in the Illinois country in 1729; and states that he died in Illinois in 1730."—*Jesuit Relations*, 1900, vol. 66, p. 345.

long as grass grew or water ran," but here the tide of immigration again overtook them, and it was found necessary for them to move on, and with them went the hereditary owners of the land—and the red-handed rovers of the plains, they are gone.

About 1854 began the exodus to the Indian Territory, crowded out by the advance of a stronger race. Departing, they have left behind abundant reminders of their former occupancy in the names of our state, rivers, cities, counties, towns, and townships.

Our three greatest rivers* bear Indian names. The Missouri (meaning muddy) is the name of an Indian tribe. The Kansas, from the tribe who lived along its valleys since prehistoric times, meaning "smoky water." The Arkansas river is the Indian word "Kansas" with the French prefix of "Ark," a bow. Neosho is Osage (Dakota)—"ne," water; "osho," clear; clear water, or water you can see into.

We are indebted to the Indians for the names of our three most populous cities. And the founders of the second largest city in our neighboring state to the east came over into Kansas to find and appropriate one of our choicest Indian names.

Twelve counties of Kansas are named after Indian tribes; four others have Indian names, but one is a reminder of the noble animals upon which they subsisted, and one bears the name of a noted Indian trader.

And now I come to a tribe—the last to arrive, and the first to depart—the Wichitas and affiliated bands. They were transients; fugitives from their distant homes, driven out by the exigencies of cruel war. To them, Kansas was a haven of refuge. They asked no permission nor assistance from the government or any one else, in their coming nor in their going. They built their town of grass houses at the junction of the two rivers, Big and Little Arkansas, or "Neshutsa," and "Neshutsa Shinka" of the Osages, in whose territory it was located, which became known all over the plains as "the Wichita town," and on their village site has arisen the third largest city in the state, Wichita.

The Indians comprised in the general term of Wichitas were remnants of tribes affiliated together when first known to history, more than a century ago. They were the Wichitas, Wacos, Towakonis, and Kelchis, who speak the Wichita language, and the Caddos, Ionis, and Nadarkos, who spoke the Caddo language. The Nadarkos are practically extinct.

Each of these bands lived in separate villages and preserved their tribal identity. They had their villages of grass houses on the Brazos river, in Texas; and on the Washita river and its tributaries and other streams in the Indian Territory; and ranged in former times from Arkansas to the Wichita mountains, and from the Cimarron river to central Texas.

One tradition, narrated to me many years ago by Chief Towakoni Jim, was that the Wichitas originally came from the far Northwest, using dogs for pack animals—as all western Indians did before the arrival of the Spaniards—and tarried on the Arkansas river, near the southern border of the state, several years, cultivating gardens and hunting for subsistence, using implements of stone or bone; while the traditions of the Caddoes are that they originally came from the Hot Springs, Arkansas.

The Wichitas proper were typical barbarians, coming down from the stone age unchanged in customs, habits, or apparel. Their language and tone of voice

* W. J. McGee in his "Siouan Indians," Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162, says: "*Missouri* (tribal name), exact meaning uncertain; said to refer to drowning of people in a stream; possibly a corruption of ni-shu-dje, 'smoky water,' the name of Missouri river. *Kansa* or *Kanze* refers to winds, though precise significance is unknown."

were utterly unlike any Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, but had a marked resemblance in inflection, tone and construction to that of the Indians along the Columbia river in Oregon.

When I first saw them, in 1863, many of the older women were artistically tattooed in pink and blue zigzag circles and lines, as was their ancient custom. The Caddoes were a much milder-mannered people and of pleasant speech.

The summer of 1864 found the Wichitas in Kansas prosperous. Buffalo were abundant—close at hand; they had obtained horses. The women, with great industry, cleared grounds and planted fine gardens along the Little Arkansas, and were the first to demonstrate that the Arkansas valley was the garden spot of the state.

All took a hand in building their very comfortable and peculiar grass houses. They were usually made of forked posts about five feet high, set in the ground at intervals in a circle, and twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter. Horizontal poles were then securely fastened to the top of the posts; then smooth poles, twenty or more feet long, were set upright in the ground outside the posts, converging, cone-shape, to a common center at the top; very small poles are bound with withes crosswise, thus holding the whole structure securely together. The squaws weave the long, tough, reddish bunch-grass in and out in such an ingenious manner that each bunch of grass overlaps the bunch immediately below. When complete it is a substantial structure; does not leak; is warm. A low door opens to east and west, made of grass or skin. Arranged around the inside are raised bunks for sleeping, and underneath, storage room. In the center a fire, with opening at top for smoke. The inside and floor are sometimes plastered with gypsum, and for fifty feet on the outside the ground is kept smooth, hard, and clean. These houses are unique, comfortable, and unlike all others in America. I have seen those built twenty years and still in good condition. They are never covered with sod, as stated this summer in a prominent Eastern magazine.

Not far from these houses were their gardens, surrounded by fences made of small poles, set upright in the ground. These grew an abundance of their native corn, pumpkins, melons, and Mexican beans.

These grass houses were built in groups along the Little river for a mile, on the east bank: the water of the river was sweet, clear, and pure, full of fish; plenty of timber, and game abundant.

Owaha, chief of the Wichitas, was an ideal prehistoric man of 5000 years ago. A cartoonist could hardly exaggerate his general make-up. Yet he was not a bad fellow by any means. He would have been a howling success to illustrate Chancellor Snow's lecture on the evolution of man.

Shaddona, chief of the Caddoes, was his opposite; fine-looking, quiet, intelligent, gentlemanly.

I established a trading-post among them, and part of the time had an Indian alone in charge. Along in the summer of 1864 the government sent an old gentleman, Maj. Milo Gookin, of Indiana, to look after these Indians, with instructions to make his headquarters at my home place, known as "Mead's ranch," at Towanda, twenty miles east of the Little Arkansas, at that time consisting of a big spring and my several buildings. Major Gookin knew nothing about Indians, and had at first nothing to aid them, and the Indians nearly worried him to death. I helped him out considerably, as I had abundant supplies and much-needed experience. Later on the government furnished a small amount of food and clothing.

The Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos settled themselves along the White-water and Walnut rivers. Some of the wild tribes of the plains visited us occa-

sionally. Here, in time of war, came Satanta, the great warrior chief of the Kiowas, with Heap of Bears, great medicine man of the Arapahoes, to talk about peace, which resulted in the treaty of the Little Arkansas; and, by coming to a good understanding with the wild Indians and the influence of our Wichita friends, our corner of the frontier escaped the horrors of a border war, and we came and went over the plains at all times in safety.

The Wichita Indians are remarkable in leaving their name attached to the localities where they have lived. In Kansas we have the city of Wichita, the county of Wichita, a Wichita and Waco street, the towns of Waco and Kechi. In the territory we have the Wichita mountains, old Fort Wichita, the Washita river, the Little and Big Ouchita rivers—a way of spelling the same name. The Wichita tribe may become extinct, but the name will remain with us for all time.

At the outbreak of the civil war the Indians of the Wichita agency were living quietly and peaceably on the Washita river and other streams, near old Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. The Indians of the plains and the civilized tribes of the territory were their friends. They were an agricultural people, had fields and gardens, an abundance of horses, and lived in a paradise of game—buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and wild turkeys constituting their bill of fare, with corn, beans, melons, pumpkins and wild fruits as side-dishes. Each year at the time of roasting-ears, watermelons, and garden-truck, the Comanches came in from the plains and spent a season feasting, visiting, and having a good time generally—an agreeable change from their usual bill of fare, buffalo meat straight.

When the civil war came they were loyal to the Union. To the east were the powerful civilized tribes, who were slaveholders; on the south, Texas. The Wichitas were driven out, together with many Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and other loyal Indians, leaving all behind except such articles as could be gathered for hasty flight. With their wives and little ones, they fled north across the pathless wilderness to Kansas and safety. They were pursued, and some of them killed, on the Salt Fork; a few had wagons, which were mostly broken or abandoned on the way. There were no roads or trails to follow. After many hardships, the scattered bands collected in southern Kansas, on the border, destitute, hungry, among strangers. The government afforded them a scant relief. The first winter all of their horses starved to death, and many of their people died from want and sickness. In their distress they sought aid from the Osage Indians, who at that time owned nearly all of southern Kansas, including millions of buffalo, and secured their permission to move to the mouth of the Little Arkansas (Neshusta Shinka), and subsist on the buffalo. So in the summer of 1863 they set out for their new home, afoot, hungry, almost naked, and established their temporary camp in the dense timber at the mouth of the Little river, just across from the present Murdock avenue bridge, Wichita.

They managed without horses or guns to kill enough buffalo to subsist and lay up a scant supply for winter, when the men went south to their old homes and gathered up what horses they could find. Others visited the Comanches, who gave them presents of many horses, a custom among the Indians to their less fortunate brothers. By spring they were mostly mounted and able to take care of themselves. They could make their saddles and equipments, arms and clothing, while the women were industriously at work planting gardens, which in time yielded abundantly.

Here along the Little river they lived and prospered, until the summer of 1867 brought fresh woes. Inexperience involved the wild tribes of the plains in war. Troops from St. Louis were scattered along the old Santa Fe trail in small de-

tachments. With them came the cholera, which spread over the plains of Kansas and the Indian Territory. White men and Indians alike died. A small company of soldiers were sent to the mouth of the Little Arkansas—an uncalled for and useless move. Soon the cholera commenced its deadly work among the Wichitas. Scattered over the northern part of Wichita are the graves of probably 100 Indians, including Owaha, hereditary war chief: Sam Houston, a noted Indian, and many others. In the latter part of the summer orders came from Washington to remove the Indians to their old homes, on the Washita, but no provision was made for their removal. They refused to go until their crops were gathered and a supply of food prepared for the winter.

Along in the fall they started down the old Chisholm trail.* Their first camp was on the Ninnescah, where misfortune again overtook them. They hobbled their horses one night in the tall grass in a bend of the river on the north side. During the night a norther set in, driving down upon them a furious prairie fire, burning eighty-five head of their best horses. This left a large number afoot, as many of their horses had been stolen and driven off by white outlaws, who had begun to infest the country that summer. The Indians were compelled to cache a large part of their provisions, which were afterwards stolen by white men, and proceeded on their journey, many of them afoot.

The cholera was still with them. They died all along the trail. Some were buried on the Ninnescah. At Skeleton creek so many died they laid on the ground unburied, and their bleaching skeletons gave a name to the stream. Whole families died in the lodges after their arrival on the Washita, and the lodges were burned, with the bodies and all their belongings. From Skeleton creek they scattered out in every direction, some parties who had no horses stopping on the Red Fork (Cimmaron), subsisting on the black-jack acorns and wild turkeys, of which there were thousands. Towakoni Jim, now chief of the Wichitas, with a band mostly women and children afoot, camped at the mouth of Turkey creek. Their food was what nature provided. From acorns they made palatable bread, by a process of their own. Nearly every evening they could be seen coming down the creek from the timber laden with acorns, Jim usually bringing home four or five big turkeys he had killed with bow and arrow.

A blizzard, with severe cold and deep snow, came along about that time. It was so cold a loaded wagon could be driven across the streams on the ice. (I do not speak from hearsay.) Big gray wolves and panthers came howling about their camps.

Late one evening Jim came down the creek loaded with turkeys, and straggling along were women and children with what acorns they could carry, Jim's young wife among the number. She was weak from lack of proper

*Andreas's History of Kansas, page 1385: "With the Wichitas (in 1864) came Jesse Chisholm, a half-breed Cherokee, and an adopted member of the Wichitas. He built his house on the stream which derived its name from him, east of the city of Wichita, and moved into it with his family. He also established a ranch between the two rivers, three miles above their junction, near the present residence of J. C. Davis. In the spring of 1865, Mr. Chisholm located a trail from his ranch to the present site of the Wichita agency, on the Wichita river, Indian Territory, distance 220 miles. This trail subsequently became, and is still known, as the Chisholm trail. It was established for the purpose of enabling the traders in the Arkansas valley to obtain wagon communication with the Indians in the Indian Territory, and the trail was used by these traders for years in the transportation of merchandise to tribes in the territory. Afterward the trail was used by Texas cattle-drivers, and is now used by the government in the transportation of supplies to Fort Sill, forty miles south of the Wichita agency. The principal points of this trail are Wichita, Clearwater, Caldwell, Pond Creek, Skeleton Ranch, Buffalo Springs, mouth of Turkey creek, Cheyenne Agency, Wichita Agency, and Fort Sill. Chisholm died on the North Fork of the Canadian river, in the Indian Territory, March 4, 1868, of cholera morbus, caused by eating bear's grease that had been poisoned by being melted in a brass kettle."

food. Darkness coming on, she became separated from her companions among the sand-hills and brush, and about a half a mile from camp fell exhausted. She hung her little shawl on a bush to aid her friends to find her, drew her thin blanket about her, and laid down to die, with wild beasts howling around. Jim and others hunted for her all night, and at daylight found her apparently dead. Tenderly they carried her to camp, and by careful attention revived the faint spark of life and she recovered.

Later many of the Wichitas congregated up the North Fork of the Canadian, where Jesse Chisholm had called in the Kiowas and Comanches, and here they remained until the 4th day of March, 1868, when he suddenly died. The Indians then suddenly scattered like a flock of quail. He was their friend, counselor, lawgiver, and father. Each band went its own way. In the spring, the Wichitas, what was left of them, finally assembled at their old homes on the Washita, where the government had sent Col. J. H. Leavenworth with some provision for their needs, and there they have resided to the present time.

THE POTTAWATOMIE MASSACRE.

An address by S. J. SHIVELY,* of Paola, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

THE occurrence of the night of May 24, 1856, near Dutch Henry crossing, on Pottawatomie creek, in Franklin county, at which time five men were killed, would only have been such a sensation as ordinary murders create had it been in any ordinary time; but it was in the midst of a civil war, in a new territory, over a great moral issue, and so it became one of the incidents of that war, and the bearing it produced on the result of the issue to be settled decides its importance.

I will call it a massacre, for convenience, and for the benefit of the sensitive. This affair was the most important in the slave troubles of Kansas. If right, it was important, as it changed the attitude of the free-state party toward their assailants, and had much to do in the overthrow of the slave power; if wrong, it was important, as being the cause of the riot and bloodshed that followed.

Five sons of John Brown, of North Elba, N. Y., John, jr., Jason, Owen, Salmon, and Frederick, came to Kansas, and settled on the north side of the Pottawatomie, about two miles southwest of where the town of Lane now is. Three of the boys took claims. Their brother-in-law, Henry Thompson, came with them. They unloaded their goods on their claims February 12, 1855. A man by the name of Winans kept a store then on what is now the B. Needham farm. He generally hauled out household goods for the settlers there from West-

*S. J. SHIVELY was born in Mandeville, Carroll county, Missouri, December 12, 1861. His father was a Christian minister, and enlisted in the First Kansas infantry in the spring of 1861, seven months before the son was born. He came out of the army in May, 1865, and was introduced to his son born in war times. The father moved with his large family of seven boys and one girl to Franklin county, Kansas, in 1869, and settled near Henry Shively, a brother, who had moved from Missouri in 1856. The Shively farms were three miles south and a little west of Stanton, and five miles north of Lane. They were between the Marais des Cygnes and the Pottawatomie. Mosquito creek is a little stream between the two. S. J. Shively received a common-school education at the country school near Mosquito creek. He farmed in Miami county from 1881 to 1883. In 1883 he attended the normal college at Paola; he then taught a country school in Miami county for two years. He read law in Paola and was admitted to practice in 1887. He held the offices of councilman, justice of the peace, and city attorney, in Paola, and was elected county attorney in 1894, serving two years in this latter position. In 1898 he enlisted in company I, Twentieth Kansas, and served in the Philippines. He resumed his practice at Paola, upon his return home, in November, 1899. He was married, in 1892, to Miss Eva Bryan, of Paola.

port landing. He hauled out some goods for Thompson and the Brown boys. The pro-slavery settlers soon learned that the Brown boys were abolitionists, and John, jr., was especially hated, as he was more outspoken, and rather the leader of the family. At that time it made anti-slavery men about as mad to be called abolitionists as it did pro-slavery men. The Brown boys never denied being abolitionists, but took pride in the term. Allen Wilkinson came from Tennessee, and first located at Osawatomie, in the fall of 1854. The next March, 1855, he took a claim between the Pottawatomie and Mosquito creeks, near the mouth of the Mosquito, in the east edge of Franklin county.

James P. Doyle took a claim north of Wilkinson and a little west, on the north side of the Mosquito, about a mile from Wilkinson's. Henry Sherman, with his brother William, two German bachelors, settled on an old, abandoned Indian farm, partially improved, known as the John Jones place. The Wilkinson place is now known as the John Powell place. The Sherman place is now known as the James Walter place. The Sherman place was on the south side of the Pottawatomie, and now adjoins on the east the Lane town site. Henry Sherman was called "Dutch Henry," and the ford across the Pottawatomie on his place went by the name of Dutch Henry crossing.

Shermans and Doyle came out in the fall of 1854.

The election of 1855 was held March 30, and that election district had been designated by Governor Reeder as the fifth, and the voting-place was at Henry Sherman's, as he had the best house in the country. The election district extended from the Missouri line to the Neosho east and west, and north and south from the Big Osage to the Little Osage. The Big Osage was the Marais des Cygnes. Wilkinson kept the post-office, and was not a violent, but a smooth, clever leader. Sherman was not very outspoken, but was sly and unreliable. Doyle was an ignorant fellow and quite radical. None of these men owned slaves. The poor whites who upheld slavery were more unreasonable and intolerant than the slave-owners. Wilkinson at first claimed he was not for making Kansas a slave state, but they nominated him for the legislature in order to "fetch him over." He became a very subservient tool of Atchison and Stringfellow. Wilkinson, Samuel Scott, Henry Younger and W. A. Heiskell were the pro-slavery candidates for the legislature in that district. Had there been an honest election they would all have been defeated.

A noisy, drunken mob came from Missouri on horseback and offered to vote. William Chestnut, one of the judges of the election, challenged them on the ground of non-residence. The mob began to threaten violence, when Colonel Coffey got up and made a speech, in which he said he did not favor violence, but if officers did not do their duty it would lead to violence. What he meant by duty was for Mr. Chestnut to cease his challenges. Wilkinson applauded the speech, and illegal voting went on. After this Wilkinson lost the respect of all the free-state men. Mr. Chestnut had in many ways befriended him, but Wilkinson was accused of selling out to the slave power after that election. After Coffey's speech the free-state men left the polls. Several young men had been posted at Mosquito creek to turn back free-state men. Among the number were the Doyle boys, who turned back Uncle Sam Houser, who had walked all the way from Stanton to vote.

Wilkinson and Sherman entertained and fed the men and the horses of the men who had come from Missouri to vote at Sherman's. Mr. Chestnut refused to certify to the returns, but the pro-slavery candidates took their places in the legislature, notwithstanding they had not a sign of a certificate or line of written authority. Mr. Wilkinson's associates in that body all but one met violent deaths

in after-years. Scott was killed. Younger was killed during the war. Henry Younger never did reside in Kansas, but was a resident of Cass county, Missouri. He was the father of the noted Younger outlaws. Younger was a bosom friend of Wilkinson while at Shawnee Mission.

Between the Pottawatomie and Mosquito creeks was a pro-slavery settlement. Just north of this, between the Mosquito and the Marais des Cygnes, was a free-state settlement, and just south of the Pottawatomie was a mixed complexion of politics. The Browns lived right in the hotbed of the pro-slavery nest. Some free-state men have thought that Wilkinson, Sherman and Doyle were unoffending, peaceable and harmless men. Wilkinson, elected by fraud and violence, seated by force and usurpation in a legislature the most infamous ever known, and who in that legislature voted for the black code, could hardly be regarded as unoffending. Sherman, who fed and entertained gangs of drunken, lawless invaders, could hardly be said to be peaceable. Doyle, whose boys drove back old men, actual citizens, from the polls, could hardly be said to be harmless.

Civil war had been declared by the pro slave papers of Missouri and Kansas, and the right kind of characters were picked out to be sent to carry out their declarations. A great many of the free-state settlers on the Pottawatomie were from Missouri and other slave states, and well knew the men and methods they had to deal with. The free-state men there, too, were Westerners, and had that Western disposition not to take any more than they had to.

After the election of 1855 things were comparatively quiet on the Pottawatomie, except free-state and pro-slave men would hardly speak to each other as they would pass.

John Brown, the father of the boys on the Pottawatomie, came out in October, 1855, and spent most of his time with Rev. S. L. Adair, one mile west of Osawatimie, until the first attack on Lawrence, in December.

During the summer and fall of 1855, Wilkinson, who kept the post-office, would often misplace the mail and destroy the newspapers belonging to free-state men. His post-office, called Shermanville, was the concentrating point where pro-slave men would meet and curse and abuse abolitionists, and the ruffian conduct was sanctioned by the postmaster.

After the first attack on Lawrence matters on the Pottawatomie grew more exciting. Both sides went to the relief of Lawrence, and when they returned they were more suspicious of each other.

One day in 1855 Poindexter Manace, after leaving the post-office, was seen with a copy of the New York *Tribune*. He was told to throw away the damned incendiary sheet; he replied that it was the best paper published, and the crowd jumped on him and nearly beat him to death.

To avenge the outrage on Manace, John Brown, jr., organized his Pottawatomie rifles. Judge Lecompte opened court about this time in Shermanville, and Wilkinson, Doyle, Sherman and George Wilson had presented about every free-state man's name to the jury, to be indicted for treason. At that time in Kansas treason did not bear its United States constitution definition, but it meant a refusal to obey writs of bogus officers and refusal to pay taxes levied by the bogus legislature. John Brown, jr., soon after court began, summoned the "rifles" to meet on the parade-ground, and court, grand jury and all the legal functionaries of organized slavery fled to Lecompton. The Pottawatomie settlers escaped imprisonment for treason.

It was only when a settler from there was somewhere else, like Partridge and Kilbourn, that he got arrested for treason. The bogus officers never broke into their settlement and took one of them.

Early in the spring of 1856 the pro slavery men on the Pottawatomie organized to drive out free state men, and they invited Buford's men, fresh from the South, then stopping at Fort Scott, to come up and help them break up the free-state settlements.

Early in April, 1856, Joshua Baker, who had made some improvements on his claim on the Pottawatomie, went to Missouri for his family, who were there temporarily from Indiana, and while in Missouri he was arrested and detained for a long time. About the same time, while Mr. Day, from over on the Marais des Cygnes, was at Winans's store, a man rode up and handed him this note:

"This is to notify you that all free-state men now living on the Marais des Cygnes and Pottawatomie must leave the territory within thirty days or their throats will be cut.—LAW AND ORDER."

As this man was a stranger in the neighborhood he was supposed to be an advance man of Buford's Fort Scott men.

Soon after this, one of Pate's men drew a revolver on Mr. Day and swore that Kansas would be a slave state, and then some others burned a cabin near his place.

After the first Lawrence campaign, in December, 1855, John Brown, sr., spent most of his time assisting Day to improve his claim, when not on the war-path.

James Hanway, who lived in the settlement at the time, said of the massacre afterwards:

"I am satisfied it saved the lives of many free-state men. We looked up to it as a sort of deliverance. Prior to this happening a base conspiracy had been formed to drive out, to burn, to kill. In a word, the Pottawatomie creek from its fountainhead was to be cleared of free-state men."

Free-state men about Stanton, Mount Vernon and Osawatomie were being held up on the highway, many of them having to hide away in the brush at night, when news reached Osawatomie, May 21, 1856, and Winans's store about the same time, that Lawrence was being attacked. The Pottawatomie rifles by this time were reorganized so they now had 130 men, but few of them had arms; many of them had only pistols. John Brown, jr., got his company together about four o'clock p. m., and marched toward Lawrence. They made a forced march, as they desired to return as soon as possible, for their own settlement was threatened with Buford's company. They stopped a couple of hours at Mount Vernon, until the moon arose, when Captain Dayton's company from Osawatomie joined them. Then they proceeded on their march and stopped for breakfast at Ottawa Jones's. They there heard that Lawrence had been captured. They then went to Captain Shore's, near Palmyra, and remained the balance of the day, discussing what was best to do. They stayed all night at Shore's. The next morning George Grant came to camp with a letter from John T. Grant, stating that they were likely to be attacked any night on the Pottawatomie. John Brown, sr., was detailed to go down on the Pottawatomie. John Brown, sr., was called old John Brown, to distinguish him from young John. John Brown, Watson, Frederick; Owen, and Oliver, and Henry Thompson, Theodore Weiner, and James Townsley, constituting the famous party of eight, left Shore's about two o'clock p. m., May 23. Weiner rode a pony; the rest rode in Townsley's wagon.

They camped that night one mile west of the Dutch Henry crossing. They remained in camp the next day, and started out on their mission that night. They had to operate after dark, as their force was small and the pro-slavery settlers were likely to receive reinforcements at any time from Buford's men, on their way from Fort Scott. It was a bold and daring undertaking for a handful of men to attack the pro-slavery headquarters in that settlement. On that same

night three free-state men living about a mile north of Doyle's had been visited, and were in hiding in a ravine behind the Henry Shively bluff. The Brown party crossed the creek, and then went north and crossed the Mosquito, and knocked at the door of the free-state man, to inquire the way to Doyle's. He was not at home, as he, too, was in hiding from pro-slavery men. They then went east, and the next house was Doyle's. Fred., Mr. Weiner and Mr. Townsley stood guard at the road, while the rest went to the house. They brought out Mr. Doyle and his two sons, William and Drury. They went south and crossed the Mosquito, when old man Doyle made a turn to the right, in an effort to escape. Old John Brown shot him in the head with a pistol. The two Doyle boys attempted to get away, when the two youngest Brown boys hacked them with short swords, and they were left dead. They went a little further south, and got to Wilkinson's house. The same orders were carried out as before. After Wilkinson had gone with them a short distance, his attention was called to what he had threatened about John, jr. Wilkinson reiterated what he said: so the youngest boy killed him with a short sword. They then crossed at the Dutch Henry ford, went east, and called at Sherman's. Henry Sherman was not at home and Mrs. Harris was present, having gone there to cook breakfast for Buford's men, who were expected that night. She at first treated the callers nicely, as she mistook them for Buford's men. When she found out her mistake, she went to her house and alarmed Henry Sherman and George Wilson. After she left, William Sherman was taken to the river: the youngest boys killed him and threw him in the river. He, too, was killed with short swords. At Sherman's the orders were changed some. No one saw Sherman killed but the two boys. Brown's original intention, when he started out that night, was to capture these men and hold a trial. After Doyle's effort to escape the plan was changed.

The next morning there was a general supposition that all the rifle company had returned, on account of what had been done: so the bands on their way to the settlement came no farther, and all was quiet on the Pottawatomie ever after that. The pro-slavery power was broken, and that was the end of pro-slave rule on the Pottawatomie. This was the first free-state victory. It was turning the other cheek. It protected the homes and families and saved the lives of many free-state men. From this time John Brown became known to every one—admired by friends and feared by enemies. James Townsley said at first he thought the killings were horrible, but afterwards he thought it the best thing that could have happened. Soon after this affair a little meeting was held near Greeley, which only a few settlers attended, that passed resolutions deploring the matter. Within a month after that meeting not a single free-state settler would have attended any such meeting. H. H. Williams, who was present, said many times, in his hardware store, at Osawatomie, that the more he thought about it the more it looked to him to be the necessary thing. Hendrix Kinkaid, who was living near there at the time, said that if Brown had not struck when he did, and the way he did, the free-state people from Stanton to Garnett would have had to leave, or else some one else would have had to do what Brown did.

John Brown, jr., was the most popular man in Franklin county up to this time, but he was now in prison, and soon after lost his mind.

John Brown, or old John Brown, was in demand everywhere. The free-state men knew that he was a leader they could trust. Not a single free-state man living who lived in or near the Pottawatomie in 1856 but who says it was an act of justification and necessity to do something by somebody in that part of the country.

H. H. Day, of Rantoul, John T. Baker, of Lane, J. C. Chestnut, of Osa-

watomie, and S. C. Wollard, of Olathe, all approved of Brown's action at that time. All the obnoxious pro-slavery men left the country immediately after these killings, and no armed ruffians from the South ever came to that settlement again.

This affair headed off the conspiracy Judge Hanway spoke of. It broke up the nests and rendezvous of the pro-slavery forces in that part of the country. After that the Missourians had no place to roost. Other settlements were not so fortunate; they prolonged retaliation until pro-slave men got the upper hand and committed many depredations on free-state men, burned many homes, and took a great deal of property. The free-state men could get no protection from federal authority. They had asked the War Department for troops in memorials and public appeals, but the administration thought the outrages on free-state men were insignificant affairs and not worth national attention; but when the Pottawatomie plan was adopted, and free-state men defended their homes in their own way, then outrages on pro-slavery men were of momentous consideration. Governor, judges, United States marshals, sheriffs and prosecuting attorneys called on national authority for troops, and response was speedy. The peace policy had been tried and failed at Lawrence. The treaty of December had been broken, and, in the second attack, the pro-slave men were successful. The Pottawatomie settlers had twice been to Lawrence, leaving their own homes exposed, to relieve their friends at Lawrence, and had seen their friends there submit to treaties and peace compacts. The Pottawatomie men did not believe in the treaty business; they were not diplomats.

John Brown was thought by some to be insane, by many to be reckless, and by all to be misguided in judgment, and yet events proved his judgment better, in some things, than the leaders of the free state party. He predicted that the peace treaty with Lawrence would fail, and that, unless aggressive measures were adopted, Lawrence would be destroyed. He told the men at Osawatimie, unless aggressive measures were adopted, their town would be taken.

The men who counseled peace fell victims to the policy, and were imprisoned at Leecompton. It might have been better if the Pottawatomie men had acted only on the defensive; but free-state men had been on the defensive for two years, and that seemed long enough. When should the defensive end and the aggressive begin? We have a recent illustration. When the Filipinos attacked Manila, the Americans acted only on the defensive the first day, but the next day they carried the war into the jungles. Day after day the American forces pursued an aggressive campaign, until their armed foe laid down his arms. The defensive plan might have been better, but the aggressive policy prevented the necessity of having to fight any more defensive battles.

Governor Robinson says, in the preface of his "Kansas Conflict," "the actors in any struggle are unfitted to be the historians of that struggle." I then tell this story as 't was told to me. The Brown boys and Weiner related the facts of this affair in early days to Hanway, Houser, Kinkaid, and Partridge, and these men have told it to the succeeding generation. James Townsley relates some of the details in an affidavit made long after the event, but he has not told all in that affidavit that he has frequently told to his neighbors in various conversations.

There was no intention to harm the peaceable pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie, only the obnoxious ones—the ones that gave aid and comfort to the Missouri invaders, the Buford cut-throats, and Pate's gang. The Pottawatomie policy enabled the free-state men to stay, and, by staying, saved Kansas to freedom. It gave notice to Missourians that no more ballot-box stuffing would be

tolerated. Had the Pottawatomie policy been adopted sooner, at Leavenworth, perhaps the shocking cruelties inflicted on R. P. Brown and William Phillips might have been avoided. In the latter part of May, 1856, the free-state men of Kansas saw their leaders in prison, their newspapers thrown into the river, a reign of terror in Atchison, blood running down the streets of Leavenworth; Lawrence, their principal town, destroyed; armed hordes from every Southern state marching to Kansas; free-state families in Linn and Bourbon counties leaving by the hundred for their far Eastern homes; men all over the territory going to prison for speaking their sentiments; their champion at the national capital, Charles Sumner, weltering in blood from slavery's blows for even speaking out against these crimes in Kansas. Another successful stroke and the triumph of slavery would have been complete in Kansas.* This was the situation when Brown and his seven bold men appeared in the pro slavery stronghold with only one pistol and a few short swords. The reason these men used ground knives was because arms were scarce—the Sharp's rifles at that time had all been sent to the relief of Lawrence. The whole national administration was using its mighty arm to crush the poor men in the prairie homes of Kansas; all

*The Missouri compromise of 1820 made Kansas free soil, enacting that in all the territory north of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, which is about thirty miles south of the south line of Kansas, excepting a portion of Missouri, slavery and involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited. The law of May 30, 1854, creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, repealed the Missouri compromise, and introduced into these territories the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. In the ordinance of 1787 Jefferson tried to free the whole Northwest Territory, but failed in Congress by one vote.

Within three months after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, people on the western border of Missouri were organizing Blue Lodges, Social Bands, and Sons of the South societies, with intent to take Kansas in behalf of slavery. The purpose of the act of May 30, 1854, was to remove the interdict of slavery from Kansas and facilitate the legal extension of slavery into this region. At a meeting of one of these societies it was resolved: "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler of this territory; that we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible." California had excluded slavery, and it was essential at that time (1854) that there be a new slave state, and they determined to have Kansas. Undoubtedly there was an understanding among the bosses, or statesmen, that the South should have Kansas and the North Nebraska, but Northern people would not stay out of Kansas. The slavery agitators had developed underground railroads and fugitive-slave laws, culminating in the following incidents chronologically in the settlement of Kansas, leading up to the Pottawatomie massacre:

NOVEMBER 6, 1854.—David R. Atchison made a speech in Platte county, of which the *Platte Argus* reports: "When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institution. Should every county in the state of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peacefully at the ballot-box."

DECEMBER 25, 1854.—The people of Lafayette county, Missouri, adopt resolution protesting against steamboats on the Missouri giving aid or countenance to those who intend to abolitionize the territory, and threaten a boycott.

FEBRUARY, 1855.—John Brown, jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon, sons of John Brown, settle on Pottawatomie creek, eight miles from Osawatimie. They brought with them eleven head of cattle, three horses, tents, plows, and other farming tools, and a lot of fruit-trees and grape-vines, and their first job was to break twelve acres of prairie.

MARCH 30, 1855.—One thousand Missourians arrive in Lawrence to vote. Mrs. Robinson says: "They were armed with guns, pistols, rifles, and bowie-knives. They had two cannon loaded with musket balls."

APRIL 14, 1855.—The Parkville *Luminary* (George S. Park's paper) destroyed by a pro-slavery mob.

APRIL 16, 1855.—Governor Reeder threw out a lot of returns of the election of March 30 on account of fraud, and ordered another election at certain places.

APRIL 30, 1855.—A pro-slavery vigilance committee of thirty members organized at Leavenworth. There were nine resolutions adopted, one directing that they "shall observe and report all such persons as shall openly act in violation of law and order and, by the expression of abolition sentiments, produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens or danger to their domestic relations, and all such persons offending shall be notified and made to leave the territory."

APRIL 30, 1855.—Cole McCrea (free-state) kills Malcolm Clark at Leavenworth. The quarrel occurred at a squatters' meeting, over the right of McCrea to participate and vote, and was about claims on certain trust lands. The grand jury in September failed to find a bill against

the wealth and power in the South was being used against them. The pulpit thundered against them and the press abused them. Against all these odds the free-state men of Kansas exhibited the most remarkable courage recorded in the annals of the world.

Fidelity to the cause of freedom and pluck to stay by it were essentials the people of Kansas in those early days were looking for.

None doubted John Brown's faith, sincerity, or courage. That is why neighbors of my boyhood days spent so many hours and nights counseling with, associating with and fighting with old John Brown.

War was declared by the pro slave hosts in the fall of 1854. The pro-slave papers announced the policy of exterminating abolitionists. It might have been a good thing to have adopted the Pottawatomie policy in 1854, for it might have prevented the bogus election of March 30, 1855. It might have saved young Barber's life. Certainly it was none too soon, after the destruction of Lawrence and the arrival of Buford's company and the G. W. Clarke raid in the southeast.

No participant of the free-state cause in Kansas should be robbed of his glory. It required the work of all, for which each was peculiarly fitted — Robinson, the

McCrea. Mrs. Robinson says that at an adjourned term of court, in November, the grand jury, with seven new members added, indicted McCrea for murder in the first degree. Four of the counsel within the bar, including the clerk of the court, were connected with the tarring and feathering of Phillips on the 17th day of May. The congressional committee (1856) said that in no case of crime had an indictment been found, except in the homicide of Clark by McCrea — McCrea being a free-state man.

MAY 11, 1855.—The Leavenworth *Herald* says: "Suffer not an avowed abolitionist to remain within your borders."

MAY 17, 1855.—The vigilance committee before referred to notified William Phillips, a lawyer at Leavenworth, to leave the territory. He refused, and was seized, taken to Weston, one side of his head shaved, stripped of his clothes, tarred and feathered, rode for a mile and a half on a rail, and a negro auctioneer went through the mockery of selling him for one dollar. He was killed in his home September 1, 1856, by ruffians, led by Fred Emery. May 20, 1855, the Leavenworth *Herald* said of the tarring and feathering: "Our action in the whole affair is emphatically indorsed by the pro-slavery party in this district. The joy, exultation and glorification produced by it in our community are unparalleled." A public meeting in Leavenworth resolved: "That we heartily indorse the action of the citizens who shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail, and had sold by a negro, William Phillips, the moral perjurer." Phillips protested against a fraudulent election, and he was accused of befriending McCrea at the squatters' meeting, April 30.

B. F. Stringfellow, at Atchison, in 1855.—"To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, I say the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, since your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter; our cause demands it. It is enough that the slave-holding interests will it, from which there is no appeal."

JUNE 8, 1855.—A free-state convention participated in by Charles Robinson, John Speer, R. G. Elliott, S. N. Wood and others resolved: "That in reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighboring state our answer is: We are ready."

JUNE 27, 1855.—A convention of National Democrats, participated in by James H. Lane, C. W. Babcock, James S. Emery, and Hugh Cameron, met in Lawrence, "kindly requests citizens of adjoining states to let them alone," and that they "cannot permit the purity of the ballot-box to be polluted by outsiders, or illegal voting from any quarter."

JULY 2, 1855.—Pro-slavery legislature meets at Pawnee, and makes itself solidly pro-slavery by unseating several free-state members. It meets according to adjournment at Shawnee Mission, July 16. July 21, Governor Reeder says the legislature is in contravention of the act of Congress, that it has no right to sit, and can make no valid legislation. It passes laws which General Stringfellow said "were more efficient to protect slave property than those of any state in the Union, and that they would be enforced to the very letter." By those laws only pro-slavery men could hold office. All officials were compelled to take oath to support the fugitive-slave law. According to resolutions adopted, pro-slavery Whigs and pro-slavery Democrats would be tolerated; all others were enemies, disunionists, and abolitionists.

AUGUST 16, 1855.—Rev. Pardee Butler placed on a raft at Atchison, and shipped down the Missouri river. Several citizens followed, throwing rocks at him. He had the letter R legibly painted on his forehead. Mr. Butler avowed himself a free-soiler. According to the *Squatter Sovereign*, a committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Butler. They requested his signature to certain resolutions adopted by a recent pro-slavery meeting. After reading them, he declined to sign, and was instantly arrested. Various plans were considered for his disposal. The *Squatter Sovereign* added: "Such treatment may be expected by all scoundrels visiting our town for the purpose of interfering with our time-honored institutions, and the same punishment we will be happy to award to all free-soilers, abolitionists, and their emissaries." Various flags were placed on his raft bearing mottoes: "The way they are served in Kansas"; "Caro insured, unavoidable danger of the Missourians and the Missouri river excepted"; "Let future emissaries from the North beware"; "Our hemp crop is sufficient to reward all such scoundrels."

statesman, Lane, the orator, and Brown, the hero, and all other men who leaned upon these giants of freedom. None obstructed the way, but all contributed.

Lane, by his eloquence, aroused the Kansas freemen, as Patrick Henry brought to the surface the undercurrent of Virginia in 1775: Robinson was the balance-wheel of the whole movement here, and Brown drove back the lion of slavery to his Southern lair.

Let not a single name be erased from the honor roll of fame.

John Brown became more famous than all the rest on account of his work at Harper's Ferry.

Some Kansas historians are not kind to our own heroes, but historians elsewhere, not partizans, but standard authors, put Brown in a proper place. Schouler, in volume 5 of that splendid United States History, says: "Although Brown was hung for treason, he was not a felon, but an enthusiast. Like a gallant man he met death, believing his cause to be right; he became a martyr, and consequently a figure in history."

Professor Andrews, in volume 4 of his excellent work on United States History, says: "John Brown was an enthusiast: a misguided hero, whose sufferings in Kansas had frenzied his opposition to slavery."

OCTOBER 5, 1855.—John Brown joins his sons on the Pottawatomie. He remained in Kansas until about February 1, 1859.

OCTOBER 31, 1855.—It was declared to be treason by pro-slavery convention at Leavenworth to oppose the pro-slavery laws.

OCTOBER 25, 1855.—Samuel Collins, free-state, killed by Patrick McLaughlin at Doniphan. No punishment for McLaughlin.

NOVEMBER 21, 1855.—Charles W. Dow, free-state, killed by Franklin N. Coleman, pro-slavery, in Douglas county.

NOVEMBER 22, 1855.—The free-state men held a meeting at the spot where Dow was killed. Jacob Branson, with whom Dow lived, arrested for attending the meeting. Fifteen free-state men, led by S. N. Wood, J. B. Abbott, and S. F. Tappan, rescue Branson.

DECEMBER 2 AND 3, 1855.—A mob from Missouri at Franklin, a few miles from Lawrence.

DECEMBER 6, 1855.—Thomas W. Barber, free-state, shot and killed on the road four miles southwest of Lawrence. Report on Kansas claims, 1861, signed by Edward Hoogland, Henry J. Adams, and Samuel A. Kingman, page 17, says: "Either George W. Clarke or James N. Burnes [afterwards a member of Congress], murdered Thomas Barber. Both fired at him, and it is impossible from the proof to tell whose shot was fatal." "He (Samuel J. Jones) said Clarke and Burnes both claimed the credit of killing that damned abolitionist, and he did not know which ought to have it. If Shannon had not been a damned old fool peace would never have been declared. He would have wiped Lawrence out. He had the men and means enough to do it." We might infer from John J. Ingalls's eulogy of Burnes in the United States senate that others besides John Brown might have been crazy at that time.

DECEMBER 3 TO 6, 1855.—Lawrence surrounded by about 1500 Missourians. Ordered to disband by Governor Shannon December 9. Treaty of peace signed by Governor Shannon, Charles Robinson, and James H. Lane. John Brown and four sons, all armed, are in Lawrence at this time. The old man opposes the peace negotiations between Robinson and Lane and the pro-slavery crowd, and says he is for fighting and dying now.

DECEMBER 15, 1855.—Pro-slavery men destroy Mark W. Delahay's *Territorial Register*, a free-state paper at Leavenworth.

DECEMBER 26, 1855.—The *Kickapoo Pioneer* says: "It is this class of men that have congregated at Lawrence, and it is this class of men that Kansas must get rid of. And we know of no better method than for every man who loves his country and the laws by which he is governed to meet in Kansas and kill off this God-forsaken class of humanity as soon as they place their feet upon our soil."

JANUARY 17, 1856.—Murder of Capt. R. P. Brown, free-state, at Easton, by a pro-slavery mob. The *Leavenworth Herald* justifies the murder of Brown. Brown had three cracks of his skull from a hatchet, and they spit tobacco juice in his wounds, because "anything would make a damned abolitionist feel better."

FEBRUARY 20, 1856.—The *Squatter Sovereign* says: "In our opinion, the only effectual way to correct the evils that now exist is to hang up to the nearest tree the very last traitor who was instrumental in getting up or participated in the celebrated Topeka convention."

MARCH 29, 1856.—All boats coming up the Missouri river overhauled and searched for goods pronounced contraband. All such goods belonging to Northern people stolen.

APRIL 12, 1856.—Grand juries in Atchison and Doniphan counties render bills of indictment against free-state men for participating in a disorganized election—election under the Topeka constitution.

APRIL 19, 1856.—Sheriff Jones attempts to arrest S. N. Wood for the rescue of Branson. He failed, and was shot and wounded.

APRIL 30, 1856.—Pardee Butler returns to Atchison, and is stripped, tarred and feathered, and covered with cotton. Constant trouble on the Marais des Cygnes after the arrival of Buford's men, in April, 1856. A Vermonter, named Baker, was taken from his cabin, whipped,

I was raised among friends, comrades and relatives of the old crusader, and they were all the best of citizens. I have roamed fields in childhood where this old hero held councils to plan the blotting out of slavery from this nation. In my youth I walked down a lane to school the famed martyr had often traveled. Hero worship is not a virtue to be taught. It is not a vice to be condemned. It is a natural impulse of the human heart. The more the sacrifice, the more the sympathy. Martyrdom for a cause attracts attention and enlists recruits for that cause. Many men of the free North had not yet conceived the enormity of the sin of slavery until men began to die for the freedom of the slaves. After Brown's execution slavery's foes united.

John Brown was not a statesman, not a philosopher, not even a leader. He was truly a hero. He belongs to that class of heroes whose mistakes of judgment are excused for their virtues to be extolled. He belongs to that class of heroes whose daring and examples of self-sacrifice in the establishment of a principle receives the plaudits of mankind. John Brown was one of those heroes whom opponents of the cause he espoused attempt to consume his memory with flames of wrath, and whose friends of his cause smother and perish the flames by heaping thereon verdant wreaths of glory. John Brown is a contrast and yet a parallel to Charlotte Corday; one a beautiful French maiden, the other a stern man

hanged to a tree, but cut down before death, and released upon his promise to leave Kansas. John Brown, with his sons Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, with surveyor's compass and other implements, ran a line through Buford's camp. Assuming that they were government surveyors, and therefore "sound on the goose," the Georgians informed them that "they would make no war on them as minds their own business, but all the abolitionists, such as them damned Browns over there, we're going to whip, drive out, or kill."

MAY 5, 1856.—Grand jury in Douglas county recommends that the *Herald of Freedom* and other free-state papers, and the Eldridge House, be abated as nuisances. Charles Robinson, Andrew H. Reeder and others indicted for high treason, for organizing the free-state government.

MAY 7 and 9, 1856.—Attempts to arrest Andrew H. Reeder. He escaped, and, aided by Kersey Coates and the Eldridges, gets through Kansas City in disguise, and hires out as an Irish deck-hand on a steamboat.

MAY 10, 1856.—Charles Robinson, on his way east, arrested at Lexington, Mo., for treason, and brought back to Leecompton.

MAY 11, 1856.—Lawrence again surrounded by Missourians under the guise of territorial militia.

MAY 14, 1856.—Citizens of Lawrence make a protest to the governor and the United States marshal. Judge Lecompte charges the grand jury to indict for high treason or constructive treason certain parties "dubbed governor, lieutenant-governor, etc.—individuals of influence and notoriety"—meaning free-state leaders.

MAY 14, 1856.—Gains Jenkins, George W. Brown, Charles Robinson, George W. Smith, George W. Deitzler, John Brown, jr., and H. H. Williams denied bail, charged with high treason, confined in camp at Leecompton.

MAY 15, 1856.—Josiah Miller, editor of the *Lawrence Free State*, arrested for treason by South Carolina soldiers, tried in a tent near Leecompton, and acquitted.

MAY 17, 1856.—C. W. Babcock, Lyman Allen, and J. A. Perry, appointed by the people of Lawrence, ask the marshal to put a stop to the depredations committed by a large force of armed men in the vicinity.

MAY 21, 1856.—Sheriff Jones appeared in Lawrence with a body of armed men. The Eldridge House, the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State* were destroyed. Stores were broken open and pillaged and the dwelling of Charles Robinson burned. A grand jury, referring to the newspapers, "recommended their abatement as a nuisance," and as to the hotel, they "recommend that steps be taken whereby this nuisance may be removed." The speech of David R. Atchison, United States senator from Missouri, at the sacking of Lawrence is too coarse for repetition. He was a great man intellectually, and no doubt a fine man socially and otherwise, and the speech indicates that there were others then as crazy, if not crazier, than John Brown.

MAY 22, 1856.—Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, commits an assault on Charles Sumner in the United States senate, because of his speech entitled "The Crime against Kansas." Up to this time all the outrages committed by the free-state men were purely political; that is, resistance to the pro-slavery territorial organization, and an attempt to organize another under the Topeka movement.

MAY 23, 1856.—John Brown, with a company of free-state men, while on their way to the defense of Lawrence, were overtaken by a messenger from home, telling of outrages perpetrated the previous day on their families and neighbors by pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek. John Brown and his four sons, Owen, Frederick, Watson and Oliver, his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, James Townsley and Theodore Weiner returned to Pottawatomie creek on the 23d. On the night of the 24th they took from their homes James P. Doyle and his sons, William and Harry, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman, and killed them. John Brown admitted his responsibility for the killing.

of sixty. One struck a dagger into the heart of a tyrant: though a murderess, she did her part to liberate France. The other, though an offender in the eyes of the law, did his part to free mankind. One perished at the guillotine, the other expired on the scaffold. Each takes equal hold upon posterity's imagination and sublime conscience. After John Brown's death, the champions of slavery had to fight for their idol.

"They only leaped to ruin's red embrace,
And heard fame's thunder wake,
And saw the dazzling sunburst break,
In smiles on Glory's bloody face."

THE OSAGE CEDED LANDS.

An address by C. E. CORY,* of Fort Scott, before the Kansas State Historical Society,
at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

WE are not writing or talking history. What we are doing for Kansas is in the way of preparing material for the real historian, who will come long years after us. When Samuel Pepys was making his notes of the society doings in the reigns of the Charleses he was not writing history. When Horace Greeley wrote his "Great American Conflict," when Alexander H. Stevens wrote his "War between the States," and when Nicolay and Hay were writing "Abraham Lincoln, a History," neither one of them was really writing history. I take these three books as my illustrations, because they are the best three samples of an attempt at contemporaneous history within my knowledge. The authors were writing notes of things they knew. They were too close to their subjects to write history. They loved one person because they knew him. They each looked askance at the other man, because he was an enemy or a rival of their friend. No one of them could do complete justice to the other man. The hero in each case was a man who had been close to the writer and whose virtues and faults he knew. The impressions written down were acquired at short distance. Their personal feelings always colored their character sketches. The man who writes exact history must be far enough from his subject to get the focus of his glass upon his object. He must be on the other side of the X-ray machine. He must look on his subject under the cold, impersonal light of the written observations of others.

No man of this generation could fairly write the history of Grover Cleveland or James G. Blaine or William McKinley or Theodore Roosevelt. We are too close to them. They are of us. Each of us would love the subject and hate his enemy, or write from the opposite side. No one, unless he were superhuman, could do justice in either case.

We here are getting material ready. We who talk here are gathering the clay and the straw, and possibly shaping the brick, but the man a hundred years from now will shape the building.

There were three Kansas invasions. There was the invasion of the '50's, that of the later '60's, and that of the later '70's. Each of these was a great tide of people who swept into the territory, and each one larger than its predecessor.

THE FIRST INVASION.

The first one came of those who were ardent on the slavery question—one side or the other. They were fighters and enthusiasts, every one of them. No one of them occupied a middle ground, and they would allow no one else in Kan-

*See page 229, seventh volume, State Historical Society Collections, and foot-note.

sas to occupy a middle ground. They did not come here for financial gain. They were moral philosophers, who would rather lose a fight than give up a cherished dogma. They were not compromisers. They did not think they were right on the social organization of Kansas—they knew it. They tolerated no argument, and a man's neighbor was either his friend or his enemy. The man who attempted to be neutral was despised, as he always has been, and always will be, and always should be, by strong men and women. This invasion covered all the eastern third of Kansas, but its greatest force was in the north-eastern part of the state. In the southeastern corner of the state, of which I shall speak, the settlements were but few. There were some barn burnings, considerable cattle stealing, an occasional lynching, but of substantial improvement in civilized life there was but little. Some few farmers, now our best and wealthiest citizens, stayed through the troublous times, and are on the land yet. A few villages and some farmers scattered along the creeks was the extent of the residuum left from the inflow of the '50's. The effect is still there, still apparent, but those pioneers form but a very small percentage of the present population.

THE SECOND INVASION.

The second invasion has to do with the story I shall tell. This second invasion was of an entirely different character from the first; and, because of the fact that southeastern Kansas had not received such a large influx in the '50's, its effect was more marked in that part of the state.

After the great civil war had ended and a million sturdy, vigorous young fellows found themselves out of employment, they very naturally decided to go into new fields. And so it came to pass that they went to their old homes and gathered up their few possessions and brought their wives and babies with them to the new West. These were the people who really settled southeastern Kansas. Within ten years after the close of the civil war a man in that region who had not an army record was something of a curiosity. These people were all poor. When they went into the army they were boys. During their four or five years of service they of course had accumulated nothing—nothing but a training, an education absolutely unique and immensely valuable.

THE THIRD INVASION.

Of the third invasion it is not necessary that I speak at length. It came when, through the magnificent advertisement of Kansas by our State Board of Agriculture and the splendid showing made in 1876, at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, the rest of the world discovered that Kansas was fitted to become a great commonwealth; and the thousands came from all parts of the world.

Notice, then, the condition of the land of which I shall speak at the time I have in view. The country was practically as well settled as it is now—not so many people there, but there was at least somebody on nearly every quarter-section of land. These people were from all parts of the East and North, some few from the South. They were all young, vigorous, hopeful, forceful—all poor.

THE CEDED LANDS.

The Osage Ceded Lands covered the territory which is now Neosho and Labette counties, with a narrow strip surrounding them in Cherokee, Crawford, Bourbon, Wilson and Montgomery counties. To be exact, the tract was bounded on the east by a straight north-and-south line three quarters of a mile east of the west line of Cherokee, Crawford and Bourbon counties, on the west by a line two and a half miles west of the east line of Wilson and Montgomery counties, on the

north by the line between sections 23 and 26, in township 26, that is the north line of Neosho county, and on the south by the south line of Kansas.

Its story as a part of the territory of the United States is old.

It was a part of the Louisiana purchase.

Its first condition as a white man's country was as a dependent or appendant of French Canada.

It was ceded to England in 1763.

It was quickly thereafter transferred to Spain.

It was receded to France in 1800.

It was finally sold to the United States in 1803, by Napoleon, who would rather the territory should go to the United States than to England.

These lands were a part of the territory taken possession of by C. C. Claiborne, as special commissioner of the United States, who was appointed by the president "to the supreme and sole government of the new *province*." In view of recent discussions on acquiring and governing new territory, just think of that language! And from Thomas Jefferson, too!

The lands then became, in 1804, a part of Upper Louisiana.

They then were made a part of the district of Louisiana, in the same year, and attached to Indiana for governmental purposes.

In the next year they became a part of the territory of Louisiana.

In 1812 they became a part of the territory of Missouri.

In 1854 they were made a part of the territory of Kansas.

Observe the peculiar record of this small tract of land—its genealogy, if I may use that word where no other word fits.

It was first the "land of the Dacotahs."

It was next a part of French Canada.

It was then a part of Virginia, coming under the old grant of 1609, which extended to the western sea.

It was then a dependency of Spain.

It next, in 1800, became again French territory.

In 1803 it became the property of the United States, and shortly thereafter a part of Louisiana.

Then it was a part of Indiana.

Again it was a part of Louisiana.

Next it became a part of Missouri.

And finally, in 1854, it was made a part of Kansas.

The people who remark upon the erratic course of Kansas of to-day must not forget that Kansas has been even as changeful in the past.

THE OSAGE INDIANS.

The Osage tribe of Indians was a branch of the Dacotah family, and their home, when first met by whites, was southern Missouri and eastern Kansas. They were a powerful tribe, and one of the few Indian nations who never gave the whites any trouble. The old name, Ouasash, given to them by the Algonquins, from which, through corruption by the French traders, we have the present name, means "bone men," which may give some idea of the way they were regarded by their neighbors. They were hard fighters. Physically the Osage is a powerful man, slightly above medium height.

Washington Irving, in the year 1832, in the book, "A Tour of the Prairies," says of the Osages:

"Near by was a group of Osages, stately fellows, stern and simple in garb and aspect. They wore no ornaments: their dress consisted of blankets, leggings, and

moccasins; their heads were bare; their hair was cropped close, except a bristling ridge on the top, like the chest of a helmet, with a long scalp-lock hanging behind. They had fine Roman countenances and broad, deep chests. . . .

"The Osages are the finest-looking Indians I have seen in the West."

They took more interest in agriculture than any other western tribe: and when the whites came among them there were a great many "squaw patches," that is, little irregular farms, which had evidently been cultivated for ages. It will be easy for you to guess why they were called "squaw patches." The Osages were not quarrelsome, and when the Jesuit Father John Schoenmacher opened a mission at what is now St. Paul, in 1847, they all espoused the Catholic religion, to which they still adhere. The Presbyterians, as early as 1822, had established mission stations in the Neosho and Verdigris valleys, but they were unsuccessful.

In 1825 a treaty was made with the tribe, by which all its lands were ceded to the United States, except a strip fifty miles wide from north to south, beginning at the south line of Kansas and extending westward a considerable distance into Kansas. Their enjoyment of that tract forever was solemnly guaranteed to the tribe by one of those pie-crust treaties which have so often disgraced our government. The government guaranteed the land to the Osages "so long as they may choose to occupy the same."

Subsequent treaties were made and broken and made and broken again, until finally, on January 21, 1867, the lands whose boundaries I have given were ceded to the United States, to be held in trust and sold for cash to actual settlers, and the proceeds used for the benefit of the Indians. They were crowded off to what was called the Osage diminished reserve, just west of the Ceded Lands. This treaty was made at Canville trading-post, near where Shaw, Neosho county, now stands. Then the Osages were again crowded off the diminished reserve and removed to the Indian Territory, just south of Chautauqua county, Kansas, where they still remain. Thus disappeared the last remnant of that splendid empire, originally the home of this powerful tribe. They are the wealthiest people on earth, each man, woman and child having on deposit in Washington the sum of about \$4600.

The bad faith of the government was shown again in a short time. The railroad promoting era during and following the civil war led everybody to look lightly on Indian titles. Congress, by the act of March 3, 1863, had granted lands to the state of Kansas to aid in building railroads. Under formal certificate from the Department of the Interior, the governor of Kansas issued patents to the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company and the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railway Company (now the Southern Kansas) as a bonus for building roads. The railway companies had plainly no right to the land, and Congress no power to make the grants, and the governor had no right to issue the patents. The act of Congress provided that each alternate section, within certain limits, should go to any company building through the state. These two lines ran so that the grants overlapped on the Ceded Lands. One road took its alternate section, and the other road took the other alternate section. This was a very neat and friendly arrangement between the railroads, but hard on the poor Osages.

In the meantime the second Kansas invasion, of which I have spoken, took place. Thousands of stout young fellows, just from the army, had settled over the Ceded Lands. They had come West to make homes for themselves. Their four years of training in the greatest army of history had made them aggressive and fearless. They had no respect for assumed rights. The railway company would sell the land for fancy prices, but the settlers thought the provisions of

the homestead and preemption laws governed the titles. There were discussions and disputes, but the companies were insistent.

Finally, two test suits were brought, to settle the title to the land. There were, in fact, a great many suits brought, but the only ones of importance to us here were those which finally decided the matter. These were the cases of *Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company v. United States*, reported in 92 U. S. 634, and *Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company v. United States*, reported in the same volume, page 645. The actions were begun at the instance of the Settlers' Protective Association of the Osage Ceded Lands, which I shall talk about after a while. No lawsuit ever tried in the supreme court from the West showed a greater array of real learning and talent than appeared in this case. There were H. C. McComas,* of Fort Scott; J. E. McKeighan, of the same place; ex-Gov. Wilson Shannon,† of Ohio; Judge William Lawrence, of Ohio, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania. There were other lawyers, but these were the men who did the real work. This Settlers' Protective Association was a popular body, made up of nearly all the settlers in good faith on the Osage ceded lands. Such popular societies usually listen to clamor and employ loud-mouthed pettifoggers as lawyers. These settlers, however, were especially fortunate about this. Every man they employed was really a specialist and a great lawyer. Their record is a part of the history of their country.

The suits I mentioned were commenced in the circuit court of the United States, at Topeka, and were won by the settlers. They were then taken to the supreme court, at Washington, and finally, in October, 1875, decided in favor of the settlers. It had cost a great deal of money; but it was a fight for a principality, and was worth it. At the beginning of the litigation an arrangement was made to pay the attorneys, who were to have a conditional fee. Each settler executed a promissory note, at the rate of twenty-five cents per acre, to become

* HAMILTON CALHOUN MCCOMAS was born in West Virginia November 9, 1831. His father was a member of Congress from Virginia from 1832 to 1836. H. C. McComas served in the Mexican war, enlisting when he was seventeen. At the age of twenty-one he was admitted to the bar. He moved to Monticello, Ill., where he served two terms as county judge. He entered the army during the rebellion as a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. In 1868 he came to Kansas, settling at Fort Scott. March 17, 1870, he was married to Juniata Maria Ware, daughter of H. B. and Minerva Ware, of Cherokee county, and sister to Eugene F. Ware, commissioner of pensions. In 1876 the firm of McComas & McKeighan removed to St. Louis. In 1880 Judge McComas became interested in mines in the neighborhood of Silver City, N. M. He had two sons by a former marriage, and three children by his second marriage, Ada, Mary, and Charlie, the latter born in November, 1876. In the month of March, 1883, Judge McComas made a trip to New Mexico to look after mining interests in behalf of a syndicate in St. Louis, taking his wife and three children for a pleasure trip. On Tuesday, the 26th of March, accompanied by his wife and son Charlie, he started by team to drive from Silver City to Lordsburg, about fifty miles, the other children being left with a friend. They stopped over night at Mountain Home, and at nine o'clock Wednesday morning they resumed the journey. In Thompson's canyon, six miles from Mountain Home, about noon, they were attacked by Apache Indians. Judge McComas and wife were killed, and the boy taken prisoner. The judge was shot seven times, and the wife once, in the back of the head, and beaten with a revolver, both evidently dying instantly. Mrs. McComas was found with the buckboard, stripped naked, and her husband about 200 yards distant, also stripped. The bodies of the father and mother arrived at Fort Scott, Saturday, April 7, and were buried the day following. Every effort was made to secure the little boy, Charlie, seven and one-half years old, who had been taken down into Old Mexico. The celebrated Crook expedition into the Sierra Madres was undertaken principally to recapture the boy, but the boy's life was lost in those mountains. This was ascertained both by General Crook and by the Mexican government, which carried on an independent search for him.

† Second territorial governor of Kansas, serving from August 10, 1855, to August 18, 1856. For biographical sketch and minutes of his administration, see volume 3, *Kansas Historical Collections*, pages 279-337.

payable whenever the land should be finally declared government land and subject to sale by the government. In the tract of land involved there were, in round numbers, 1,000,000 acres. This meant, say \$250 000—an attorney's fee well worth good effort. When the matter was finally ended the settlers were about as poor a lot of people as could be found in America. A series of bad crops, the uncertainty of land titles, the low prices of all land products which followed the civil-war inflation, the shiftlessness peculiar to all people who really have no home—all these causes had produced a condition of poverty which was as pathetic as it was harsh. The lawyers for the settlers, with true lawyer-like improvidence, did not give prompt attention to their fees, with the result that of their splendid fee, so justly earned, they got but a small fraction.

The litigation was in charge of the Settlers' Protective Association, and while the notes given to the attorneys were individual notes, the employment was really by the association. After some efforts had been made to collect the notes, and some opposition had been made, the proposition was sprung that the members of the association were partners in the eye of the law and could each be held for the whole fee. This caused a few to hurry up and settle, but the greater number never paid a cent. And so one of the most bitterly fought legal battles ever won in the West was a bootless suit to the attorneys of the victors.

THE SETTLERS.

The social life of the people on the lands was harsh and uninviting at the time, but, after all these years, very pleasant to look back upon. There was no envious clash between the rich and the poor. We were all poor alike. The men and women did their own work because they had nothing to pay for help. If one man had a job he could n't do alone, like harvesting or thrashing, he "changed works" with his neighbors. If a family got to the bottom of the meal barrel they could not go out and earn a few dollars. There was nobody able to hire and pay wages. Everybody was in a struggle for subsistence. I don't mean to say that there was an absolute dead level of equality. There were some slight lines of social demarcation drawn. For instance, Uncle Davie Fowler, on Flat Rock creek, lived in a five-room house with a roof of sawed shingles; he actually had a team of American horses. He was a bloated plutocrat. But then he was so kind and genial like that we did n't hate him. Then there was a somewhat larger class of aristocrats who had mustangs and Indian ponies. It must be admitted that they were a little inclined to be patronizing to us fellows who had to drive oxen to church. And there was still another incipient grade in society—the "great plain people," as Mrs. Lease would say. It was composed of those who owned and drove native oxen. The impecunious fellow who had no team except a yoke of Texas long-horns did look with just the slightest touch of feeling akin to envy on his neighbor who had a pair of fine native steers. I recall that one of my Texans died, and I traded for a fine red Durham steer, and then regarded myself as just breaking into the ranks of the favored classes—kind of half ennobled; a sort of younger son to a baronet. My old friend, Alex. Miller, of Stark, Kan., was telling in later years of the winter "when we lived on corn straight." "Corn straight," said some one; "what is that?" "Corn straight," said Miller; "why that 's corn bread and corn coffee and nothing else, by golly." And he had it about right.

There were slight differences between us on some other matters. The man from southern Indiana and southern Illinois insisted that a left-handed plow was better than a right handed plow. He argued that a left-handed plow pulled easier. The most of the people, having been raised that way, stood stoutly for the proposition that a right-handed plow—that is, one which throws the furrow

to the right—was the natural thing; while the adherents of the other side maintained that the only sensible thing was a left-handed plow. This was a question of deep moment at the accidental neighborhood meetings where we chewed "Star" tobacco and settled these matters.

Then there were the men from eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, who were certain that a jerk-line was better than reins for handling horses or mules. A jerk-line was an ordinary riding-bridle rein on the left mule—the lead nigh mule, if there were more than two in the team. From this rein there was a single rope, with which the driver guided the team by certain jerks and orders. I have forgotten the orders which went with the various jerks of this rope. I asked Judge Hudson, the other day, at Fort Scott, and he said he had heard the calls and orders used a good many times, but that they would not do for this address, and would not do to print. He could not remember all the orders that went with the jerk-line, but he knew that whenever the driver jerked the line he used cuss-words. The relative merits of reins and jerk-lines were never finally settled, but the discussion lent interest to many of our neighborhood meetings.

Church buildings were scarce in those days. The first public buildings were schoolhouses, and they were everywhere. The different religious denominations were organized in every neighborhood, but they had to meet in schoolhouses or in private houses. The dearth of public buildings except schoolhouses is well illustrated by chapter 125 of the Session Laws of 1876, which provides:

"They (the school board) are hereby authorized to open the schoolhouse for the use of religious, political, literary, scientific, mechanical or agricultural societies belonging to their district, for the purpose of holding the business or public meetings of said societies, under such regulations as the school board may adopt."

This provision, I believe, is entirely new in statutory law. The schoolhouses were the only public buildings, and the people wanted them thrown open for everything that was good. The Methodists, the Baptists and the Presbyterians covered the ground very early and held meetings in nearly every district. After the meetings the crowds would go to different houses in the vicinity and feast together. They were brothers all, and lived in amity.

It was in the home life that the virtues of the people shone out best. The average citizen lived in a log cabin or in a shack built of poles and "shakes." This means a frame made of rough poles cut from the forest, sided and floored with lumber rough from the saw, and roofed with shakes—split shingles about four feet long, unshaved. The house with which I was most familiar was both sided and roofed with shakes such as I have described. It had a stone fireplace with a stick-and-mud chimney. Some of you young folks may not know what a stick-and-mud chimney means. The chimney was simply built up with sticks like a child's cob house, only that each side was doubled, and as it was built it was filled in between the sticks with mud. It made a good chimney and lasted a long time. The house was floored with puncheons; that is, logs split and laid with the flat side upward. It was a good house. Many of our neighbors who were poor didn't have so good. During all the year but a few weeks, this was a sufficient shelter, but in a bad storm it was no protection, for the snow and rain came in with vicious force. It was a home, though, and was the scene of many delights.

The corn, along in October, was ripe enough to rasp on a sheet like a nutmeg-grater made from a tomato can. Then the meal produced was made into corn bread in a bake-kettle. You who have never eaten the product of a bake-kettle cannot appreciate the delight of that food. The bake-kettle was a cast-iron pan, with legs, and with a cover with an upturned rim. The bake-kettle, being charged

with corn-meal dough, was set upon the live coals from the ever-present fireplace. Then, on the cover, other coals were piled, until the whole kettle was covered. When the bread came out it was juicy, tender, nourishing, and attractive. We have nothing like it now.

The cooking and household arrangements of those days were something marvelous. The way those good women would improvise food and delicacies was almost past belief. Melon rinds and sorghum molasses made a preserve which was fine. The ordinary prickly-pear was made into a conserve to tickle the palate of any one. Persimmon jam and persimmon preserves were food for kings. They took cubes and triangles of carrots, tomatoes, melon rinds, cantaloups, cabbage, sweet potatoes, and I don't know what else, and put them into a jar and turned out piccalilli. The folks now make piccalilli, but it is no relation to the luscious, toothsome food we got then. And sorghum! You should have seen what those women did with sorghum. Every possible food, from fruit preserves to hoe-cake, made a call for sorghum; and, really, a good flapjack, with home-made sorghum, is not bad eating even now. But the finishing marvel, the final coup, as it were, of these artists, was sheep-sorrel pie. They picked the common sorrel from the prairies and treated it somewhat as they would have treated rhubarb, if they had had it, only that they used sorghum instead of sugar. It was really a good pie. By the way, they don't use this humble plant for that purpose now; they have rechristened it by the more patrician name of "oxalis," and it sits in a jardiniere among the posies.

In another thing providence seemed to be especially kind. During those early winters there were millions of prairie-chickens. That is not hyperbole—they were really there by millions. It was scarcely worthy remark to take five or six from one trap in the morning. Where meat of any kind was scarce, you may imagine how this food supply was appreciated. Sometimes a farmer lucky enough to have a few dollars went over into Missouri and brought home a wagon-load of apples; and when he got back, an invitation to eat at his house was valued as a snob values a presentation at the court of St. James. Oh, those long winter evenings with apples, and hickory-nuts, and sorghum taffy!

M. V. Barnett, now of Fort Scott, calls my attention to an incident illustrating the poverty of the settlers at that time. He was a half-grown boy, and was sent by his father to take a small bunch of cattle to a place where they could get pasture, in a spring following an unexpectedly hard winter. Over on Canville creek he drove by the farm of Mr. Herron, who had some corn. The cattle were hungry and many of them down from starvation. Barnett, by pleading and by almost crying, got a few bushels of corn, on the promise that he would break prairie later in the spring and pay for it. He broke the corn up and gave it to the neediest cattle: that is, he broke the ears into small pieces and gave one piece to each steer. The corn was too precious to give a whole ear at once. Corn was almost a precious metal. He fed a small section of an ear to each steer that was about to give out, and thus saved the most of the herd.

One winter Uncle Jim Smart, now of Erie, was so fortunate as to possess a large crib of corn. He could have sold every bushel for from eighty cents to \$1.50, but he would n't do it. He sold it on time for a much lower price to his hungry neighbors. Like Jim Bludsoe, he was n't a saint; but when he hands over his ticket of admission to St. Peter, it is my belief that he will find a great big deposit to his credit in the celestial savings-bank.

A party of Englishmen and Scotchmen came in those days to Hepler and Walnut, just on the east line of the Ceded Lands. They all had money, and they were young bucks who believed in enjoying life. There were Dick De Lambert, now

of Parsons; Godfrey (Dod) De Lambert; A. R. Mulley, now of Fort Scott, and one or two other Englishmen whom I never knew. And another was Hugh Douglas Gordon, a Scotchman of gentle blood, a graduate of Edinburgh, and a fine scholar, since dead. One Christmas, I think of 1875, they thought to inject a little of good old English Hallow-mass into the life of the prairies. So, early that morning, they loaded up an old-fashioned sled with everything good to eat. A snow of four or five inches had freshly fallen and sledding was good. The load was all the team wanted to pull. With bells of all sizes and on all points of the harness, and the men on top, they scurried over the prairies and dropped their Christmas greeting at the doors of the cabins: a ham and a package of coffee at one place, a sack of corn-meal and a pound of tea at another, a turkey and some sugar at a third; and so on until the load was ended. They had a peculiar notion that that was a good way to spend Christmas. You would better understand that those Christmas morning rollickers looked like angels. They were not that by a long way, but they acted like them.

THE SETTLERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

The Settlers' Protective Association of the Osage Ceded Lands was a peculiar organization. It was a class by itself. As a working force it was a cross between the California vigilantes of the early '50's and a trades union. Its mission was to enforce what should be the law and to protect its members. So far as the ordinary forms of civil society were involved, the affairs of the Ceded Lands were at that time the same as in all other parts of the country. County, township and city governments and courts, with schools and churches, were fully organized. But there were no land titles. At the first settlement, if I wanted to sell out, all I could do would be to take so much money and move off and let the other fellow in. If I had a good farm and my neighbor Tom Johnson had none, he could come to my cabin and put me off, and if he could whip me or scare me the place was his. Should a man go to town to buy some groceries, and come home at night and find some one else in possession, he might become profane about it; but if he wanted to recover his land he must use his fists or his gun. Cases of this kind were frequent. Do not misunderstand me. These people were not outlaws. They were of the very best of those million hard-headed, virile young fellows who at the close of the civil war found themselves without employment and without a home stake laid by. There were young men and women there from all over the East, from Florida to Maine. Very few people were past middle life and old people were a rarity. They came West to get homes. The absence of any law to protect their lands forced them to protect themselves against the "wolves" that are found in all communities. The code of decency and moral right backed by physical force was their only recourse, and so they employed that code, and furnished the force when needed.

This condition could not last long; these people were not built that way. They were good Americans, and if laws were not made for them in the regular way they would make them for themselves. That was the genesis of the Settlers' Protective Association.

Meetings of the settlers had been held from time to time for consultation, but at every meeting there appeared to be present spies for the railroad companies. Every discussion and every action taken were reported in newspapers and sent out in the dispatches. The efforts of the settlers in these meetings were balked and annoyed by this publicity. Finally the opinion grew that a secret, oath-bound society was the way out, an opinion afterward justified by experience. This theory afterward developed, as such things so often do, in an informal way. Just by chance four interested people met at the home of Father Dick, at Den-

nis, a short distance west of Parsons. There were present William Dick, now deceased; LeRoy Dick, his son, now of Parsons; Dr. Thomas B. Smith, now of Cherryvale; David D. Lindsey, now of Lawrence.

They organized the Settlers' Protective Association of the Osage Ceded Lands. It was afterwards more fully organized, with a constitution and by-laws and a ritual. The first officers were David C. Hutchinson, of Ladore, chief councilor; George T. Walton, of Ladore, grand secretary; and Van Henderlider, of Ladore, grand treasurer. After the first year, M. J. Salter, lieutenant-governor during Governor Osborn's administration, was grand councilor during the life of the society.

The organization as a society was somewhat crude, though effective. It has long gone out of business, and it will probably be perfectly safe to tell you all I know about it. I recall very vividly, when I was initiated, that some of the forms and ceremonies seemed very odd. It seemed singular and a useless waste of time, for instance, when the chief councilor, at the north end of the room, told the vice-councilor, at the south, and he told the warden, at the east, and he told the high privates around the sides of the room, that he, the chief councilor, was about to open or close the council, as the case might be. I wondered what sort of a freak it was who got up that ritual—but I found out later.

In the organization scheme there was a council in each municipal township and a grand council composed of representatives from the township councils. This grand council directed the general policy of the association. There was an executive committee, or board of directors, made up of discreet, safe men, scattered over the territory. And then there was an inner committee—a sort of Clan Na Gael "inner triangle." This inner committee resembled the rear end of a hornet—it was the business end of the whole society. After a membership covering several years, I confess that I never knew or heard the name of a member of this inside committee. It was like electricity. What it did was sometimes known. What it was nobody ever knew. For instance, some Ishmaelite would jump a claim, we will say in Montgomery county. The case would be carefully and fully investigated. There were none of the thoughtless elements of lynch-law about it. The facts were quietly and carefully looked into. Then some day three or four strangers—strangers to each other as well as to the claim-jumper—would foregather at the farm and the claim-jumper would vacate or hang. These three or four were not a regular committee. They were simply detailed from different parts of the country to do this particular job. When it was done they separated and went about their business. There was never any foolishness about it. Over on Augiste creek, in Neosho county, which the people insist upon spelling and pronouncing "Ogees," there was a young, unmarried fellow who had a quarter-section claim. Times got so hard that he was simply forced to leave it and go over into Missouri, where there was somebody who had some money, and work a while to get something to live on. He left his little cabin locked up, with perhaps five dollars' worth of furniture and cooking utensils in it, and when he came back, in the spring, he found a man in possession of the cabin and breaking prairie on the claim. The young fellow went to the local council and complained. A very short time afterward, the complaint having gone through the usual channels, an incident happened which, perhaps, would best be told in the language of the claim-jumper.

"I was out north of the house one mornin' breakin' prairie," said he, "with a pair of Texas steers. Along came a feller on horseback an' asked me whose claim that was. 'Whose claim is this you're plowin' on?' sez he, jest like that. An' I told him 't was mine. An' he wanted to know my name, an' I told him.

An' then, sez he, 'I come to tell you to git off this claim; this claim belongs to Bob Campbell.' An' then, sez I, 'Who the devil are you?' An' he sez, 't was none o' my business who he wuz, but he wuz ordered to come an' tell me to git off. An' I told 'im I guessed I would n't, an' I did n't think he wuz big enough to put me off. Then he said he did n't want to have no trouble with me, but I hed better go. So we fussed and cussed each other fer awhile. An' I told him I guessed I would go on plowin'. An' he sez, 'All right; you go on plowin'. You might break one or two more furrows, but you 'll hev to go jest the same. Yer time has come.' An' then along come, over the ridge, two other fellers, horse-back, an' both on 'em had lariat ropes hangin' to the horn of ther saddles. They wuz all three strangers to me, an' I don't know wher they come from ner wher they went to; but these two other fellers said I'd better get off; and I said I would n't do it. An' then one feller went to untynin' his lariat rope aud puttin' a slip-knot into it, an' the other two fellers pulled out guns from sumers about ther close, an' they looked like mountain howitzers. I'll be damned if they did n't — to me, any way. They did n't say nothin' more. But the feller kept foolin' with his lariat rope and started to git off his horse. An' then, by gunny, I made up my mind I'd go. An' I went. An' you bet I hain't ben on that claim sence."

Every settler was a perfect master of a revolver and a lariat rope. They seldom came to this extremity, but a few instances gave everybody a chance to know and recognize the right of property-owners. It is doubtful if there was ever a community on earth which presented such peculiar features. Here was a population of more than 25,000 people, engaged in building homes, in a constant and rigorous struggle for food, and with no law concerning their property. And yet the community was as peaceable, orderly and well governed then as it is to-day. The American love for orderly self-government was never more beautifully exhibited.

It is to the honor of these people that while the Settlers' Protective Association was engaged in its work not a single instance of wanton exercise of power is known. The association was practically "the government" in the region. It had supreme control. It had the mass of the people with it and no one to dispute its rights who had any force. As an organized society, it had almost every settler back of it. It could do wrong to those who did not join in its efforts. But it did not; it simply enforced what should have been the law and stopped at that.

It is true that in later years one or two acts were done which could not be defended. After the titles had been settled in favor of the farmers, and after there was no need whatever for the Settlers' Protective Association, and after it had gone out of business, a few officious ex-members used its name to do some improper things. I recollect that, after the title trouble was over, two men got into a dispute about a farm on the island in the Neosho river southeast of Osage Mission. Some parties, pretending to act for the association, attempted to dispossess a man, and were met with guns. There was some shooting done, and some criminal litigation followed, but it was not chargeable to the association; it was simply individual lawlessness. It made the fact well known that the Settlers' Protective Association had finished its work and had gone out of business.

While the association was in being it was necessary for it to have some legislative work done at Topeka and also at Washington. This forced it to go into politics, which it promptly did. The efforts of the association in politics, however, were directed alone to its own affairs. When the people of Kansas learned the effect of this immense power, the politicians were very quick to curry favor with it. This accounts for the fact of the Hon. M. J. Salter, then a

prosperous farmer of Neosho county, being selected as a candidate for lieutenant-governor.* Salter was the chief councilor of the Settlers' Association, and, while not a polished orator but a plain, unassuming farmer, he was one of the best presiding officers who ever controlled a deliberative body in Kansas, and when he was selected as a candidate for lieutenant-governor party prejudices were thrown to the dogs. He received almost the unanimous vote of the settlers.

And so the Osage ceded lands became "God's country." It is the home of happy and prosperous farmers, who have kept up the custom, started under such peculiar conditions, of obeying the law and making other people do the same thing.

But why speak of them in eulogy? They are good Kansans. That tells it all.

REMARKS BY A. P. RIDDLE:† The excellent paper furnished by Mr. Cory has recalled many pleasant memories, but it seems a little strange that Mr. Cory should be writing of the Osage Ceded Lands, when all of my recollections of him are as a resident of the Neutral Lands, otherwise known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands, which furnished another of the great land questions which vexed the early settler. His descriptions of the character of the people and of the routine of their lives would apply with equal accuracy to the more eastern tract of country, and I believe he has unconsciously drawn his picture more from what he knew of the neutral lands than from what he knew of the other. The episode of Gordon and Dick DeLambert, for instance, took place on the neutral lands, as they lived in Hepler, the northwest town of Crawford county, a portion of the Neutral Lands. There was a settlers' association on the Neutral Lands, too, but it was formed somewhat differently from the other, and was not always so peaceful in its policy. Like the association of the Ceded Lands, a part of its work was to discourage claim-jumping. The need of some regulation of this kind was occasioned by the fact that there were no titles, and titles could not be secured to land. The people would not buy of the railroad company, because they did not believe the railroad company possessed a lawful title to the land, and they could

*MELVILLE J. SALTER was born in Sardinia, Wyoming county, New York, June 20, 1834. His grandfather, Peter Salter, was a soldier in the revolutionary army, and served under Washington in several historic engagements. His father, David N. Salter, was one of the founders of Battle Creek, Mich. Melville J. Salter moved from Michigan to California in 1852, where he remained until 1856. He returned to Michigan, and in 1871 settled in Kansas, on a farm near Thayer. The next year he was elected township trustee, which position he held for five years. The people had voted \$35,000 of bonds to a paper railroad, and against all manner of denunciation and lawsuits he refused to sign the bonds or permit their issue. He won out, and the people ever afterwards honored him. In the excitement which prevailed among the settlers on the Osage ceded lands, he was chosen by them as their chief councilor, and he was largely instrumental in preserving peace among them. In 1874 he was elected lieutenant-governor of Kansas, and again in 1876. In 1877 he was appointed register of the land-office at Independence. He was for four years chairman of the board of regents of the State Agricultural College. October 22, 1856, he was married to Miss Sarah E. Hinkle.

†ALEXANDER PANCOAST RIDDLE was born at Harlansburg, Lawrence county, Pennsylvania, August 16, 1846. His forefathers served in the war of the revolution and the civil war. He served an apprenticeship in the office of the *Spectator*, Franklin, Pa. In the course of his peregrinations as a journeyman printer he came to Kansas, in 1869. He first worked at Olathe, and then in Girard. From 1873 to 1885 he was a half-owner in the *Girard Press*. In 1885 he sold out and removed to Minneapolis, in Ottawa county, and purchased the *Minneapolis Messenger*. He was journal clerk of the state senate in 1877 and 1879; and state senator in 1881 and 1883, from the counties of Bourbon and Crawford. In 1884 he was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket headed by John A. Martin, and reelected in 1886. In 1896 he was appointed superintendent of insurance. In addition to the *Messenger* he also publishes the *Kansas Workman* and the *Spring of Myrtle*. He is a past grand master of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and also very prominent in the Knights of Pythias. December 25, 1878, he was married to Miss Ada Fuller, of Springfield, Ill.

not purchase from the government; and therefore the only right the settler had to the land was his claim to a right to purchase as soon as the courts would decide where the title rested. The only way to settle disputes as to the ownership of the claim was by some such method as adopted by the settlers' associations, or at any rate that was what the settlers believed.

But on the Neutral Lands the association performed another function. There were some differences of opinion as to the claim of the settlers that the title of the railroad to the land was defective. Those who believed the railroad title was good wanted to purchase the land at once and go ahead with their improvements. They did not want to make improvements until they had purchased the land. But the settlers (those who were members of the league, as it was called) did not believe it was wise to permit others to make contracts with the railroad company, and this was "discouraged." The methods of discouragement were many and radical, but mostly was intimidation—by mysterious warnings—though personal violence was sometimes resorted to. The history of the Neutral-Land troubles has been well told in the paper on that subject presented by Mr. Ware a few years ago. In that case the supreme court of the United States finally decided that the title of the railroad company was good. This title had been secured through Mr. James F. Joy, who purchased the lands from the Cherokee Indians, the secretary of the interior acting as their agent. The neutral lands covered the counties of Cherokee and Crawford and a small strip in the south part of Bourbon and another strip from the western edge of Labette and Neosho.* The title secured by Mr. Joy was turned over to the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad, as it was then called.

REMINISCENCES OF HON. JAMES C. HORTON.

Before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-eighth annual meeting,
December 1, 1903.

PRESIDENT JOHN MARTIN: We have with us a gentleman who is familiar with two of Kansas' famous characters—Gen. James H. Lane and Judge John A. Wakefield. They were eccentric, peculiar, and interesting, and in many respects were very remarkable men. Our friend, Hon. James C. Horton, of Kansas City, will entertain us a while this evening with a few characteristic stories about General Lane and Judge Wakefield, and will give you, in his inimitable manner, an illustration of the oratory of James H. Lane, which was remarkable, and peculiar to himself alone. I take great pleasure in again presenting to you our friend, Hon. James C. Horton.

MR. HORTON'S REMARKS.

MR. PRESIDENT: I wish first to mention our old friend Anson Burlingame, of Boston. He spoke once in Lawrence. We had there, in 1857, a deluge of speakers from the East, and he was among them. We always had Judge Wakefield

*Mr. Cory writes: "This is an error. Governor Riddle is mistaken, and this note should not be perpetuated in that form. The west line of the Joy lands, or Neutral Lands, was about three-fourths mile east of the west line of Bourbon, Crawford, and Cherokee, the exact location being as I stated in my letter herewith. A part of the town of Walnut, Crawford county, is now on the Ceded Lands."

"The northwest corner of the Cherokee Neutral Lands was at a point twenty rods south of the north line and three-quarters of a mile east of the west line of section 26, township 26, range 21, Bourbon county. The north line was a right line from this point eastward to the east line of the state. The west line of the Neutral Lands was a right line directly south from this point, with the exception of the dodges at the correction lines, to the south line of Kansas. This puts the north line of the Neutral Lands twenty rods less than six miles north of the south line of Bourbon county, and three-fourths of a mile east of the west line of Crawford county."—ED.

come down from his home, and, after the other speakers were done, a faint voice would whisper "Wakefield! Wakefield!" and he would respond at once, saying "Help me up; my friends are calling for me." And he would be "helped up," too. Burlingame made a speech in Lawrence one night in front of the old Eldridge House. In that day he was called "he of the clarion voice." He told about the contest for speaker in 1855-'56, which lasted for over two months, when Banks was selected. This is about the way he told the people about that great contest for the speakership:

"Fellow citizens, from the prairies of Illinois there came to us at Washington the cry, 'Stick to Banks!' From the mechanic in his shop in Connecticut there came to us the cry, 'Stick to Banks!' From the merchants in their counting-houses in New York city there came to us the cry, 'Stick to Banks!' From the lumber camps of Maine there came to us the cry, 'Stick to Banks!' From the Adirondack mountains, the home of Silas Wright, there came to us the cry, 'Stick to Banks!' And we *did stick to Banks*, and Banks, the mechanic of Massachusetts, was elected speaker of the house of representatives."

Our old friend, Judge Wakefield, lived west of Lawrence, and had one of the best farmhouses on the California road. Many of you old-timers have undoubtedly stopped there. With a friend of mine, I stopped there a very rainy April day, and sat by the fireplace. My friend asked the judge what was going on around the neighborhood. "Well," said the judge, "we have our little meetings in the schoolhouse here, and we have our debating society, and we discuss a good many things; but lately, I have had a great debate with a man over here at Clinton, six miles from here. He challenged me to a theological discussion. He is one of these new sects, you know—a New Light, or New Jerusalem Society, or something like that—and he challenged me. You know I am orthodox myself. Well, I went over there; I took my private carriage and went over." (He had one of those old stage-coaches, a red one, and he would put a farm hand up on top of it and ride in that in style.) "I went over there in my private carriage, and we had a very large crowd of people. We commenced the discussion on Saturday at nine o'clock in the morning, and it was continued for two hours. I carried over with me, when I went over there, thirty-three pages of heads—just merely the heads—and I completely annihilated that fellow, and had twelve pages left."

As to Robert J. Walker, I remember he was here in 1857, about the first year I was in Lawrence. There was a great crowd out in their shirt-sleeves, and with guns strapped on. Secretary Stanton got out to make a speech. The people were not very well reconciled to what they called the "bogus laws," but he told them he was going to enforce those laws, and if the people did not submit there would be war—"War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!" From among the crowd came low cries of "Never!" "Never!" Then he began (and it was a very fitting illustration) to recite from Hiawatha. As nearly as I can recall it, he prefaced his quotation about this way:

"The Great Manitou came down from the mountains and he lit the pipe of peace, and the smoke of it floated away and away until it reached from the pine forests of Maine to the groves of Tuscaloosa; and he said: 'My children, I have given you lands to hunt in; I have given you streams to fish in; I have given you bear and bison; I have filled the marshes full of wild fowl, filled the river full of fishes. Why, then, are you not content? Why, then, will you hunt each other? Wash the war paint from your faces, wash the blood-stains from your fingers; take the reed which grows beside you; break the red stone from the quarry; smoke the calumet together; and as brothers live henceforward.'"

He got about half through his quotation and broke down. He could n't go on with it; but fortunately at that time Mrs. Gates, who was keeping the little hotel, had a copy of Hiawatha and brought it out, holding a candle for him, and he concluded the recitation by the aid of the candle and book.

Secretary Stanton was from Tennessee, Governor Walker from Mississippi, both strongly Southern in their sympathies, but they were fair and honest men. The election in the fall of 1857 was one of the most important held in Kansas. It was really the last struggle of the pro-slavery element for the possession of Kansas, and they were desperate. At Oxford, a small hamlet on the line between Johnson county, Kansas, and Jackson county, Missouri, having a population of about thirty, there were polled 1628 pro-slavery votes. The poll list was fifty feet long, and this vote, if admitted, would change the control of the legislature to the pro slavery party. Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton refused to issue certificates to the pro-slavery members, notwithstanding the great pressure brought upon them at LeCompton by members of their own party. It was said that they were threatened with assassination. They, however, gave the certificates to the free state members of the legislature, who were elected from that district by a large and honest majority. There are no names more honored by the early settlers of Kansas, who knew all these facts, than those of Robert J. Walker and Frederick P. Stanton. They proved that they not only had the moral courage, but the physical courage, to withstand the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon them at that time. It afterwards transpired (and this is something everybody here knows) that this poll-list was made up in the Westport post-office, and the names were copied from the Cincinnati directory.

As to General Lane, if it were not so late, I might read a short article from Senator Hubbard, formerly of Wabaunsee county, now living in Connecticut, written within a week or so to the *Alma Enterprise*, giving one of the best sketches of Jim Lane I have ever read,* describing his appearance and his gen-

*Extract from an address delivered by Hon. J. M. Hubbard, before the Army and Navy Club of Connecticut, at a reunion held in New London, Conn., June 19, 1903. Mr. Hubbard came to Kansas in the spring of 1856, with the Beecher rifle company, and preempted the southeast quarter of section 31, township 10, range 9 east, in Wabaunsee county, and another quarter-section adjoining in Riley county. On the organization of Wabaunsee county, he was elected probate judge. He resigned to enlist, September 8, 1862, in the Eleventh Kansas. He was lieutenant of company K. He represented, in the state senate in 1861 and 1862, Wabaunsee, Davis (now Geary), and all the territory to the west line of the state. He was born at Middletown, Conn., July 16, 1832. At the close of the war he returned to Middletown. In 1886 he served in the Connecticut legislature. Mr. Hubbard, among other things, said:

"I have left myself but little space in which to speak of him who was our leader of leaders through all that period of turmoil and strife. This was James Henry Lane, from Indiana, familiarly known as Jim Lane, and sometimes called by the descriptive title of 'the grim chieftain.' Lane was by nature an actor. With him the dramatic instinct seemed always present and in control. Always and everywhere he seemed to be upon a stage and acting a part. Whether addressing himself to one person or to a thousand, this characteristic remained constant. Not always were the characters he assumed consistent with each other, and this led many people to question his honesty.

"Probably he did not possess that singleness of purpose which belongs to men of the highest probity. He was very ambitious, and in whatever course he took it is not likely that his personal interests were lost sight of. But he was gifted with exceptional power to sway other men, and it was owing to this quality that he was able to hold his supremacy among men who were his superiors in almost every other respect. No man, like Lane, could soothe dissatisfaction, quell discontent and reconcile conflicting interests among the divergent and sometimes discordant elements which combined to form the free-state force in Kansas during those stormy times.

"And so he held the supreme leadership uncontested, and whatever his faults, it must be said that he served Kansas well. Lane's figure was spare and slightly stooping. His face, too, was thin and browned by exposure, and his air and manner suggestive of an eagle scanning the field and ready to swoop upon its prey. He was a ready speaker, and his voice, trained by much out-of-door exercise, had a cutting and carrying force which I have rarely known equaled. In addressing an audience he was continually in action, often pacing back and forth to the extreme limit of the speaker's platform.

"He was careless in dress, usually wearing a plain sack coat and a low, turned-down collar, with a slight tie about his neck. I remember one occasion when he came upon the platform

eral characteristics, and the differences of opinion as to his character and finally as to his dress and manner on the platform, where he would come, perhaps wearing that calfskin overcoat, soon throwing that off; next off would go his undercoat: and then, as he warmed up to the work, the vest and necktie would be thrown aside. He, however, did not always divest himself of these garments. He seemed impatient of restraint, especially if the hall was crowded and warm.

In the campaign to which I refer, Lane was making a great many speeches. He would speak five or six times during the day and then have a big meeting at night. He was very strong physically, and whatever may be said about him, no one who knew him would question that he had a great deal of personal magnetism. He could control men. He would address an audience hostile to him at the outset, and often reconcile and hold it. He was imaginative and fertile in expedients, and never failed to make votes. There have been a great many political contests in Kansas, but I do not believe there has ever been such a fight as that between Lane and his own party: none more bitter than that in the years 1858, 1859, and 1860. On one occasion General Lane called a meeting in Lawrence during the progress of the county fair. He had big handbills put up around town: "Gen. James H. Lane will defend himself from the assaults of his enemies at Miller's hall, this evening at seven o'clock. Come one, come all!"

They all came. The hall was packed. The burden of his speech was that he had been assailed in his own home town, and that his bitterest enemies were there in Lawrence: that he was charged with being a party to a scheme, if he were to be elected to the United States senate, to sell out the city of Lawrence for the purpose of getting political strength elsewhere: that he would not be true to the "material interests" of Lawrence. Lawrence was a very aspiring town at that time, expected to be the capital, and have all the railroads center there. After Lane had gone a little way in his speech he repeated the story of his enemies that he would sell out Lawrence. In his dramatic way he said:

"I ask you, fellow citizens, have I ever faltered in my devotion to the holy

thus garbed, and commenced his speech with comparative moderation, but growing earnest and impassioned as he proceeded, and apparently feeling his coat was something of an impediment to his action, he tore it off with a quick motion and threw it upon a chair, without interrupting for a moment the torrent of words. Soon his vest followed his coat, and then, as he thundered out an especially vigorous utterance, the slight cravat about his throat seemed to annoy him, and, with one grasp and jerk of his hand, he tore it off and flung it upon the floor and finished his speech appareled in shirt and pants only.

"With one more anecdote of Lane, illustrating his power over the men who followed him, I will bring this paper to a close. We had spent some little time inactive at Lawrence, and symptoms of discontent were manifest. 'If there is nothing for us to do here, we might as well go home,' said the men. Lane knew of this feeling and took his measures accordingly. He paraded the entire force, and, after some few military evolutions, formed the men in line and proceeded to talk to them. He spoke with warm appreciation of their courage and devotion, as shown throughout the campaign, and with deep sympathy in their desire to be at their homes, if their services were not needed elsewhere. But, he proceeded to say, the time had not yet come when they could be spared. There was yet work for them to do. A movement was in contemplation of the highest importance, and for which the full strength of the free-state force was needed. It was also a service of peculiar danger to which he called them, and, if he was to lead them, he wanted those only with him who were ready to follow him even to death, if need be, for the cause of freedom.

"All this was elaborated in a way to carry the men along with him, and when they had been brought to the right pitch of feeling, Lane said: 'Now I am about to give the command, "Forward four paces, march," and when I do give that command, let those, and those only, obey it who are ready to follow wherever I am ready to lead. Let every other man keep his place.'

"Then came the word, "Forward four paces, march!" and the unbroken line moved promptly forward in response. Lane was near one of the flanks, and glancing down the rear he remarked, as if to himself: "Not a damned man stays back." Coming back to the front, he closed his speech with a few words which are impressed on my memory with perfect distinctness, so that I can give you his exact words, but can give you only a faint suggestion of the intonation and emphasis with which they were uttered. "Boys," said Lane, "we'll drive those ruffians to burning hell before we are done with them." The men responded with a pandemonium of yells and cheers, and there was no further talk of going home until Lane should give the word.

"The expedition to which he referred, and which soon followed, was declared by one writer to have touched high-water mark of audacity on the part of the free-state men. A considerable number of prominent free-state men had been arrested on various trumped-up charges, and were held in confinement at Leecompton. We marched thither, invested the town, and demanded their release, under threat of destroying the town if refused. Governor Shannon

cause of freedom? Have I ever hesitated when the material interests of Lawrence were at stake? *I ask you that!* Even now, fellow citizens, at this very hour, there are assembled in this city, in a room, some of these men who are conspiring against your humble speaker!"

A number of Lane's friends were sitting on the front row, and Ed. Monroe, a huge six-footer, who was directly in front, jumped and yelled, "General, tell us where they are and we'll go and clean them out!" The general continued:

"Fellow citizens, if you do not want me to go to the United States senate, I can go back to my old office on the other side of the street and earn bread enough for my family; but let me ask you this: There is a gentleman sitting over there who came to this territory from Michigan"—of course, there would be 150 from Michigan, and every one of them would think, "I am the one he means"—"I ask that gentleman, What built up the city of Detroit? Was it not because Lewis Cass was in the senate of the United States from that city and obtained appropriations from Congress of millions of dollars for the improvement of the St. Clair flats and for building those magnificent public buildings in that city? I ask the gentleman from Illinois, sitting over there, What has built the city of Chicago?"—and of course there would be at least 200 in the room from Illinois—"Was it not because the little giant, Stephen A. Douglas, was in the senate of the United States from that city, and obtained hundreds of thousands of dollars, yes, millions of dollars, for the improvement of the harbor of Chicago: obtained

deemed it best to purchase the safety of the town by yielding to our demand; so there was no fighting after all, and we marched back to Lawrence in triumph.

"Not for a great price would I surrender the memory of those days of trial and danger, but days also of work which counted for greater results. No life can be counted wholly barren of achievement which has known genuine service, humble and inconspicuous though it may have been, with that little band of pioneers who saved Kansas to freedom, and by so doing set bounds to slavery in the United States, and also with the mighty host which in the civil war completed the work begun on Kansas prairies, and made our country indeed the 'land of the free' as well as the 'home of the brave.' And which service is entitled to rank as of greater importance I do not know."

See, also, address of C. H. Dickson, pages 83, 84, volume 5, Collections Kansas State Historical Society; and "Incidents of Pioneer Days," by John Speer, pages 132-134, volume 5; and John Speer's "Life of Gen. James H. Lane," for specimens of Lane's oratory.

For General Lane's march on Lecompton, September 4 and 5, 1856, referred to by Mr. Hubbard, see Andreas's History, pages 144-146; Sara T. D. Robinson's "Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life," fourth edition, 1856, pages 335-337; and Charles S. Glead's "Sketch of Samuel Walker," page 273, sixth volume of Collections Kansas State Historical Society. The following letter from General Lane to the prisoners in Lecompton and Governor Robinson's answer were found among the manuscripts lately given to the State Historical Society by Mrs. Hinton, widow of Col. Richard J. Hinton:

"TOPEKA, August 11, 1856.

"DEAR FRIEND—I am here at last, with a sufficient force and ready to rescue you.

"It were best if you can escape to do so, and let me meet you with my defending force just outside of your prison-house.

"It is necessary to remind you that time is all-important. My whereabouts cannot long be concealed from the bloodhounds who are seeking my blood.

"Act promptly. If you cannot escape, I can and will attack your guard, although it were best policy, if blood is to flow, that it be shed in your defense rather than in your rescue. Decide, and that quickly—time is everything. Yours truly, J. H. LANE.

"To his excellency Gov. C. Robinson, governor of Kansas, Judge Geo. W. Smith, Gen. G. W. Deitzler, G. W. Brown, Hon. John Brown, Gains Jenkins, Elisha Williams."

"CAMP SACKET, August 11, 1856.

"DEAR SIR—We have information from Washington that either a *noite prosequi* will be ordered or a bill will pass Congress removing our trials to Pennsylvania or some other state.

"While such is the case, it is thought best to wait till Congress adjourns. I have no doubt that something will be done, and to anticipate any such assistance would be prejudicial to our cause.

"It would afford us great pleasure to see you, and perhaps we may. We have an excellent officer here now.

"Guerrilla operations are rife now, and they should be attended to. The Missourians are evidently intending an attack, but we can *sweeten them now*. The officers here are willing that our people should put an end to these invaders without troubling them. Roberts is on his way to the state, and I understand will be ready to call the legislature together when he comes. It may be desirable to make a new move. Till then, all think *best to keep quiet here*.

In haste, very truly,

C. ROBINSON."

land grants for the Illinois Central railroad, and for the fine government buildings in that city? I ask my friend from Missouri, sitting over here"—and there would be more than 300 there from Missouri—"What has built the city of St. Louis? Was n't it because old Tom Benton was in the United States senate from that city, obtaining appropriations from the general government of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the improvement of the Mississippi river and the building of the post-office, custom-house, and other buildings in that city? *Material interests of Lawrence!* Do you want a senator from Lawrence or do you want one from Superior? Suppose that in the senate of the United States you had a senator from Lawrence. Suppose, fellow citizens, that there was a bill before the United States senate providing for a railroad from the mouth of the Kansas river west to Fort Riley, and on in the direction of the Pacific ocean. If you had a senator in that body, and he did his duty, he would rise in his place and say, 'Mr. President, I move you, sir, that before that bill becomes a law it be so amended as to read, 'From the mouth of the Kansas river, in the direction of Fort Riley, *via Lawrence!*' Is n't that taking care of the *material interests of Lawrence?* Suppose you had a senator in the United States senate, and there was a bill before that body for a railroad from Leavenworth to Galveston. Your senator would rise in his place and say, 'Mr. President, I move you, sir, that before that bill becomes a law it be amended so as to read, 'From Leavenworth to Galveston *via Lawrence!*' Is n't that taking care of the material interests of Lawrence?

"And suppose you had a senator from Superior. He would rise in his place and say: 'Mr. President, I move you, sir, that before that bill passes this body it be amended so as to read, "From Leavenworth to Galveston *via Superior.*"' How are the material interests of Lawrence coming out then?"

Promises that are made in such campaigns are not often fulfilled; but it happened that when the Kansas Pacific railroad was surveyed, the grading was begun from Mud creek, east of Lawrence, and ran west over towards the bluff, four miles north of Lawrence. The same thing happened here at Topeka, leaving both these towns out in the cold. There was great excitement, and meetings were held and a committee was formed to go to Washington. Among others, John Speer, a great friend of Lane's, went to see him. It was the year after the Quantrill raid. The proposed route was a shorter cut across there, but that did n't make any difference, especially as the railroads could get so much per mile for the mileage, and a variation of a few miles only added to their income. Mr. John D. Perry was also in Washington. He was president of the road, and they were insisting that Douglas county should give \$300,000 to have the road brought to the bank of the river opposite the town of Lawrence. This would make quite a bend in the road. Mr. Hallett had charge of the work, and he said they would not come in there unless they had this \$300,000 from the county.

The people were very much alarmed, feeling that it would ruin the town to have the railroad go four miles north, and they were to poor to give money or bonds. General Lane got the signatures of all the Republican senators, of Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, and a number of other Democratic senators, and a number of others, requesting the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company to run that line into Lawrence and into Topeka, or to the bank of the river opposite these towns. They said they could n't do it without subsidies. Abraham Lincoln also signed this request, which, among other things, stated that in view of the situation in Lawrence and its heavy losses from Quantrill's raid, and in consideration of the fact that Topeka was the capital, the road ought to run into these two places. Still they refused. Mr. Speer was very much excited and anxious. Lane said

to him: "Don't you worry! Don't you worry! I will see about this." The next day Mr. Perry came around to talk with General Lane, and again he said they could not comply with his request, and that they would run the road four miles north of Lawrence unless the county of Douglas would give them \$300,000 in bonds. Lane was ill, and was lying on his bed at the time, and had exhausted all peaceable means to get the railroad company to bring the road into Lawrence. He partly arose up on the bed, and said to Mr. Perry, pointing his long, bony finger at him: "You shall not levy tribute upon that burned and murdered town. I shall see, sir, that you bring that road to the bank of the river. Don't talk to me! Don't talk to me!" he said, as the other attempted to reply. The next day Mr. Perry came around and showed a dispatch he had sent to Mr. Hallett, that with all possible speed they make a new survey and locate the road as near to the bank of the river opposite Lawrence as they could get depot grounds. There was a pledge redeemed by a politician. The railroad company had too many favors to ask of Congress and could not afford to trifle with a United States senator.

As to Judge Wakefield, I will conclude with a little speech of his which he made in front of the Eldridge House at the time of the first destruction of that hotel, in 1856. He was asked, as he always was, to speak, when he came down from his farm, and he said:

"Feller citizens, I hev hed the honor of bein' a jedge (he had been justice of the peace) in Ioway an' Minnesoty an' Ellenois, an' I give it to yer, feller citizens, 'pon my honor as a legal gentleman, that if these here fellers wanted to indict this here hotel as a nuisance (he pronounced it new-e-sance) they should have proceeded in the proper manner, and first have obtained a writ of *statu squaw!*"

Down at the convention which was to name a state ticket, James F. Legate moved that, while the committee on resolutions were out, Judge Wakefield be invited to address the convention, which he did amid great applause. At that time he wanted to be a candidate for some state office. He said:

"Feller citizens, I feel highly honored at your request that I should make a few remarks. I have lately been on a 'tower' through the valley of the great Neosho, seen a great many of my friends, and while, of course, I have my preferences, should you think, with others, that it is desirable for me to take a place upon the state ticket, I would feel very much more at home upon the bench. Feller citizens, I think I have some claims upon your suffrages. I was here in the days that tried men's souls. I was here, feller citizens, in the dark days of '56, and at my little cabin, eight miles west of this city, when it was burning over the head of my defenseless family, there were at that time, feller-citizens, there were sixteen of the bayonets of the federal government, which could have afforded me protection—there were sixteen of those bayonets pointed at this poor, old breast!"

Mr. President, I thank you for your kind indulgence.

ALONG THE KAW TRAIL.

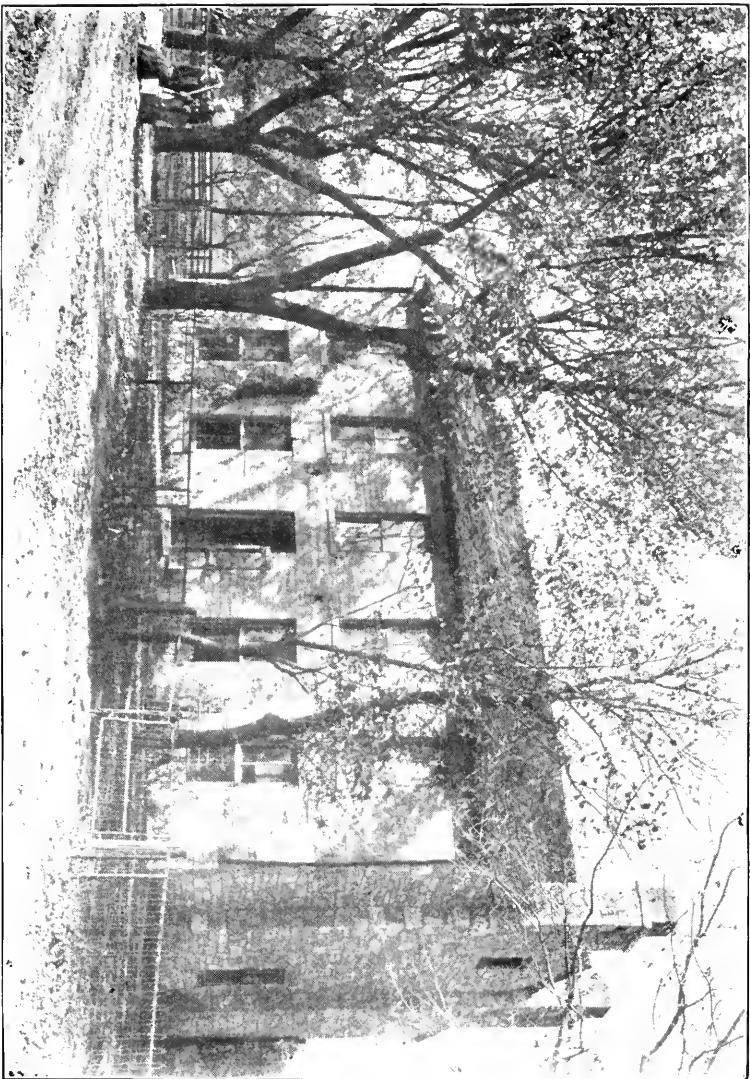
An address by GEO. P. MOREHOUSE, of Council Grove, before the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the State Historical Society, December 1, 1903.

“Where late the savage hid in ambush lay,
Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
Her hardy gifts rough industry extends,
The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
And see, the spires of towns and cities rise,
And domes and temples swell into the skies!”

THE history of most of the overland highways of the West has been written. Being the routes of freighting, mail and express lines, white men know all about them. Some of the border tribes had well-defined trails over which they passed to and from their hunting-grounds and to engage in warfare. One of the most important and well known of these was the Kaw Indian trail, which traversed what is now included in the counties of Morris, Marion, McPherson, and Rice. Living for many years on this trail, in the southwest part of Morris county, when a boy, and daily crossing or following along portions of its course, makes me fairly familiar with its history and use, and, when in doubt, can ascertain the facts from old settlers, who have lived in Morris county since the '40's, and who have the fullest knowledge of all the movements of that peculiar tribe of Indians. Some have erroneously traced its course south from the Kaw reservation across Chase county, and on to the Arkansas. The real Kaw trail, and the only one the Kaws and our old-timers knew about, is still visible in many places, and was started and used under the following circumstances: The Kaw or Kansas Indians lived for a long time in the Kaw valley east of the present city of Manhattan. In 1847 they were moved to a reservation in the Neosho valley, adjoining Council Grove. Their three villages were down the river, and the Indian agency, the buildings of which still stand, was near the mouth of Big John creek, about four miles from Council Grove.

They had three separate villages, governed in a manner by three chiefs. Al-le-ga-wa-ho, for many years their wisest leader, a man over six feet tall and noted as an eloquent Indian orator, presided at the village located on Cahola creek. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, the “fool chief,” governed the village near the present site of the town of Dunlap. Wah-ti-an-gah held forth as chief at the village near the official agency. The “fool chief” was usually the hereditary principal chief, and it was a high and honorable title. Originally it was obtained by some remarkable act of bravery, daring, Indian prowess, even to being rash and fool-hardy: hence the term. The “fool chief” only maintained his distinction by continued personal courage, generosity, and good conduct, and also by being wise in counsel.

Annually the Kaws went hunting out to the great imperial pasture-grounds of the buffalo, and going back and forth wore a well-defined trail. It started from their headquarters, near the mouth of Big John creek, four miles southeast of Council Grove, and bore almost west, a little southwest, crossing Diamond creek within a few rods of the present site of the railway station at Diamond Springs. It entered Marion county near the old post-office of Bethel, on the head of Middle creek, and not far from the present site of the town of Lincolnville. From there it passed westward through Marion county and almost through the



Kaw Indian Mission at Council Grove. Erected in 1850.

center of McPherson county, and on to the forks of Cow creek, about three miles south of the present town of Lyons, near the center of Rice county. This was its western terminus, and for many years right in the heart of the finest buffalo-hunting country, which, for a long time, by common consent, was given up to the use of the Kaws.

Here they established their camp, pitched their teepees, dried their meat, and cured their furs and robes. The Kaws were great on "buffalo jerk" and prepared large quantities at their Cow creek camping-grounds. This was done by stripping or jerking buffalo meat into convenient strips, which were cured without salt in the sun and dry atmosphere of that region, by hanging on slender poles supported by forked sticks. It was quite an article of commerce and, baled up and packed home on ponies, frequently came into the hands of white men. My boyish tastes thought a piece of buffalo jerk was a toothsome morsel while riding around or hunting. They went out over this trail in early fall, many taking their families, and often stayed all winter.

One of the reasons for going out to the rich buffalo-grass region was to winter their ponies; for the blue-stem prairie-grass of Morris county was poor pasture after the fall frosts. Some returned late in fall, their pack ponies laden with fresh and dried meat, for the use of those of the tribe who had remained at home. The fresh buffalo saddles were often brought in with the skin on to keep them clean. Frequently, friendly white men went along to hunt and trade, and brought back meat and furs. In this way the Kaw trail became, to a degree, a wagon road, and it was used as such for several years, until blocked by the fences of the settlers. It was a very direct route in its direction, and finally the old star mail route between Council Grove and Marion (Center) used this trail over much of its course. This supplied the early post-offices of Hill Spring, Diamond Springs, Bethel, Lincolnville, and some others.

The Diamond Springs post-office mentioned is not the famous Diamond Springs on the Santa Fe trail at the head of Diamond creek, but the post-office five miles below, and near the present village of Diamond Springs.

This not being understood has caused mistaken ideas as to the course and crossing-place of the Santa Fe trail and Kaw trail over Diamond creek.

The Kaws might have traveled to and from their Cow creek hunting-grounds on the Santa Fe trail, but they wanted a road of their own. Their trail was almost parallel with that noted highway, from three to six miles south, but over a more broken country. It was more direct, for the Santa Fe trail wound around to keep on the higher divides, while the Kaw trail was almost "as straight as the crow flies," going up and down hills, across sharp ridges, when a slight detour would have avoided heavy pulls. We often wondered why these Indians were so set on keeping in this "straight and narrow path" over the roughest ground, when smoother land was to the north. A ruler placed on a map of Kansas, one end about three miles south of Council Grove and the other end about three miles south of Lyons, indicates very closely the exact course of this trail. It was not a single path, but in places the ground was cut up for a rod or two in width, and had many evidences of long usage.

We used to find sundry relics along this trail, for the Indians were not exempt from losing things.

Few of the Kaws ever had first-class firearms of any sort to hunt with. Their rifles were single-barrel, muzzle-loading, and of inferior grade. While most of them had rifles, I have seen them go on these hunts armed with only their trusty bow and arrows and belt knife. I never doubted their ability to kill the buffalo

with these simple-looking bows and little arrows after witnessing them kill a number of wild Texas cows in that primitive manner.

The Kaws were not noted for the best breed of ponies, but it was always said that when they returned from these western trips they had usually greatly improved their stock, bringing back some fine specimens, whether by trading or at the expense of the Cheyennes or other Indians the deponent saith not. They ordinarily traveled along the trail in single file, and, when returning, the pack ponies reeled under the weight of plunder or tugged at loads borne on two long poles fastened to their sides and extending back like long shafts, dragging on the ground. Often on top of a load of fresh or dried meat a squaw and pappoose would be perched, in all the glory of Indian life. The braves rode the best ponies, and some of them were beauties and very hardy, and some of them made good cattle ponies. I once owned one, understood to be a Cheyenne pony, that could travel all day on a brisk canter, and cover from seventy to eighty miles with ease. The Kaws always brought back large quantities of buffalo hides and other skins and furs. A trader once told me that he bought in one season nearly 1000 buffalo hides from that tribe. While they were good hunters, they never excelled in making the finest robes. A fine Cheyenne robe was worth as much as fifteen dollars, but half that sum was a good price for a Kaw robe. Traders often went out to their Cow creek camp to buy their products, and, in fact, they always liked to have some white hunters along, for it was a protection against trouble from other tribes. Sometimes the traders would have some Missouri apples, and the going rate was a red apple for a muskrat skin.

Indians were great lovers of apples, and my brother once traded a double-handful for a fine pair of beaded moccasins.

At first, when some of the early settlers fenced the bottom lands, through which the Kaw trail passed, the Indians resented it and summarily destroyed the fences and passed on. They felt that this old pathway was sacred and no one had a right to obstruct it. They said: "Have we not used it these many years, long before the white man appeared, and is it not ours? Along this trail are scattered the graves of our departed kindred and some of the great and wise men of our tribe. Does this not give us the first right, and is there not room for the white man's field, without saying to the Indian, 'You must not pass along the old trail of your fathers?'"

I often noticed these graves, usually on the top of some near bluff or high ground, and they were often covered with slabs of limestone, and invariably, the bones of the pony that was sacrificed at the burial marked the spot. In many places along this trail, on the highest points they had erected crude monuments, piles of rock which were visible for a long distance. This was done when the trail was first used, in order to direct the proper course. These, with some of the marked graves, will soon be all that will indicate its location and history; for most of the inhabitants along its route know little or nothing about it.

When the Cheyennes, under Little Robe, in 1868, made their famous raid into Morris county to fight the Kaws, they followed over most of this trail in coming and going. For several years after the Indians left, the settlers used the trail as a starting-point to burn back-fires against the consuming prairie conflagrations so destructive in those days. After and even before the Kaws were removed to the territory, in 1873, it was often the route of some of the great cattle drives which used to be made to Council Grove from the West; for this trail had better grass and water along it than the Santa Fe trail. From the Kaw reservation to their Cow creek camp was 100 miles, very picturesque and varied, crossing numerous creeks and fine watering-places, the principal ones of which were



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Famous Kaw Chiefs.

1. Al-le-ga-wa-ho; 2. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, known as the "Fool Chief";
3. Wah-ti-an-gah.

Four Mile, Diamond, Middle, Clear and Muddy creeks, Cottonwood river, Turkey creek, Little Arkansas river, and Cow creek.

For many years the Kaws claimed the territory now embraced in Marion, Dickinson, McPherson, Saline, Rice and Ellsworth counties as their exclusive hunting grounds, and their trouble with other tribes was caused because this claim was disputed. At some of these creek crossings, where their most favorable camping-grounds were located, their wigwam poles were often left standing in place, ready for the skin coverings the next time they came along. This saved them work and carrying so many camp equipments. I will have to confess that we boys were wont to pull them up and carry them away at times.

When the cavalcade of returning Kaws reached their home villages near Council Grove, great was their reception by those who had remained at home. It meant a feast of fat things—buffalo meat (fresh and dried), venison steaks and stews. It meant buffalo-ropes, deer and wolf skins, and other peltries, to be sold or wrought into needed garments and coverings. Besides, there was a sort of general rejoicing by the entire tribe, that the hunters had been prospered with success and safely returned to their secure and comfortable lodges along the timber-lined banks of the sheltering Neosho. After the usual Indian salutations, the robes, skins and meats were properly stored or hung up for use. Later on some of these would be brought to Council Grove and traded for those supplies which they craved. This home-coming of the hunters soon wrought up the entire village into a perfect hubbub of excitement. Powwows, great and small, were held, and all the experiences of the hunt related in detail, embellished with the most vivid and boastful language, and it was the opportunity for some of their peculiar dances.

Those braves who had performed special acts of prowess or skill in the chase, or perchance in any personal encounter with their old enemies, the Cheyennes or Pawnees, were given prominent seats in the council circle, and some soon became so puffed up with their importance that they strutted about the villages, and even up to Council Grove, bragging of their valor, and received the plaudits of the tribe.

The Kaws had three principal dances—sun-dance, dog-dance, and war-dance. These dances all had their particular seasons and significance. The sun-dance was always given out-of-doors, and had indications of religious origin. Originally it was in honor of the "sun hero," a god only inferior to the Great Spirit, their Manitou or Waconda, who was "the great ghost of heaven and highest wind god," in the parlance of the Indians, and the god to whom all other spirits, as the sun hero and moon goddess, were always subordinate. The sun-dance was circular, as most all their dances, and was accompanied by the usual music, weird songs, and grotesque movements, but they were not dressed up in the hideous costumes worn at the dog-dance or the great war-dance. Squaws often took part in the sun-dance in some of its modifications, and were properly gowned for the high occasion. Their faces were brilliant with vermilion, yellow, and green, while their robes, leggings and dresses scintillated with a unique passermenterie of bright beads and skilfully wrought quill and quail-bone work. Their taper arms were decorated with circles of shining brass bracelets and rings of silver, while shells and other ornaments dangled from their dusky ears. All the dress toggery and showy valuables and heirlooms of the tribe were donned in richest profusion by way of personal adornment. The Kaws were always noted for being able to unpack and display a great wealth of dress ornaments, some of which had been handed down in the tribe for generations.

The most handsome natural adornment of the squaws was their jet-black

hair, parted in the middle over their heads and down to their necks behind, and ending in two beautiful braids of black.

Round and round the circle they moved, in single and double lines, and at times their movements were not unlike the dances of the whites.

Forward, around the circle by couples they would go; then the braves would move backward with shuffling step and squaws and girls would follow, and *vice versa*, while through it all were the monotone songs and the drumming notes of the Indian tambourines.

The dog dance was often given in honor of visitors, and in many ways was nothing more than a war-dance of modified and abbreviated form.

They were not as particular to dress in such fanciful and hideous costumes as in the war-dance, but often made as much noise. None but braves took part in the dog-dance, which at times was performed in the largest lodges, but usually outside, and always around a fire.

They would rush into a lodge containing strangers with such fierce yells that it was frightful to hear. After shrill songs, they performed the circular movement to the music of rattles, drums, and the Indian flutes or whistles. After they had exhausted themselves, they rushed out and away as suddenly as they came, and it was all over for that day.

The Kaws on these occasions had three musical instruments—the usual tom-tom or drum, strings of rattles, and the flute or whistle.

The drums were really enlarged forms of tambourines, made of a wooden frame, over which, on one end, was stretched prepared green buffalo hide, which, when dried and properly pounded with a stick, sent forth sonorous and stirring sounds. Strings of dried deer's feet were used as rattles, but the best were the gourd rattles. These were made by taking small dried gourds and by placing bullets or pebbles inside, and when deftly shaken produced a quick, rattling sound, which was peculiar to the castanets of these primitive people. The Kaws made and used a wind instrument, a sort of Indian flute, and some were deft in executing a subdued music for the more plaintive and weird parts of their dances and ceremonies.

By far the most interest attached to the great war- or scalp-dance, for in this ceremony entered the strongest emotions of the tribe. If some of the returned warriors over the trail had brought proof of their boasted valor—some fine ponies or a few scalp-locks that once belonged to a hereditary foe of the tribe, which had been met and vanquished—great was the rejoicing, and the elements for a first-class war-dance existed. As the day advanced, the entire tribe seemed to become oblivious to everything except the increasing excitement and the Indian fervor displayed. The chief warriors paraded through the villages and visited the principal lodges. They were followed by shouting, singing mobs of admirers, who related their deeds of valor and chanted their praises. Decrepit old braves and squaws came forth and blessed them, while the more active and younger squaws prepared a feast of the choicest meats for the heroes of their families and protectors of the tribe.

During the day the young men cut and piled a huge pyramid of wood, and all preparations were completed for the great war-dance. Frequently parties from Council Grove went down to witness the unique scene. Stripped to the waist, in the seclusion of their lodges, the braves performed their fantastic toilets, by painting their dark skins with wonderful dotted and striped combinations of vermilion, yellow, green, and black.

The Kaws were among the few tribes whose braves shaved their heads. They only left a comb or elongated tuft on top of the head extending back over

the scalp-lock. Their only garments were clout, leggings, and moccasins. The war head-dress was also worn, being a band around the head, upon which were often attached two cow horns, and extending down their backs a plait or line of turkey or eagle feathers. Some sported necklaces of bears' claws or elk teeth. Each one carried a full complement of arms—bows and arrows, lance, and often a shield, from which hung any prized scalps they possessed. The measured tones of the sounding drums announce that all is ready: the fires are lighted, and the hideous painted and decorated braves come rushing out of the lodges and wigwams with shrieks and war-cries that none will ever forget. In the full panoply of all this hideousness, they quickly gather in a circle around the blazing fire. For a time they stand and go through all varieties of yells and mingled war-whoops of triumph and delight, which echo along the valley. The leader of the band raises his lance and strikes three times on the ground or upon a shield, the musicians make some extra flourishes with the rattles and drums, and the great war-dance is on in full blast. Round and round the roaring fire they circle, now following each other, and now facing the center, their painted and decorated bodies swaying up and down, in and out, in exact time to the peculiar rhythm of the music.

Their odd, hitching step was a sort of forward-now-backward movement, as if they wanted to advance but could not—one knee stiff and the other bent; and with a monotonous regularity they uttered their war songs, the principal vocal accompaniment and continuous repetition of which was "hi' yi, hi'-yi," *ad infinitum*, with strong accent on the first syllable. No matter how long the dance lasted, usually through the night and far into the following day, this monotonous utterance never varied, but was, of course, interspersed with other shouts, whoops, and yells, as well as songs. At times their voices seemed to fail, and the howlings lapsed into a drone of measured and subdued tones and the chanting songs ceased, but the "hi'-yi, hi'-yi," went on continuously; neither was there any cessation of rattling gourds nor the throbbing and heavy undertones of the drums until the dance ended. At times the musicians would enter the great circle and march round the fire in contrary direction to the moving mass. Now, some one would step out and chant the deeds of some particular brave, and all the dancers and all outside the charmed circle would take up the strain and renewed excitement prevailed. The march is quickened, the shrill war-whoops rise high above the monotonous din, while the clashing shields and fluttering scalp-locks work them again to a perfect frenzy of tribal fervor, in which all engage—the squaws, old men, boys, and maidens, as well as the regular dancers.

After a dance was over the ground was marked for a long time by the continuous circling, which left a beaten ring, something like a horse-power or the circle of an abandoned circus ring. The dance was usually held in the sheltering opening of some heavy grove near the river. The blazing firelight, the flitting shadows and all the weird and mixed variety of unusual sights and sounds created an impression upon a casual visitor long to be remembered.

Since 1873 the Kaws, few in number and slow to adjust themselves to the crowding civilization of the times, have lived on a small reservation in the Indian Territory. Few of their noted warriors are alive, but occasionally small bands of the tribe or solitary individuals visit the Neosho valley and recall the scenes of other days. They stoically survey the changes around their former homes. The sites of their three villages are now covered by highly cultivated farms, and where their permanent lodges and decorated teepees once stood the comfortable homes of the present owners of the fee embellish the landscape. The graves of their ancestors and the course of the trail in the valley are leveled

and obliterated by the mold and cultivation of years. However, for many miles west of their old reservation it is plainly visible, and in the large pastures and on some of the near-by prairie slopes may yet be found the graveyards of the tribe. These they can visit, and travel for a few miles along their old-time highway. But where is Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, their great "fool chief" and brave warrior? Where is Al-le-ga-wa-ho, for years their head chief and the most eloquent and entertaining Indian orator of his times? Where are Wah-ti-an-gah, the good chief, and old Na-he-da-ba and Shon-ga-ne-gah, and other braves and wise men of the tribe?

They have passed over the trail for the last time, and live in peace on the rich ranges of the happy hunting-grounds.

No more they sit by council fires
 And praise the prowess of their sires.
 No dusky maiden now is seen;
 The valley blooms the hills between.
 Where once the Indian village shone,
 A city proud with spires has grown;
 Where once they chased the panting deer,
 Neosho's fields the farmers cheer.

On these visits they are carried back to those old days when this trail traversed the delightful little valleys and over the wide, expanding prairies, then untouched by man, but luxuriant with carpets of grass and decorated with indescribable loveliness of innumerable varieties of smiling flowers. They remember their old haunts and the beauties of those primitive scenes, just as they came from the hand of nature, and when it could be said:

"Breezes of the south! Ye have played
 Among the palms of Mexico and vines
 Of Texas, and have crisped the limpid brooks
 That from the fountains of Sonora glide
 Into the calm Pacific. Have ye fanned
 A nobler or lovelier scene than this?
 The hand that built the firmament hath heaved
 And smoothed these verdant swells and sown their slopes
 With herbage — a fitting floor
 For this magnificent temple of the sky —
 With flowers whose glory and whose multitude
 Rival the constellations."



Ah-ke-tah-shin-gah, a Typical Indian Brave.

AN ATTEMPTED RESCUE OF JOHN BROWN FROM CHARLESTOWN, VA., JAIL.

An address by O. E. MORSE, of Mound City, before the Kansas State Historical Society,
at its twenty-eighth annual meeting, December 1, 1903.

ON November 2, 1859, John Brown was taken from the jail to the court-room at Charlestown, Va., and sentenced to be hung on the 2d day of December following. During this interval an undertaking was entered into in his behalf, of which little is known to the general public. Those parties, with possibly two exceptions, have passed from life. The purpose of this effort is to gather fragments of the story as they have drifted to me during the more than forty years that have elapsed.*

*From the following letters, written in 1859 and 1860, it will be seen that preparations for an attempt to rescue John Brown were made, and, from the letter of Higginson to Hinton, dated December 22, 1859, it is probable that both Montgomery and Soule had been brought on from Kansas for that purpose; that Soule was still in the East, and Montgomery was thought to be. Neither appears to have been concerned in the Harper's Ferry raid. Both were acquainted with John Brown, and felt great sympathy in his cause. Soule's ability as a spy, his easy disguise, and aptness at mimicry, which made him so useful in the Doy rescue, would recommend him for this more trying occasion. It is interesting to note the lapse of memory of Mr. LeBarnes, whose good offices went far in both rescues, and his participation written here in black and white, when he writes Hinton, June 30, 1894: "I never knew anything about the Stevens-Hazlett plan." Such forgetfulness is not new to one familiar with the vagaries of memory as brought to light in the attempts to reconcile statements written thirty and forty years after an event with the recorded facts at the time. That a number of Kansas men attempted to do something toward a rescue, and that Montgomery and Soule, LeBarnes and Higginson were concerned in both, seems proven by this written testimony of the time. The following extracts are from original letters belonging to the collections of the State Historical Society, a recent gift from Mrs. Isabel B. Hinton:

"Charles P. Carter," *nom* for Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "T." is W. W. Thayer (Thayer & Eldridge, publishers, Boston); "machinist" named is James Montgomery; "Read" is myself; "Dr. R." is Doctor Rutherford, of Harrisburg, which is "H."—R. J. HINTON.

George H. Hoyt, one of Brown's counsel, in a letter to J. W. LeBarnes, dated Charlestown, Va., October 20, 1859, after relating the incidents of the trial for the day, says: "There is no chance of his ultimate escape; there is nothing but the most unmitigated failure, and the saddest consequences which it is possible to conjure, to ensue upon an attempt at rescue. The country all around is guarded by armed patrols, and a large body of troops are constantly under arms. If you hear anything about such an attempt, for heaven's sake do not *fail to restrain the enterprise.*"

Telegram dated Boston, November 26, 1859, to J. W. LeBarnes, Metropolitan hotel, New York: "Return directly—nothing doing anywhere.—F. Stanley." Indorsed as follows, in Hinton's handwriting: "This dispatch relates to John Brown business. Don't know who 'J. Stanley' represents—probably Sanborn.—R. J. H. I have certainly ascertained this was from Sanborn."

Letter unsigned, dated Concord, November 29, 1859, indorsed in Hinton's handwriting, "Letter from F. B. Sanborn to J. W. LeBarnes; it relates to talk about a John Brown rescue": "DEAR FRIEND—I had telegraphed you to return before I got your letter of Friday. You had not reached New York when my dispatch arrived, but I suppose it waited you at the Metropolitan. We found that nothing was doing in Ohio, and nothing could be done here, and so judged best to stop operations. You found a letter from S. and one from me at New York, or ought to have done so, and I hope mailed my letter to M. at Washington. I will have M.'s letter put in the New York papers before Friday, I think, or else send it to Wise himself. All conclude it was a trap or a swindle. All these reports by telegraph of men coming from Pennsylvania and Ohio must be false, we think. You have seen Hoyt, I suppose, and heard what he has to communicate. He is a good fellow, and I hope to know him better. Redpath failed to go to Ohio,

Early in October, 1859, Richard J. Hinton came to Kansas, visited James Hanway, at Dutch Henry's crossing (now Lane), and induced Hanway to go with him to Linn county. Arriving at Moneka, they sent for Capt. James Montgomery and Augustus Wattles, both of whom immediately responded, and a conference was held in a room immediately over the post-office, at the Moneka hotel, then kept by Dr. George E. Denison. This consultation resulted in the planning for the rescue of Brown. Hinton advocated an attempt by force, which necessitated the transporting of a considerable body of men to Virginia. Wattles did not approve of this, believing it impracticable, and thinking that chances of success were only possible with a carefully selected few, and the exercise of the keenest tact and highest courage. Nevertheless Hinton's idea had the right of way for the time, and a list of 75 to 100 eligibles from Kansas, Iowa and the East was made for the undertaking. Just when and where further consultations, if any, were held, is not now clear. Certain it is that the plan was changed. Difficulties as to funds, transportation, arms, and provisions, as well as the almost certain exposure in attempting to rendezvous and handle a large force

but perhaps it's as well now. Nothing seems likely to stop the execution, and our brave old friend must die. I may be in B. before Friday, but I shall be here on that day, when we have a burial service in the town hall, at which the clergymen, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Thoreau, Mr. Brown, our representative, and other good men, will take part. Yours ever."

T. W. H. to R. J. Hinton, Worcester, December 22, 1859: "I wish to leave nothing undone to find Montgomery, Soley (Soule), whom you know is going from here to Kansas soon, and is to find him and explain my plans. But if he is at the South or East *now* we ought to find him. If you think another dispatch to Kansas would do any good, please send it, or do anything else for that purpose, and I will pay for it. The trial of Stevens may come sooner than we expected. I agree with you that something must be done without M., if necessary — but he would be half the battle; and I wish also to get at Tidd and Anderson, whose local knowledge would be invaluable. If you know of any way of getting at them, except through Merriam, I shall be glad to know it. Please do not communicate with any but Redpath and LeBarnes on this subject. Cordially yours, T. W. H."

Charles P. Carter (Thomas Wentworth Higginson) writes, under date ^{ns} (Harrisburg) probably, to John W. LeBarnes, of Boston, under date February 17, 1860: "I telegraphed this morning. Eight machines arrived, including (if this be not a Hibernianism) our friend and his master machinist, who turns out to be the very man of all the world. Read could not have done better, both as to the whole and the parts. The machinist is strong in hope, and he is a man to inspire infinite hope in others. Nothing stops him but the snow, which now lies — that is a hopeless obstacle to the successful working of the machines, but a few days will probably take it away — and he does not consider the season such an obstacle as T. did, and believes it can be done. T. is expected to-night, and after conferring with him our machinist will go and examine the ground for himself, starting, we hope, to-morrow, and absent possibly for three or four days only, but probably for a week or more. If you can therefore secure your six machines *via* New York — not more — with the tools necessary for setting them up, large as well as small, you might, if you prefer, stay in New York or return to Boston, keeping ready to start at a moment's notice any time, arranging that the machines shall be equally ready. I think it quite certain that there will be a delay of a week, and possibly two, even, for the machinist says that a thorough examination of the ground is essential, cost what it may. But write me fully your plans. I saw M. S., who looks coldly on the patent, but subscribed twenty-five dollars. Why can't you see Thaddeus Hyatt, who has a mechanical turn and might help, especially if he knows that M. is here? and he or Oliver Johnson might tell you of others in New York. William Curtis is rich." ["T." stands for Charles Plummer Tidd.]

T. W. Higginson, from Dayton, Ohio, February 25, 1860: "I am on my way eastward, and shall reach Hinsdale Monday, in the night. By Tuesday shall probably have some light. Perhaps Read saw you. I sent him to New York to elench the Teutons and for other objects. He has proved himself very efficient. What I now write for is to say, do not fail to see the artist while in Boston, and that, if possible, without delay, because we need the money whether we succeed or fail, and after his friend returns from the inquisition I think he will give it, having promised to be 'as good as his word.' But it can be claimed with much more force before the final collapse happens, as I think it will happen, though I have heard nothing since last Mon-

anywhere within striking distance of the objective point, conspired to bring into play the more conservative judgment of those having the matter in hand. Hinton had returned to the East to work up the Eastern contingent, which never materialized. Hanway, as far as is known, took no further part, leaving Montgomery and Wattles to perfect arrangements. A small force was soon determined upon, and great care and secrecy exercised in their selection and moving to the East.

The success of a few men from Lawrence and vicinity a few months before in rescuing Dr. John Doy* from the St. Joseph, Mo., jail naturally pointed in their direction for a part of the detail. Joseph Gardner, Silas S. Soule, J. A. Pike and S. J. Willis were selected from the Doy rescuers. James Montgomery, Augustus Wattles, H. C. Seaman and Henry Carpenter went from Linn county. Benjamin Rice from Bourbon county, and Benjamin Seaman, a brother of H. C. Seaman, went from his home in Iowa.

Gardner, Pike and Willis (Soule had gone East earlier) went to Leavenworth. Not wishing to visit St. Joseph, for obvious reasons, they hired a team to take

day P. M. With a view to commanding confidence to stockholders, it is better to tell the artist what master machinist has been engaged." Note of R. J. Hinton: "Letter of T. W. Higginson to John W. LeBarnes, Boston. 'Artist' is M. Brackett, the sculptor; 'Read' is R. J. Hinton; 'Teutons,' certain Germans who joined rescue party, 'Hinsdale' is Harrisburg; 'master machinist' is James Montgomery."

This statement by T. W. H., under date of Worcester, March 24, 1860, is indorsed in Hinton's handwriting, "Account of expenditure in rescue case": "I believe I made a mistake in adding up Thayer's expenditures. They were \$471. The whole cost was about as follows:

H. took to Kansas	\$300 00	
Sent to Pittsburg	50 00	
Later expenditures by me.....	250 00	
Total disbursed by me.....		\$600 00
Hinton obtained in Kansas, say.....	150 00	
Thayer disbursed	471 00	
LeBarnes disbursed.....	79 00	
Total		\$1,300 00

"This may all be regarded as squared up, except that \$200 affair, about which I wrote. That obtained, all is right."

Letter from T. W. H. to LeBarnes, dated Worcester, February 15, 1860: "Dispatch received. Please leave to-morrow for New York. See as many foreign operators as you have funds for, and be ready for dispatch from me at H.; but don't come till sent for. I will telegraph to you in New York to care of Doctor Kapp. That box of machines will be sent to New York to-morrow A. M., to Oliver Johnson, editor *Anti-slavery Standard*; please bring it on from there. Probably you will have to let the Troy man drop and add another German. If you receive and understand this, telegraph me before ten A. M., care Johnson aforesaid, 'All right.' But at any rate I must rely on your getting this, as our whole plans must be quickened by Read's dispatch. I have telegraphed to him. My impression is, even now, that nothing will be done, but it is possible. A minute description just received of the locality where the machines were to operate greatly diminishes the chances, which were small before."

Letter unsigned, but indorsed 'T. W. Higginson,' dated Worcester, February 16, 1860: "Nothing more heard. I leave this P. M., and reach Hinsdale to-morrow night. Will telegraph from there when anything known, and sign 'Charles P. Carter.' Telegraph to that name there if you hear anything from H. either way. I mean whether he comes or turns back. I shall try to find at Hinsdale the man who telegraphed you—Read, I mean. If I hear nothing from him I may go to Plattsburg, but probably not. I have written to S. J. Willis, corner Thirteenth street and Tibbitts avenue, Troy, N. Y., to telegraph you now if he is ready. If you thus hear from him after hearing from me, please send him by express twenty-five dollars for expenses, best a check payable to order, and tell him to come to Hinsdale and inquire for Mr. Carter of Doctor Rutherford. I may have time to send more accurate directions. I shall see Doctor R. on my arrival and arrange with him. You will receive to-morrow by express a box containing eight small machines. Please bring them to Hinsdale should you come (and you can put them if you prefer in your trunk), but please not use them, as they are to be returned if not wanted.

* See Major Abbott's account of the Doy rescue party. State Hist. Coll., vol. 4, p. 312.

them to Easton, twelve miles east of St. Joseph. While waiting at the hotel for a train, they listened to a thorough discussion of Kansas and Kansans, of Lawrence, and especially of the Doy exploit. They restrained themselves from taking part in the discussion, and proceeded without further incident to Pittsburgh, Pa., where Soule joined them, and they journeyed together to Harrisburg.

Of the southern Kansas party, Wattles went in advance of the others. Under Montgomery's lead, those mentioned above and Dr. C. R. Jennison (later known as Colonel Jennison) left Linn county. At Lawrence, Jennison left the party and returned home. The others proceeded to Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, where letters from Major Abbott and some others secured them the assistance of Ed. Russell, Thos. A. Osborn, A. L. Lee, and probably D. W. Wilder. The party reached Elwood too late to avail themselves of the ferry in crossing, and crossing that night (a very dark and stormy one) was essential to the carrying out of their plans. The only rowboat at the place belonged to Captain Blackiston. The oars were carefully put away and the skiff securely locked. "Love laughs at locksmiths." So it proved in this case. Blackiston's daughter was

Should I telegraph to send machinery on a certain date, please come on without delay. If you can with the funds in your hands (after deducting twenty-five dollars as above) bring on any machines additional (I do not mean such as I send you, but those supported on two pins—of German ware perhaps) do so. That must be at your discretion. I expect to provide for expenses after reaching Hinsdale, should any be needed. Shall see a stockholder in New York, I expect, and perhaps the German dealer. The experienced business man, whose advice I quoted to you, still holds the same opinion, but has arranged to go to Hinsdale if needed. Please acknowledge receipt of any dispatch from me, should the business go on. I shall probably send the date by which the machinery must arrive. At Hinsdale I shall probably be at some *smaller* hotel, and you can find me through the registers or through Doctor R. or through the post-office, where I shall go twice a day. All right about the captain and the orator; but I wish you would caution the latter at once about not mentioning it, even to his wife, for she would be very likely to tell my sister-in-law, who is her particular friend. You will see I note what you say about the letter H.—as Hinsdale—and also I will say '*via* New York,' in the case you name. Please allude to Read as Western machinery. Please not start without hearing from me, and I will do all I can to make it clear to you. My impression is that the weaker machinery will have to be returned unless set up by somebody who understands it very thoroughly. (Should you hear from Read by ten P. M. to-morrow (Thursday) that he has sent the machines back, please telegraph to me under my own name at *Anti-slavery Standard* office, Nassau street, New York, and also to Hinsdale, as it may not reach me in New York.)"

From Carter to LeBarnes, Hinsdale, February 18, 1860: "To-day brings another snow-storm, farther depressing the hopes of our machinist. But they do not last long at this season. We also hear from the machinist whom we left behind, and on whose advice much depends, that he is still in Massachusetts, and will not be here till Monday P. M. or Tuesday night. This is bad, as still delaying the prospecting trip of our chief machinist to examine localities, etc. He cannot start before Tuesday P. M., and will certainly be gone, he thinks, at least a week. I shall go to Chicago next week to do my lecturing, and you can do what you please until then—only let me know how to get at you. Please not open the box till necessary, and not use tools unless necessary, as then they cannot be returned. If you are still in New York, please get copy of *Daily Tribune* containing plan of and locality where our machines are to be—it was about November 30."

A letter by T. W. Higginson, dated Worcester, July 17, 1860, about the insurrection in Jamaica, and other insurrections along anti-slavery lines, closes with a reference to a visit from J. A. Pike and his return to Kansas a few months previous.

Letter from S. S. Soule, dated Coal Creek (south part of Douglas county), May 9, 1860, addressed to Messrs. Thayer, Eldridge, Hinton, etc.: "I arrived here last Friday. I left Boston Thursday night for Stonington; there I took the boat for New York; left there Friday morning; arrived in Philadelphia that noon, and had to wait until six before I could get off, and then had to go with a cargo of emigrants that talked beautiful Dutch. We did n't get to Pittsburgh until Sunday. It was an awful journey. If it was n't for some girls that had get-up to them, I don't know what I should have done; as it was we had an amusing time. We crossed the Alleghenies Saturday. If I had been in a hurry I should have walked; as it was we walked some of the time, and waited for the cars, and pushed going up-hill. Pittsburgh is as dirty as ever. I

Russell's sweetheart, afterwards becoming his wife. Through her he got oars and key. With the assistance of some of the others mentioned of the Elwood party, the crossing to St. Joseph was safely made, though attended with many dangers, through the darkness and the overloaded skiff. Some transportation over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad was furnished by Elwood friends, and the additional amount necessary was put up by Major Tuttle, then agent of the road at St. Joseph, later a resident of New York, who was thoroughly in sympathy with the free-state movements in Kansas, as was Colonel Hayward, then general superintendent of the road.

The Montgomery party proceeded direct to Harrisburg without further incident of historical importance, where they were joined by the Lawrence party, by Wattles, Ben. Seaman, from Iowa, and R. J. Hinton. While there is no evidence at hand to show that Frederick Douglass joined the party at Harrisburg, it is pretty clear that he was in consultation with the leaders in their progress towards Charlestown. It will not be understood that these men were seen in public together, or that they stopped at the same hotel, or traveled as a party on

went over to the coal-mines and passed off for a coal merchant, and was put through in fine style. I distributed the cards of Thayer and Eldridge all through Ohio and Indiana, as long as they lasted. I went to St. Louis and got on the boat and took deck passage to Hannibal; then the cars to Atchison, boat to Leavenworth, and stage to Lawrence. Tell Walt [Walt Whitman] that when he wants to get up another book and thinks he has seen all the world, he must take a second-class ticket to Kansas. Tell Walt that I have a good deal to say about him, and when he comes out here the folks will treat him well. Now, I must tell you something that will surprise you. When I arrived here I found a party waiting for me to go to Pike's Peak; my brother and cousin [Mr. Glass] were in the party, going with a quartz machine belonging to Solomon and Parker, of Lawrence, and there was no way but I must go. They started yesterday. I am to start to-morrow and overtake them. I had not time to go to M.'s [Montgomery's?], so I went to Stewart and told him everything. He is all right; he brought up three head the other night, making sixty-eight since he commenced. He met with a mishap yesterday. I went to Lawrence with him in the morning, and we had not been there more than an hour before a runner came in with word that his place had been attacked and one man taken and one wounded. We started off as quick as possible, but could only raise four horsemen, and by the time we got our arms they were off a good way. We followed them about six miles, but found that they all had good horses and were so far ahead that we could not overtake them. When last seen they were going it, with the boy on behind one of them. He was calling for assistance and one of them beating him with a club to keep him quiet. He was a free boy that had been here for two years. They were plowing in the field and had revolvers, but there were five of the kidnapers. There were fifteen or twenty shots fired, and one only was wounded that we know of. He was shot in the hip; the ball went out and did n't damage him much. Things look kind of blue and some one will be shot before long. It is supposed that H. was one of them. I gave S. those letters to give to M., as he will see him as soon as anybody, and I told him just how things stand. He is the man. I hope you will write to him; he don't like G.'s actions very well. [Charles] Stearns and another man that I was not acquainted with arrived Monday. Stearns went to G.'s before we got over. I have posted S. about Stearns, and if they get ahead of him they will have to get up early; he is going to make a haul of about fifteen next week. He talked with G., but could n't get him to go. I can't write any more. Give my love to all. Tell Walt to send that book to me. Direct to S. Soule, Lawrence, Kan., box 43, John E. Stewart; if you write to him may be you had better put it inside of another envelope, and direct it to Amasa Soule, box 43. I am afraid that G. is not worth a damn."

Letter from J. W. LeBarnes, dated Washington, D. C., June 20, 1894, to R. J. Hinton: "There was a letter from Hoyt—his first, I think, after he had seen and talked with Brown—in which he gave the information desired in respect to the situation at Charlestown, the defenses, etc., and enclosed a diagram of the jail, showing Brown's cell, the approaches, etc., and in which he stated that Brown positively refused his consent to any movement looking to a rescue. I do not think this letter is among those I gave you. My impression is that I gave it to Mr. Higginson or some one else at the time. It seems to me that it must have been Mr. Higginson."

Also the following from LeBarnes to Hinton, dated Washington, D. C., June 30, 1894: "Yours of the 29th received. Am glad you are getting along satisfactorily with your book. I never knew anything about the Stevens-Hazlett plan. By the way, have you got anything in respect

the trains. They moved apparently independent of each other, representing themselves as stockmen, grain men, laborers, land-seekers, or whatever seemed best to suit the occasion or most fully obscure their real intent. They had a meeting-place at the office or residence of a doctor (name forgotten), who was in sympathy with their undertaking. At these meetings plans for the campaign were made and scouts sent out; Seaman, of the Linn county party, and Soule, of the Lawrence contingent, doing most of this work. Montgomery, Wattles, Seaman, and Soule, and possibly others of the party, established a meeting-place in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Md., from which place they pushed forward their tours of observation across the river into Virginia, Seaman going to Martinsburg to examine the rough country in that region, Soule going more directly to Charlestown, securing an audience with Brown under strict surveillance of two armed guards. Under such restrictions no progress could be made in unfolding or perfecting plans. No others of the party saw Brown, though very direct communications were kept up through some one whose identity has been lost in the haze that passing years throws over our memories.

to the German contingent in the rescue business? A party of about twenty—chiefly revolutionist refugees of '48—was in readiness to join Higginson and Montgomery, as you doubtless remember. I went over to New York for the purpose, and the then editor of the *Staats-Zeitung* put me in communication with suitable men to make up the party. I expect there are references to this matter in papers you have."

J. W. LeBarnes to R. J. Hinton, Washington, D. C., June 21, 1894: "Hoyt went to Charlestown at my instance, and I furnished him with the money for his expenses. He was living at Athol, Mass., with his parents, having then recently graduated at law. The morning the news was received of Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, Hoyt came at once to Boston, and I met him at the Republican headquarters, and told him I wanted him to go to Charlestown and volunteer as counsel to Brown. My suggestion was that so youthful and physically fragile a person in appearance (he was not more than twenty-one, and looked not more than nineteen, and was slight in figure), would not create the suspicion that a more mature man might do, and I believed that for this reason he would be more likely to succeed in being allowed access to Brown than another, and did not believe he would be in so much personal danger as another might be. The purposes for which I wanted him to go were, first, to watch and be able to report proceedings, to see and talk with Brown, and be able to communicate with his friends anything Brown might want to say; and second, to send me an accurate and detailed account of the military situation in Charlestown, the number and distribution of troops, the location and defense of the jail, the nature of the approaches to the town and jail, the opportunities for a sudden attack upon the jail and means of retreat, and the location and situation of the room in the jail in which Brown was confined, and all other particulars and suggestions that might enable friends to consult in reference to some plan of attempt at rescue. Hoyt was willing to accept the commission if his expenses could be paid, as he had no money himself. We went to South Boston and called on Dr. S. G. Howe and laid our plan before him, with a view of enlisting some financial assistance. Howe treated the matter coolly, and would not contribute. He seemed to think that Brown's execution would have a good effect in arousing public sentiment. We thought this cold-blooded, and left Howe in disgust. I possessed seventy-five dollars in silver and gave it to Hoyt, and he left that night for Charlestown. Afterwards I sent him additional funds. George Sennott went down as an individual volunteer, without, so far as I know, any concurrence with any of Brown's friends."

In a sketch of Edward Russell, published while he was living, in the United States Biographical Dictionary for Kansas, is the following: "In November of 1859 Colonel Montgomery resolved upon an effort for the rescue of old John Brown, then lying in jail at Harper's Ferry and awaiting the day of his execution. Colonel Montgomery called upon Mr. Russell for transportation over the Missouri river, and any aid he and his Elwood friends could give for their transportation farther East. The passes of Russell, Lee and Wilder over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, and a note from Lee or Wilder to the principal man of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad in St. Joseph, were cheerfully furnished, together with a little ready cash. After midnight of one of the rainest and darkest nights ever seen on the Missouri river, Mr. Russell abstracted oars and key from his father-in-law's house, who, as the owner of the ferry, possessed the only skills at that time in Elwood, and with a boat laden rather deep, even for pleasant weather and broad daylight, he pushed off for the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad

While preparations were going on, as related, the weather changed to severe cold, with a heavy fall of snow throughout the entire region, rendering traveling through the mountains impracticable. This, with the strong and watchful force at the jail, and the constant patrolling of the roads, were difficulties seemingly unsurmountable, and by many of the party they were believed to be real reasons why the undertaking was abandoned. The managers of the affair found in the will of John Brown a greater obstacle to their plans than snow, cold, patrolmen, or Virginia militia. *John Brown refused to be rescued.* His reasons were: First, that he had been the recipient of many kindnesses from the jailer and his wife; that he had had privileges that were secured by his pledge not to take advantage of them to escape; that the jailer was a faithful and fearless official who would not be caught off his guard, or give up his prisoner without a struggle, and for himself he was in honor bound both to his keeper and to his friends outside to prevent further bloodshed.

Second, he was strongly impressed with the conviction that death on the gal-
lows was a fulfilment of his mission, the rounding out of his effort; the act that

grounds in lower St. Joseph. Though the night was so dark as to render it impossible to tell by sight or trying the water in which direction the current ran, in due time, which seemed an age from the danger of the situation, the boat finally landed Colonel Montgomery and party in safety near the point of destination. The failure of Colonel Montgomery may have been foredoomed, with his handful of Linn county boys, but unexpected delays in the mountains north of Harper's Ferry alone prevented his making a bold dash to save the neck of grand old John Brown."

In Hinton's "John Brown and his Men," pages 501, 502, the following appears: "During the middle of February a secret message was received by the prisoners and a reply returned. An intoxicated man was arrested in Charlestown on a Saturday evening and locked up over Sunday in jail. To all appearances he was a jolly, devil-may-care young Irish laborer [Silas S. Soule], in whom whisky left nothing but boisterous fun. As he sobered up he became a delight to the jailer's family by his funny songs and witty words. Discipline had relaxed, vigilance nodded, and the careless Irishman was enabled to communicate with Stevens and Hazlett. He made himself known, and told them that their comrades, James Montgomery, Richard J. Hinton, Joseph Gardner, Preacher Stewart and six other Kansas men, with Thomas Wentworth Higginson, J. W. LeBarnes, and W. W. Thayer, of Boston, assisted by some New York German-Americans, were ready at Harrisburg, Pa., to make a move through the South Mountain section of that state into Virginia and attempt their rescue. They were told that Montgomery was even then in the adjacent mountains making a reconnaissance as to practicability. Both were deeply affected, but without hesitation declared it to be impossible. Stevens emphatically asserted that the attempt could not be made without causing other deaths, especially that of the jailer, Mr. Avis, who would resist to the last. He would not take his liberty at such a cost. The constant armed force consisted of eighty men, and while it was possible to get away if Montgomery could reach and attack the place suddenly, yet the lives to be sacrificed would not warrant the saving of their own. Hazlett sent a personal message to the writer of this volume, who had been deeply stirred by the fact that his comrade was tried and condemned under a name himself assumed in writing to Kagi. There was nothing to be done. The daring young Kansan, who had so successfully used his powers of mimicry, was discharged next day by an unsuspecting justice of the peace, and made his way out of Virginia as rapidly as he dared. Montgomery had already returned to Harrisburg and his associate rejoined him in Boston, bearing there his message to myself."

On pages 520-522 is this further statement: "The special reason for my desire in that regard has already been given. In Boston were a few persons who would have risked everything to have saved John Brown or any of his men. If I give as most active and earnest in this desire John W. LeBarnes, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, W. W. Thayer (of the publishing firm of Thayer & Eldridge), F. B. Sanborn, James Redpath, Dr. David Thayer, George Henry Hoyt, Brackett, the sculptor, and Richard J. Hinton, I shall cover not only those I am permitted to name, but all that were most actively interested in any such conception. As to John Brown, that was ended by his message, through Hoyt, from his prison cell. But knowing that in Kansas there were men brave enough to try the odds, when the relaxation of vigilance began, after the 16th of December, the desire to save Hazlett and Stevens grew into a hope, and from that into a plan, which was ably seconded by John W. LeBarnes and T. W. Higginson, as well as sup-

would make effective all his work for the freedom of the slaves. In his simple and terse way he said: "I am worth more to die than to live." For himself, he may have had prophetic vision as he neared his end, and saw not far away enacted that tremendous tragedy that not only emancipated the slaves but rescued a nation from the thralldom of a terrible crime and the bondage of living openly before the world a stupendous and wicked lie, and started it on its course to be the leader and arbiter for the betterment of mankind.

What of the men who volunteered for this hazardous undertaking? With the exception of Henry Carpenter, the Kansas men returned to the territory. Carpenter came to Kansas from Ashtabula county, Ohio, and remained in Pennsylvania when the party broke up. When last heard from, fifteen years ago, he was still in western Pennsylvania. Montgomery, Seaman, Rice, Gardner, Pike, and Willis enlisted in the army; Montgomery as colonel of the Third regiment, Seaman as captain, Rice as sergeant, and Gardner as a private in the same regiment. Pike and Willis enlisted in company A, Ninth cavalry.

When, in February, 1862, the Third and Fourth regiments were destroyed to advance the interests of a few selfish and ambitious men, Montgomery was sent to the southern Atlantic coast to organize and command a brigade of colored troops; Seaman went to the Fifth cavalry, to which his company was assigned; Rice to the Ninth with his company; Gardner to the Tenth with his company, being later promoted to a captaincy in the First Colored infantry; Pike was made first lieutenant of company A, and later captain of company K of the Ninth cavalry; Willis became first sergeant of his company, and later first lieutenant of company A of the Tenth infantry.

Montgomery died at his home, near Mound City, the 6th day of December, 1871, and is buried in the soldiers' cemetery at that place. Wattles died December 19, 1876, near the same place. Seaman and Soule, the two scouts, were both killed many years ago by roughs, while serving as city marshals, the first at Baxter Springs and the other at Denver, Colo. Gardner died at Lawrence in the early '70's. Ben. Seaman died in Iowa; Rice is reported dead; Willis died at White City, Kan., some years ago. Captain Pike, probably the only survivor, has a position at the Penitentiary, at Lansing.

By their devotion to the cause of freedom in the early Kansas days, by their patriotic service in the army and good citizenship afterward, these men made a record that might well be emulated by any group of American citizens.

ported by Redpath and W. W. Thayer, was pushed thoroughly up to the point where an actual reconnaissance proved it could not be accomplished. Money was raised, and about the middle of January 1 started for Kansas. For prudential reasons, I adopted in traveling my mother's name of Read, except, of course, in Kansas, where I was well known. Proceeding direct to the southern portion of the territory, I consulted with Capt. James Montgomery, laying before him topographical maps of the section, plans of the jail, with the railroad and country highways. Careful inquiry had been made as to possible 'underground railway' routes and stations, and as to the trust that could be reposed in the latter. It was very slight, indeed. Messrs. Higginson, LeBarnes and Publisher Thayer were to look after the pecuniary part of the plan. By the sale of Redpath's 'Life of John Brown,' a small fund for the benefit of the families had been obtained. With Mrs. John Brown's consent, this fund might be used temporarily, and that was readily obtained. Sculptor Brackett promised \$200, Mr. LeBarnes gave liberally and advanced more, and Mr. Higginson, who was treasurer, obtained other amounts, and met the costs fully, with what, besides the men, was obtained in Kansas. From that section seven volunteers returned with me, including James Montgomery, Silas Soule, James Stewart, Joseph Gardner, Mr. Willis, and two others (from Lawrence) whose names have escaped me. We reached Leavenworth early in February, and I found that money expected had not arrived. Taking Col. Daniel R. Anthony into my confidence, he at once contributed the money needed, placing into Captain Montgomery's hand \$150, and an equal amount into mine. It was deemed best I should go by way of Weston, Mo., direct to St. Joe, and that Montgomery and his associates should go by private teams to Elwood, Kan., directly opposite that place, then the railroad terminus for that section."

Remarks by Col. D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth :

Between 1857 and 1861 the struggle between freedom and slavery in Kansas was on. No free-state man was safe, nor were his life and property protected, until the free-state men met the border ruffians with force. Free state men were murdered and scalped in the county of Leavenworth, and the murderers were set free by Judge Lecompte, of the United States circuit court. The holding of slaves in Kansas was not permitted with the consent of the free-state men, and by common consent the free-state men freed all slaves who escaped from Missouri or elsewhere, and sent them into the interior of the territory for protection.

There was the notorious release of Charlie Fisher, a slave from Mississippi, who was claimed by his master, who came to Kansas to capture his slave and take him to his home in the South.

The free-state men assembled in the court-room of the United States commissioner and told Fisher to leave. He did so. I met him as he was leaving the building, and directed him to take the team owned and driven by Jim Brown, which took him on a fast trot out on the road to Lawrence. The man in the lead to recapture Fisher was William M. Pleas, former proprietor of the Planters' House. I barred his way and caught Pleas by his coat collar, and kindly told him not to be in a hurry. When threats were made weapons were drawn, but not used because they were not needed, the force of free state men present being so great that they blocked the way of all pursuers and other slave-catchers.

The result of this and of other similar cases was that the border-ruffian grand jury presented bills of indictment against the prominent parties who were engaged in the rescue of Fisher and other fugitive slaves, and the penalty of which was death under the laws which had been enacted by the border ruffians; even punishing with death a man who would read and circulate the New York *Tribune*.

At that time the clerk of the United States court had his office in the second story in the building now occupied by J. W. Crancer & Son. The papers of the court, including these indictments, were all stored in that room, on the south-west corner of Delaware and Third streets. During the night Champ. Vaughan, Judge Gardner and Louis Ledger Weld took those indictments, and all the papers connected with them, carried them to a secluded spot outside of town, where they were duly and properly confiscated by burning them, with a witty incantation of the Witch of Endor. It was reported that the ceremonies upon that occasion were of the most solemn character, as well as impudent and ridiculous as could be imagined. Vaughan, Weld and Gardner were all very bright men and they enjoyed the scene immensely.

That night your speaker was awakened from a sound sleep by hearing voices of these men outside who were clamoring to be let in. They told the story.

The theft of the papers astounded the border ruffians, and Judge Pettit, of the United States court, in his speech to the grand jury which had indicted a large number of our people, said: "The men who lay their sacrilegious hands upon the documents of this court shall be punished to the full extent of the law, and I will see to it that every means in my power be brought to bear to insure the greatest punishment against those who have perpetrated such a crime."

The court was to convene in about thirty days, and I wrote to Gen. James Montgomery, asking him for advice and help. This was done because both sides seemed to be marshaling their strength for the struggle, which was sure to come, to decide whether free-state men could live in Kansas.

Montgomery came to Leavenworth with about fifty of his men, who stated very squarely that the issue was made, that the crisis had come, and that these

men should not be tried upon indictment—not tried by that court or any other court. The court was to convene the next morning. At the appointed hour General Montgomery and his men, with 100 or 200 citizens of Leavenworth, were in the city hall—the room which is now occupied as the city hall—all armed. The order had gone forth privately to these men from Montgomery that if Judge Pettit called these cases for trial he was to be shot, together with the United States marshal—shot while in his seat as judge. With all these armed men present, and a large number of others who were there and filled the room to its fullest capacity, and the hall leading to it, Judge Pettit came in and took his seat amid deathlike silence. The marshal opened the court, the judge called for the reading of the docket, which commenced with the men who had been indicted. As he read the name of the indicted party he said “Dismissed.” After they had dismissed all of the men against whom indictments had been had, the free-state men withdrew from the court room. There was no trial and no proceedings in this case after that time.

In the fall—about November, I think it was—James Montgomery came to my house, saying that he was in command of a party of men, and was on his way to Harper’s Ferry to, if possible, release John Brown from imprisonment. He said his party was going by the way of Elwood, crossing over from there to St. Joe, and thence east. He wanted help from me, and I advanced him \$150. There has been a question, and there is a question now, as to whether Montgomery’s trip ever was to release John Brown. My memory is very positive that Montgomery stated to me that it was the release of John Brown, and that was his main mission when he went East. I understood that the men of Elwood aided largely in this movement. I know the fact that Elwood at that time was filled with men who were radically loyal to John Brown.

[D. W. Wilder * having questioned the accuracy of the foregoing, Mr. Morse writes further, adding certain corroborating letters which are appended. To give further light, extracts are appended from letters written at the time. Mr. Wilder withdrew his criticisms, and returned the following.—ED.]

D. W. WILDER: In the “History of Torrington, Connecticut,” John Brown’s birthplace, written by Rev. Samuel Orcutt, there is contributed a biography of John Brown, 100 octavo pages long, by F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass. This biography was published in 1878. Mr Sanborn’s “Life and Letters of John Brown,” 645 pages, was published in 1885. In the Torrington biography Mr. Sanborn says (page 19) of John Brown’s campaign in Virginia: “It was the first decisive act of an inevitable tragedy, and such were its romantic features that, in the lapse of time, it will no doubt be gravely expounded as a myth to those who shall read American history some centuries hence. John Brown was, indeed, no mythical nor in my sense dubitable personage.”

O. E. MORSE: Regarding Mr. Wilder’s criticism on my story of the attempted rescue of John Brown, it occurs to me that his whole discussion, boiled down, simply means that what I wrote was not true because Wilder never heard of it—a standpoint from which no man is permitted to give testimony in any court in the world. I refer you to the enclosed written proofs that there was an attempt to rescue Brown. (See note E, following this article.)

*In the “Annals of Kansas,” by Mr. Wilder, published in 1875, is the following: “March 16, 1860—Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett, John Brown’s men, executed at Charlestown, Va. James Montgomery and a few of his men went from Kansas to rescue these men from prison, but were prevented by the deep snow. Thomas W. Higginson organized a New England and New York party, and they met Montgomery at Harrisburg.”

Your predecessor, Judge F. G. Adams, after making investigation, was thoroughly convinced that such an attempt was made, as indicated by his two letters attached, and marked "A"; next is copy of letter of Maj. J. B. Abbott, referred to in Adams's letter, marked "B," in which he distinctly states, "expedition to liberate John Brown." Surely Abbott knew what he was talking about. Note C is a copy of a part of Capt. J. A. Pike's letter written in reply to Secretary Adams, who had followed Abbott's suggestion and written Pike, wherein Pike settles the doubt raised by Abbott as to Captain Stewart's participation, and as distinctly states that Montgomery and party were along. Note D is a letter from Pike, in which he names Brown, and in which he fixes the year 1859. Note E is another letter from Pike, written recently, in which he gives some details of their experience, stating that Soule saw Brown at Charlestown, and also that Hinton was at the meeting at Harrisburg. Now, this is what Wilder asked for—written testimony of one of the participants as to the fact that an attempt was made to rescue John Brown, and that Hinton was one of the party, and that Montgomery and his men were there. Note F is a letter from Ed. Russell, written nearly seventeen years ago, in which he gives no dates, and neither mentions Brown, Hazlett, nor Stevens. Standing alone, it might apply to any or many of the transactions of that period. But when it is understood that it was in response to a request to write what he knew of the attempted rescue of John Brown, and was informed that what he wrote would be used in writing up that occurrence for the Historical Society, then his paper has point and value.

Now, what do I know about this matter personally? First, I knew Montgomery, Wattles, the Seamans, Rice and Gardner in the most thorough and intimate way. I served as a line officer under Montgomery the first eight months of the war, and had had his confidence and friendship for more than four years before. Wattles was my wife's father. Henry Seaman was captain and I a lieutenant in the same company under Montgomery, and was a neighbor and friend for years before; his brother Ben. I knew well, but for a less time, and not so intimately. Rice and I enlisted in the same company and had known each other for three years before. I commanded for a while the company to which Joseph Gardner belonged, and knew him intimately. Henry Carpenter was in the employ of Augustus Wattles for a year or more, so his home was on the adjoining farm, where I "bached." I hardly think Mr. Wilder's acquaintance with these men gives him warrant to speak for them and of them as I might presume to do. What he says of knowing one of the Seamans I think is a case of mistaken identity. The Linn county Seaman he probably knew was Alex Seaman, county treasurer of Linn when Wilder was auditor of state—entirely unrelated to the man of whom I wrote.

Nearly twenty years ago James Hanway related to me the incident of Hinton coming to his place in Miami county, and they two coming to Moneka, this county, for the conference with Montgomery and Wattles, as related, and in his talk of the matter it was always for the rescue of Brown—Stevens and Hazlett were never mentioned. I submit that what Hanway remembered twenty years ago about a transaction in which he took part is a little better evidence than Wilder's recollection forty-five years after of an event he had nothing to do with and knew nothing about at the time.

In the plan to use a larger force I was one of those selected for that larger force; therefore had early knowledge of the movement. A little later Henry Seaman gave me the story of the expedition, giving the names of the members of the party, places visited, plans, and experiences, and always to rescue Brown. Much has been forgotten, but a few things were fixed in my memory; among

them the turning back of Jennison, the meeting at Harrisburg, the character of of the country south, and the direction in which he scouted. Wattles often referred to these matters, particularly to Brown's refusal to be rescued, or to have further risks taken on his account. His family were fully in his confidence: knew at the time of his purpose of going East; and Mrs. Morse and another daughter, Mrs. Hiatt, who is living with us now, are certain that their father took part in an attempt to rescue John Brown. If there was no attempt to rescue, what occasion was there for Brown to say "the best use they can make of me is to hang me," and why did he decline to be rescued?

I note what you say about straightening this up to apply to the rescue of Hazlett and Stevens. I have no distinct data or information upon which to base a story of that kind. This is the story of the attempted rescue of Brown, based upon undeniable facts. To change it to something else would surely be a "perversion of history." Wilder points out your duty in that line. I don't question the suggestion that there was some attempt to rescue Stevens and Hazlett. I am quite certain that there was. I think, too, Montgomery went East for that purpose. I had no connection or direct knowledge of the matter, so do not attempt to write of it. It may account for some coincidences that seem to startle Mr. Wilder. Now, may I not suggest that, to yield to the criticisms, or be governed by the dictates of any one man, is to narrow the field and cripple the efficiency of your department.

Note A.

TOPEKA, KAN., July 14, 1887.

Hon. O. E. Morse, Mound City, Kan.: MY DEAR SIR—Pardon my neglect before to acknowledge your favors and to answer your inquiries. I will get and send you a copy of Major Abbott's letter. I enclose you Captain Pike's letter. This latter please return when you have read it. It has not been published. I hope you will write up the entire history of the attempt to rescue Captain Brown. You can do it more fully than anybody else. Hon. Ed. Russell, Lawrence, can give you some items. You know all the others. Major Abbott's information, you will see, is valuable, but limited. The address of Mrs. Clarinda Montgomery is Castle Rock, Washington territory. Your paper, which I had published in the *Commonwealth*, is very valuable.

Yours sincerely, F. G. ADAMS.

TOPEKA, KAN., August 4, 1887.

O. E. Morse, Esq., Mound City, Kan.: DEAR SIR—Your letter of July 27, delayed in mail, is just received. If you have not yet received a copy of the Abbott letter, notify me, and I will send it to you. The second name in Mr. Pike's list is Silas S. Soule, a Lawrence boy.

Yours truly, F. G. ADAMS, *Secretary*.

Note B.

DE SOTO, KAN., June 13, 1887.

Franklin G. Adams, Esq., Secretary Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND—Your favor of the 10th instant, with reference to names of persons who accompanied Captain Montgomery on the expedition to liberate John Brown, was received on the 11th, and in answer I have to say: Of the Douglas county men (and of the Doy rescuers) there were Capt. Joshua A. Pike, Silas S. Soule, S. J. Willis, Joseph Gardner, and, I think, Capt. John E. Stewart; but I am not quite sure as to Stewart. The men from Captain Montgomery's neighborhood in Linn county I cannot remember; but it is quite likely that Captain Pike, now of Florence, Kan., can give you the information that is required. There were a number of incidents connected with that expedition that might be made interesting reading, and possibly you might draw the captain out, and get him to write them, although he is rather modest in giving incidents in which he took any prominent part. But he is the only one left (I think) of the Douglas county boys who were in that party.

Yours truly, JAS. B. ABBOTT.

Captain Morse: I could not get a paper containing Major Abbott's letter, so I had this copy made. I give you a copy of letter from Mrs. Montgomery. I hope you will write up the whole matter of the attempt to rescue Brown.

Yours, F. G. ADAMS.

Note C.

JET ORE, HODGEMAN COUNTY, KANSAS.

I will give you the names as I remember them at this late day, as follows: S. J. Willis, Silas S. Soule, Joseph Gardner, and myself. John E. Stewart was not with us. Captain Montgomery had a party of men with him, but I did not know them. Respectfully yours, J. A. PIKE.

A. W. Lewis, in a letter to Hinton, dated West Branch, Iowa, October 8, 1860, says: "John E. Stewart arrived here on the 13th (September). He said he had enjoyed his trip much, and that his friends in Boston cheered him greatly. His account of his journey was very interesting to us."

Note D.

LEOTI, August 17, 1887.

O. E. Morse, Mound City, Kan.: DEAR SIR—Yours of July 27 reached me after a long trip over the country. Have considered the contents. Am, as you will see, a long way from home: have no data to go by, and it has been a long time since '59 to remember. When I go home, if I can fix up anything that will be of any benefit to you in making history of the old vet. Brown, will be glad to do so. S. J. Willis, Capt. Joseph Gardner and myself went to Virginia, or to Harrisburg, Pa., together; remained there several days; made several excursions to Maryland and Virginia. Silas Soule was also there and was a big scout, and I think the best one in the party. Several things happened on the road there and after we got there that have slipped my memory now that might help to fill up. When home, will try to fill a little sheet and send you.

Yours truly, J. A. PIKE.

Note E.

In the fall of 1859, a few weeks before John Brown was hung (do not remember the date) Joseph Gardner, S. J. Willis and myself left Lawrence for Leavenworth and the East. Not wishing to visit St. Joseph just at that time (as we had been there a few months before), we engaged a farmer to take us to Easton, a small town twelve miles east of St. Joseph, on H. & St. J. R. R. We arrived there Sunday p. m. in time for dinner. Took seats at table; besides us there were twenty men (no woman). Kansas seemed to be the topic, as the landlord had just returned from a long trip through Kansas, going as far south as the Neosho river; seemed much pleased with it all until he arrived at Lawrence, on his return; town full of niggers and abolitionists; a tough set; saw three of the Doctor Doy rescue party, and they were toughs; would not like to meet them after night. Did not know but he meant us, as we had been there. Dinner over, and was two hours before train time; we took a walk down the railroad-track. Gardner and Willis had lots of papers that would give them away. They got rid of some of them soon as possible. As I had left all my papers at home I felt quite safe. When train arrived we took leave of Easton; nothing of importance till we arrived at Pittsburgh, Pa. There we met Silas Soule, another boy from Lawrence. He joined our party and went on to Harrisburg. Hotel de Drovers was our stopping-place, as we were all hay and cattlemen from the Western country. The day after our arrival we were invited to call on Doctor Rutherford, at No. —, on a front street. We called. There were at that meeting, and at several others, quite a number of men from I do not know where; only one, Hon. R. J. Hinton, from New York, I knew. From that meeting scouts were sent out into Maryland and Virginia. Soule went to Charlestown and talked with Brown, two armed guards standing over him. After the country had been looked over carefully, the project was given up. Deep snow, cold weather, United States troops, police officers at all corners, etc. The whole matter was given up and all sent home.

Yours, J. A. PIKE.

LANSING, KAN., November 18, 1903.

Hon. O. E. Morse: DEAR SIR—Yours of the 14th received a few days ago; contents noted. Have written as well as I can remember the details of our trip. If it will help you in any manner, I will be very glad. This is not in my line, as you will soon see. Could tell you a great deal better than I can write. Come up to the Penitentiary and see me; will find me in shop 9 or tinker's shop. Pick out what will be of interest to you and throw balance in waste-basket.

Most respectfully, J. A. PIKE.

Note F.

LAWRENCE, KAN., July 30, 1887.

O. E. Morse, Esq.: DEAR SIR—Yours of the 27th is received. I am glad to know that you propose to write up that matter; and I suggest that you sift your matter as furnished to you with a great deal of care. After an event becomes a little notorious, more especially if there be any glamour about it, men naturally picture their share in it in roseate hue. Now, I do not know that anybody has done so or proposes to do so. I merely mention this as a suggestion to

your good judgment. An event which took place as long ago as that did does not stand very clearly in the memory of any person.

In what I say to you, I will try to distinguish between that that I am sure about and that which may be hazy through dimness of memory. As to the dates, I cannot remember any of them, and shall have to leave you to supply them from other information and the records of the day. But this much I recall accurately, clearly, and confidently: One evening Col. James Montgomery, with a company, the exact numbers of which I do not recall, came to Elwood, in Doniphan county, opposite St. Joseph, with letters from, I do not recall whom—probably from Major Abbott, Col. J. C. Vaughan, and probably some others. In Elwood, at that time, there was a little knot of us—D. W. Wilder (unless he had already gone to Leavenworth, and I do not recall as to that; he can tell you, if you desire to know), ex-Gov. Thos. A. Osborn, A. L. Lee, and myself—who had some hand, most of us, if not all of us, in the rescue of John Doy from the jail at St. Joseph, at the time that Major Abbott with his party rescued Doy. Among our little company, I was the only one who could obtain a skiff to row the parties across the river, as they had reached Elwood too late to cross on the ferry-boat unobserved. I think they did not reach there until pretty late in the evening of one of the darkest and stormiest nights I almost ever saw. It was no easy matter to obtain a skiff; and to secure a conveyance was deemed absolutely essential, and immediately. I think Wilder and Lee had passes over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, and, I think, myself, and we furnished these passes to the parties, with a note to the agent of the company in St. Joseph, who was a free-state man and fully in sympathy with our free-state and anti-slavery movements—Major Tuttle, now of New York, whose given name I forget.

All the skiffs at Elwood belonged to my to-be-father-in-law, Capt. E. Blackiston, to whose daughter I was at that time engaged; so I made a late call upon my sweetheart, and got from her the keys necessary to secure the oars and unlock the skiff, and proceeded to the landing, where Colonel Montgomery and his party met me, with some of the others of our Elwood crowd. And when the colonel and his party were seated in the skiff, with myself at the oars, the gunwales of the skiff were barely above the surface of the Missouri river, and the night was so dark that no one of us was visible to any other one; but a while the rain had ceased. And when we pushed out into the current we could not tell from the sky or the earth or the water whether we were going up the river or down the river or across the river, it was so dark. But having from early boyhood had a great deal to do with the water and rowing, I endeavored to keep a course across the river, and in due time we landed on the east shore of the Missouri river, under the bluffs of St. Joseph. The first we knew that we had reached the other side was the bumping of the skiff against the bank and the shipping of a few gallons of water; but the colonel and his company were cool and collected and no accident happened, heavily loaded as we were. We drifted along the St. Joseph shore until we found a favorable place for landing, when he and his company landed, and I bid them adieu.

Now, as to knowledge, this is all I know. And I suppose you want only that which is known to the various parties who may have had knowledge concerning the same. I do know that Major Tuttle supplied some more passes and transportation over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, which I presume was entirely satisfactory to Colonel Hayward, the then superintendent of the railroad, who was a thorough-paced free-state man, though living in Missouri. And I do not suppose either Major Tuttle or Colonel Hayward would object to having it known that they were parties, at least, in said effort at rescuing John Brown.

Yours truly,

EDWARD RUSSELL.

TAKING THE CENSUS AND OTHER INCIDENTS IN 1855.

Manuscript found among the papers of CAPT. JAMES R. McCLOURE, who lost his life July 16, 1903, in the burning of a sanitarium at Bonner Springs, Kan. For sketch of Captain McClure, see volume 7, Collections Kansas State Historical Society, page 363.

IN THE spring of 1854, when the act of Congress admitting Kansas as a territory was passed, I was living in Brookville, Ind. In 1852 I had been elected, on the Democratic ticket, prosecuting attorney of the court of common pleas for the counties of Franklin, Fayette, and Union, for the term of two years. When I assumed the duties of my office, I found the criminal laws of that state had been so often violated, without any attempt to enforce them, that the offenders treated the laws with impunity, and felt secure from prosecution by the officers whose duty it was to enforce them. The unlawful sale of liquors without license and the sale of lottery tickets were the most frequent offenses, and my Democratic friends and supporters were in most cases the offenders. I endeavored vigorously and impartially to enforce the law, and to spare neither friend nor foe, and secured the conviction of more men in the two years I held office than had been obtained for twenty-five years prior to that time. But I made so many enemies among my Democratic friends that I was unable to obtain the nomination of my party for a second term.

I then determined to leave the state and risk my fortune in the territory of Kansas, which had just been organized under the Kansas-Nebraska act.* The newspapers were filled with glowing descriptions of this new country. It was represented as a land rich in soil, with a healthy climate, containing innumerable streams of pure, clear water, and unsurpassed in the beauty of its scenery. And among its other attractions, it was claimed that all kinds of wild game, including buffalo, deer, and antelope, abounded in all parts of the territory. Like most young men of an adventurous spirit, I became inflamed with the highly drawn descriptions of this new country, and, without much reflection and very little preparation or capital, determined to make it my home, against the advice of my relatives and friends, who used all their efforts to change my purpose. I had a young wife, married when sixteen, and two small children, the older one under two years old. After the payment of my debts I had about \$300 with which to defray the expenses of my trip and commence life in a new country, and to me unknown.

I left Brookville on the 22d of October, 1854, and was carried by a canal boat to my Uncle Hornaday's, and thence by railroad to Chicago, then a city of about 140,000, and from there to St. Louis, where we took a steamboat, the F. X. Aubrey, to Kansas City.

On the boat I became acquainted with Samuel J. Jones, a Virginian, and his family, consisting of a wife and two young children, who were going to the territory of Kansas, like myself, to seek their fortunes. As our destination and purpose were the same, we became intimately acquainted, and our wives formed a strong attachment for each other. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, commanding the Second dragoons, U. S. A., was also on the boat, with a detachment of troops and a large number of horses for his cavalry regiment.

The Missouri river and the country along its banks presented at that time a

*The following advertisement we find in the *Herald of Freedom* during the years 1853 and 1859: "J. R. McClure, attorney at law, real estate, and land agent, Ogden, K. T."

wild and desolate appearance, and, except for the cities and towns, appeared to be unsettled and in its primitive condition. Our progress up the river was slow, and our boat frequently grounded on sand-bars and had to be lifted off by spars. The passengers had all become acquainted.

We landed at Kansas City on the 2d of November, 1854. I will never forget the depression I felt when I first had a view of the town, then containing about 500 inhabitants. All the business was done on the river front, and the buildings were old and dilapidated, the sidewalks unpaved, and the streets muddy and cut up with ruts by the heavy freight wagons. The people were of the lowest type of frontiersmen, and principally composed of teamsters, Indian traders, backwoods-men, many of them Mexicans and half-breeds. Kansas City was then the principal depot for the receipt of freight for New Mexico and the Indian country. Goods were shipped by steamboat from St. Louis, and hauled by mule or ox teams from Kansas City to Santa Fe and other point West and Southwest. Westport was a larger and more important town, and Kansas City was called Westport landing.

I found the place full of emigrants on their way to Kansas. The accommodations were very poor, and inadequate for the emigrants pouring in. Col. S. W. Eldridge had leased a building on the levee for a hotel, called the "Union Hotel." I was unable to secure a bed at the hotel, but was allowed to spread blankets on the floor for myself and family. S. C. Pomeroy was stopping at the hotel, and was acting as agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

At the suggestion of Mr. Pomeroy, Jones and myself crossed the Missouri river to seek a boarding-place in Clay county. We went some eight miles, to a farm owned by Thomas Wood, a pro-slavery man, who owned several slaves, and engaged board for ourselves and families. We then returned to Kansas City, and had them removed there.

During our stay at this place, I found a very bitter feeling existing in the neighborhood against all Northern men, whom they regarded as abolitionists and dangerous characters. Mr. Jones, who was a pro-slavery man, was treated with great consideration, while I, being a free-state man, although a Democrat, was looked upon with suspicion and as an intruder. I failed to secure their confidence, or even the privilege of association with them on friendly terms.

Our constant bill of fare while boarding with Mr. Wood consisted of fresh pork, corn-bread, and potatoes, except game I killed, and Mrs. Wood refused to cook for fear I would remain. While I was accustomed to this diet, our wives and children were unable to endure or support themselves on this unalterable or unchangeable menu, and implored us to seek another boarding-house. Finally Mr. Jones and myself concluded to visit Parkville and see if we could find some employment there. Jones wanted to rent a hotel at that place, and I consented to join him in the enterprise. We started with our guns and my pointer dog, which I had brought to scent turkeys. After a long and tiresome walk to the town, we were unable to find any business within the capital we possessed in which to engage. We returned to our families and decided to move them to Westport. Jones found a boarding-house in the town, and I secured board for my family about one mile from Westport, with an old farmer by the name of Jacob Ragan, a Kentuckian. They remained at this place until April, 1855.

In the early part of December, 1854, Jones, myself, and another young man, whose name I do not remember, made a trip into the territory. We passed through the town site of Lawrence, which had recently been located, and spent one night in a large tent, used for a hotel. The tent had two apartments separated by goods boxes; one for the women, the other for men. Every person

was required to furnish his own bed and bedclothing, which consisted of blankets spread upon straw laid upon the ground. The bill of fare consisted of bread, bacon, and very black, strong coffee, without cream or milk. We were kept awake the greater part of the night by a noisy discussion as to the policy proper to pursue in order to make Kansas a free state and drive out of the territory the pro-slavery men who had invaded Kansas for the purpose of forcing slavery upon her people. Among those who spent the night in this tent was Sam. Wood, and he appeared to be the loudest talker and the most emphatic in his denunciation of Southern men. Mr. Wood afterward became quite prominent in the troubles that followed the settlement of the territory, and was killed a few years ago in the western part of the state on account of a county-seat fight, in which he was the leader of one of the factions.

Lawrence had then just been selected by a party of free state men as the site for a future city. Everything was in a very crude condition. No permanent houses had been erected, and the people were living in shacks and tents. The country was wild and unsettled. A few cabins had been erected on preemption claims in the vicinity of the town, principally on the Wakarusa river, which was then regarded as the most desirable part of the territory.

We spent only one night in Lawrence, and the next day we went to the claim of Judge Wakefield, some seven or eight miles west of Lawrence. The judge had the best-improved place we had seen. His cabin was quite large and comfortable. He was a very prominent man, and had high political aspirations, and was very fond of expounding his opinions on all subjects, as he had led himself to believe he was not only thoroughly conversant with all of them, but that his discussion of them was of deep interest to his listeners. The judge had written a history of the Black Hawk war, and during our stay I am quite sure he related to us the whole contents of his book. I have felt so convinced of this fact that I have never had any desire to read his work.

Jones and I concluded to return to Westport, as we saw no opportunity to secure a claim that suited us. After we reached Westport, Jones took charge of the post-office for A. G. Boone, postmaster, and I returned to Mr. Ragan's and rejoined my family. Mr. Ragan was one of the original town company of Kansas City, owning one-fifteenth interest in the town site. He offered to sell me his interest for \$300, which I then thought was an extravagant price, but have since learned was a lost opportunity to become a millionaire.

I made frequent visits to Shawnee Mission, some two miles west of town, and formed the acquaintance of Governor Reeder and the other territorial officers. Daniel Woodson was secretary; I. B. Donalson, United States marshal; J. B. Cramer, treasurer; Samuel D. Lecompte, chief justice, and Rush Elmore and S. W. Johnston, associate justices; A. J. Isacks, attorney-general, and John A. Halderman, the governor's private secretary. I found Governor Reeder very conservative in his political views. Although he was a free-state Democrat, he was disposed to act fairly towards the pro slavery party, and was in favor of allowing the question of slavery to be settled by an honest vote of the people. He was surrounded by men who were very bitter towards the free-state sentiment, and who were determined by fair or foul means to make Kansas a slave state. So intense was this feeling that it was unsafe for a free-state man to venture any opinions in opposition. Governor Reeder fully realized the situation, and understood the danger he would encounter by any open expression of his sentiments. He found that I fully indorsed his political views and was a Douglas Democrat, and he was very frank in explaining to me the dangers and difficulties he expected to encounter.

I had an intimation from Governor Reeder's friends that in all probability the territorial capital would be located at Pawnee, near Fort Riley, and in the latter part of December, 1854, in company with Robert Klotz, Charles Albright, and others, made a visit, by way of Leavenworth, to Fort Riley. We traveled in a two-horse team, and it required five days to make the trip. On our arrival we were taken charge of by the officers stationed at the post. I became the guest of Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, of the Second infantry, for whom I formed a strong friendship, which continued until his death, at the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861. Col. Wm. Montgomery was in command at Fort Riley.

We found there was quite an excitement over the location of the capital, and it was confidently claimed that Governor Reeder had decided upon Pawnee. We found a number of Reeder's friends from Pennsylvania had already come to the post before we reached there, and they all apparently had come with the knowledge that Pawnee was to be the capital. A town company had been organized, consisting of Colonel Montgomery, Dr. Wm. A. Hammond, Captain Lyon, Doctor Simmons, Lieutenant Long, Robert Wilson, and others. The site had been surveyed and platted, and lots were being sold at fancy prices. Governor Reeder had visited Fort Riley and indicated to the town company his intention to make Pawnee the capital. As one of the conditions, he insisted upon the company securing for him 100 acres of land adjoining the town site on the east side, which had been selected as a preemption claim by Thomas Dixon. Repeated efforts were made to purchase the land, but Mr. Dixon persistently refused to sell or surrender his right to the claim. The boundary lines of the reservation had been surveyed and established by Captain Lyon before the territory was opened to settlement. The eastern boundary as then surveyed was about a mile west of Ogden, and where it is at this time. When Pawnee was selected for a town site, and as the future capital of Kansas, it was necessary, in order to secure title to the land, to make a resurvey of the eastern boundary of the reservation, so that the site would be outside the reservation. This changed the eastern line from the place where it was first established, and where it is at this time, to a line about one mile east of the fort. When it was found impossible to induce Mr. Dixon to sell or surrender his right to the 100 acres, it was determined to force him off the claim, and for that purpose another survey of the reservation was made, so as to embrace this tract in the military reservation. In order to accomplish this purpose, a line was run so as to exclude the town site but include the Dixon land. This led to the appointment of a commission of officers by the secretary of war, who, after an investigation, recommended that the lines of the military reservation be reestablished according to the original survey. This order was made and the lines fixed in accordance with the survey first made by Captain Lyon.*

*This statement regarding the boundary lines of the Fort Riley military reservation and the town site of Pawnee disagrees with that of Lemuel Knapp, as given to Thaddens Hyatt, January 5, 1857, and published in the Kansas Historical Society's first volume of Collections, page 206:

"Pawnee is on the Kansas river, about one mile east of Fort Riley, between One Mile and Three Mile creeks, and is now included in the military reservation, according to decision of the president. Major Ogden laid out the military post known as Fort Riley in the summer of 1853. Colonel Montgomery, who is a free-state man, was the second commander. He formed a military reserve around the fort, and his imaginary boundaries embraced a space of eighteen miles one way and nine the other. In the spring of 1854 the colonel was authorized by the War Department to have the survey completed. The reservation, as then surveyed, was about eight miles one way and four the other, mostly on the north side of the Kansas river; Pawnee City site was not included in the reserve, as then surveyed. The survey was run round north and east of the town—as far east as two miles beyond Three Mile creek, and north of the river four miles. A

At this time there were some eight or ten rough buildings erected on the town site and a stone building, the walls of which are still standing, in which the first territorial legislature met, July 2, 1855, and adjourned in a few days after to Shawnee Mission. All persons living upon the town site were ordered by Colonel Cooke, commanding officer at Fort Riley, to remove themselves and effects within a limited time, and those who failed to comply with the order were driven off by the soldiers. In consequence of Colonel Montgomery's connection with Pawnee, and his order to change the reservation lines, charges were preferred against him, upon which he was tried, convicted, and dismissed from the army.

During my stay at the post, I made short excursions into the country. Among other places, I visited Clark's creek with a party of several others. We rode in a two horse wagon, and when we reached the bluff on the east side of the fort it required the united efforts of the horses and men to pull and shove the wagon up the steep road. On our return, after blocking the wheels, we attached a rope to the rear end of the wagon, to which we all hung, so as to let the wagon down in safety. I selected a claim some two miles south of Fort Riley, where Waldo Clark now lives.* Subsequently I abandoned it, and located a claim at the mouth of Lyon's creek. At this time no settlement had been made on any of the public land in the vicinity of Fort Riley.

I returned to Westport after an absence of about two weeks, and found a daughter had been added to the family, born on the 24th of December, 1854. We named her Mary Josephine. She is now the wife of Geo. W. McKnight,† and is the mother of four living children. They were married November 4, 1875.

I made a second trip to Fort Riley in January, 1855. I was accompanied by two men from Missouri. We had a two-horse wagon and carried our provisions and bedding, and had to camp out, as there were no places where travelers were entertained outside the Indian reservations.

On my former visit Captain Lyon had given me a very glowing description of a creek some six miles west of the fort, which I afterwards named Lyon creek, and I determined to visit it. After reaching Fort Riley we crossed the Kansas river, and followed up the stream until we struck the bluff, and reaching the summit we had to drive around a number of ravines, which made the distance at least twice as far as it would have been if we could have crossed them. I presume this was the first team that ever traveled this route. It took a whole day to reach the bluff overlooking the valley of Lyon creek, from which we obtained an extended view of the valley. We could see the creek for several miles. The bottoms we estimated would average a mile in width, and the stream was fringed

number of Irish families were settled on the Three Mile creek, and it was said that the desire of Colonel Montgomery to get them off induced him to extend the reservation in that direction, and that he intended afterwards to throw open to settlement the whole of the reservation east of One Mile creek, which would have placed Pawnee City outside of the boundaries, beyond a shadow of doubt."

"The papers relative to the proceedings of court-martial in the case of Bvt. Lieut.-col. Wm. R. Montgomery, Philadelphia, 1858," should be examined to obtain a clear understanding of the controversy.

* Lots 1 and 2 and south half southeast quarter section 5, township 11 south, range 6 east.

† GEORGE W. MCKNIGHT was born in the province of Ontario, and when nineteen years old made his way to Cleveland, Ohio. In 1871 he settled in Abilene, Kan., and helped organize the Abilene Bank. In 1872 he moved to Junction City, and became assistant cashier of the First National Bank. In 1878 he quit banking, and for three years engaged in the lumber business. For two years he was cashier of the Merchants' National Bank of Kansas City, Missouri. He returned to Junction City and was made president of the First National Bank, which position he still retains. In 1877 and 1878 he was mayor of Junction City. He served as state senator for the counties of Geary, Riley and Wabaunsee in the sessions of 1901 and 1903. He served also as president of the board of education of Junction City for six years. He indulges also in farming.

with timber as far as we could see. The valley lay between high bluffs, formed of magnesian limestone. We were quite delighted with the beautiful and rich country we had discovered, and I determined to select a claim on this creek and make it my home. We drove our team down the bluff, and camped for the night at a little stream where Theodore Jones and Thomas Morris afterwards located. In the morning, after a hearty breakfast, we went to the mouth of Lyon creek and, crossing it, I found a heavy body of timber between the creek and the river, and decided to locate at that place. My claim included the mouth of the creek. I made arrangements with two men to put up a rough cabin in the timber, and directed them to complete it as early as practicable, intending to move my family from Missouri to the claim in the spring.

I returned to Westport and joined my family, where I left them, at Mr. Ragan's. I was employed by the Pawnee Town Company to hire men to erect a stone building to be used as a warehouse for the reception and storage of goods. It was then supposed the Kansas river was navigable and that steamboats would make regular trips, and that a warehouse was necessary for the traffic that would grow up at that place. I went to Kansas City and in a short time engaged about twenty men, hired a team, and bought the necessary provisions for the trip. I accompanied the men to Pawnee and they were all put to work on the building. A number of these afterwards selected claims and located in this part of the territory: among the number Mr. Badger, who preempted a quarter-section of land some eight or ten miles up the Republican river.

During this trip to Fort Riley, in company with Captain Lyon, I visited my claim on Lyon creek. After an examination of the surrounding country, we concluded that a town would grow up near the mouth of the creek, and we selected for that purpose a tract of land east of the creek and the claim I had located, and organized a town company, with Dr. Wm. A. Hammond as president, and Capt. N. Lyon, secretary. We named the town Chetolah.* The land was soon after surveyed by Abram Barry and G. F. Gordon, but, like many other prospective cities, it failed to materialize. There was never a house built upon it.

When I returned to Missouri Governor Reeder sent me a message to call upon him at Shawnee Mission. He asked me if I would accept the appointment of census-taker for the seventh and eighth districts, which embraced all the territory west of Fort Riley and south of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers, and extending east to the Wakarusa river.† The governor informed me that he had offered the appointment to young Donalson, a son of Marshal Donalson, but he had declined to accept for fear of incurring the displeasure of the pro-slavery element if he made a fair and honest return of the voters, as he knew they would insist upon a much larger number than could be found. At "110," near the present city of Burlingame, at the election for delegate for Congress, held November 29, 1854, there were reported 597 votes for Gen. J. W. Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate. This was more than twice the number of votes he received at any other voting-place in the territory, and it was evident that a great fraud had been perpetrated by stuffing the ballot-box with fictitious votes. Governor Reeder informed me that I would probably meet with trouble at this place, if I consented to take the census, as some of the worst characters in the territory, led by Fry McGee, had settled there. I consented to accept the appointment,

* In sections 25 and 26, township 12 south, range 5 east.

† See appointment of James R. McClure, February 12, 1855. (Executive Minutes of Governor Reeder, page 247, volume 3, Collections Kansas State Historical Society.) District No. 7 was the neighborhood of "110," and district No. 8 was Council Grove. Captain McClure was registered in the ninth district, the census-taker for that district being Martin F. Conway. (Pages 86 and 87, Report of Committee on Kansas Affairs, 1856.)

and assured the governor I would endeavor faithfully to discharge my duty and make an honest and correct report of the inhabitants of the district. I secured a good riding horse, a revolver, hatchet, blankets, and lariat rope, and went to Fort Riley to commence work. There were no roads, and I had to select my route from a rough map and the best information possible from the officers and employees at Fort Riley.

Early in the morning of February —, 1855, I started from the post, intending to follow the valley of Clark's creek until I reached the divide, then cross over to the Neosho, and from there to Council Grove. It was a very cold, damp day, snow was falling, and the wind was in my face. I had learned that there was one settler on Clark's creek, and after some effort I found his cabin. As near as I can locate the place at this time, it was just below the mouth of Humboldt. The name of the settler was Joab Spencer. He claimed to be a lawyer, from Louisiana. I should judge he was sixty years old. He was alone, and the only resident I could find until I reached the head waters of the creek. After warming myself at his generous fire and inquiring the way to Council Grove, I again mounted my horse and started up the creek. In some way I lost the main valley, and followed up one of the branches until I became satisfied I had lost my course. I then tried to find my way by crossing the bluffs; but I became so bewildered by the numerous ravines and bluffs, that I lost all hope of ever extricating myself from the unfortunate situation in which I was placed. I had to stop several times and kindle a fire and get warm. I wandered from one bluff to another until towards evening, when I determined, if possible, to return to Fort Riley, remain over night, and take a new start in the morning. I was so confused and disheartened that I lost all confidence in myself, and was unable to decide the right direction to the fort. I at last followed down a small stream until I came to its mouth, and then traveled down the larger creek until I reached the river, which I crossed, and spent the night with Captain Lyon.

The next morning I again mounted my horse and started on my journey, determined to follow up the larger stream, knowing it would take me in the direction of Council Grove. The weather continued very cold, and the air was filled with fine snow; the wind was strong, and, as I had to face it, I became chilled, and was anxious to find some sheltered place where I could build a fire and thaw myself. After going some eight or ten miles up the creek, I observed smoke in the timber on the opposite side of the stream, and I decided to find what caused it. I hitched my horse to some brush, and crossed a short distance in the timber. I was assailed by a yelping pack of dogs, which threatened, by their savage howls and rushes, to tear me to pieces. Soon after I saw several Indians, covered with their blankets, approaching from the place where I had seen the smoke. I concluded to make a hasty retreat without further investigation. I retraced my steps as rapidly as possible, and after mounting my horse rode at a rapid gait until I felt assured I was not followed by the Indians.

Some ten miles north of Council Grove I came to a dugout and found a rough, simple-minded young man living in it. I asked permission to spend the night with him, as I feared it was too far to Council Grove to reach it before dark. He reluctantly consented. I found on entering the dugout he had no provisions, except some parched corn and a quart of New Orleans molasses. The place was unfinished and full of dirt and filth. He had a fire in the middle of the floor but no chimney for the escape of smoke. I prevailed upon him to let me have a few ears of corn for my horse—neither myself nor horse had had anything to eat since leaving Fort Riley, and it is unnecessary to say we were both hungry. I partook of the parched corn and molasses in company with this mysterious

man, and tried to draw him out in conversation, but he persistently refused to talk, and I was unable to learn anything of his history. I had some misgivings as to spending the night with him, but there was no alternative unless I ventured to reach Council Grove in the dark and cold, without knowing the route. So I picketed my horse near the dugout, and, with my pistol strapped on my body, rolled myself in my blankets and slept as well as I could until morning. I afterward learned that the man with whom I stayed was demented and lived the life of a hermit. He shunned society, and preferred to reside in caves and holes where he would be alone and avoid all intercourse with his fellow men.

I felt relieved when daylight appeared, and at once saddled my horse and started for Council Grove, which I reached about noon. I stopped with T. S. Huffaker, who was in charge of a mission school established in 1850 for the Kansas tribe of Indians. Council Grove was then in the reservation set apart for this tribe. It was on the Santa Fe trail and the last place at which supplies could be procured west of Independence or Westport. Seth M. Hays established an outfitting store at that place in the fall of 1847, and kept for sale all kinds of goods needed by the constant stream of teamsters who followed this old trail. He made large profits on his goods and had accumulated quite a fortune. I was very pleasantly entertained by Mr. Huffaker during my two days' stay at Council Grove, and was interested in observing his method of teaching the Indian children who attended his school. The children appeared very dull and unwilling to be taught, and he had frequently to use the sign language to enable them to understand their lessons. I learned that it was regarded a degradation for an Indian to become educated and speak the English language. They lost caste in the tribe and were looked upon as inferior beings. Those who could talk our language were used by the chiefs and warriors as interpreters, and treated with great contempt. I observed subsequently that these educated Indians felt their inferiority and manifested a great dislike to be used as interpreters. Mr. Huffaker told me that all his efforts and arguments failed to have any effect in removing the deep-seated prejudice of the Indians against receiving an education.

The only settlement in the eighth district was at Council Grove, with the exception of two or three settlers outside the reservation. No claims had been taken on the Neosho river as far south as the present city of Emporia. Those living at Council Grove were employed by the United States in various occupations connected with the Indians or engaged in trade with the Santa Fe trail. The total number of inhabitants in the eighth district was eighty-three, including ten slaves, one of whom was owned, as I now recall, by C. Columbia, the government blacksmith for the Kansas Indians. There were fifty-six males, twenty-seven females, and thirty-nine voters.

After completing my work at Council Grove, I left early in the morning for "110." I followed the Santa Fe trail, and some eight miles from the Grove stopped at the cabin of a Mr. Baker, on Roek creek. He was at that time the only settler between Council Grove and "110." After leaving his place, I was followed by two Indians on foot for a distance of several miles. I urged my horse to a trot, and then canter, but the Indians increased their pace and appeared determined to bear me company. They were painted, had bows and tomahawks strapped upon them, and I was apprehensive they intended to waylay or rob me. I tried to ascertain their purpose in following me, but all my efforts were in vain. They either did not understand me or were not willing to let me know their object. My pistol was in easy reach and I was careful to let them see I was prepared to defend myself. I had nothing to offer them except some tobacco, and this they cheerfully accepted. After keeping by my side for some

six or eight miles they suddenly turned off on a trail, probably leading to their camp. From my subsequent knowledge of the Indians I am satisfied they did not intend to harm me, but to scare me out of such presents as they were able to get from me.

The weather continued to get colder and I made as fast time as possible, so as to reach "110" before night, and, after being thoroughly chilled and nearly worn out, I arrived just about dark. I stopped at a saloon owned by Fry P. McGee, who was the leader and recognized head of the pro-slavery element in that part of the territory. There were some ten or twelve rough characters in the saloon when I entered. I determined to make myself as agreeable as possible and avoid any trouble with these men, and especially with McGee, who had been represented to me as a very desperate and quarrelsome man, and in order to propitiate them I invited the crowd to the bar and called for the drinks. I could observe that they were all more or less intoxicated. After a short time McGee asked me my name and the object of my visit, and wanted to know if I was "sound on the goose." I told him I had been appointed to take the census of that district and wanted his assistance and advice: that I was a Democrat and considered myself "sound on the goose." When he found that my appointment had been made by Governor Reeder he charged me with being an abolitionist and one of Reeder's spies. He said he had a list of the voters in the precinct and would furnish it, so as to save me all trouble in looking them up.* I told him I would be very glad to examine his list, but as I had plenty of time I wanted to visit the people and obtain information as to their nationality, age, etc., which was necessary to complete my report. McGee answered that no d—d Yankee would be permitted to spy around the place or take the names of the settlers and voters unless under his supervision.

I found it useless to argue the question with him, and endeavored to divert the conversation to some other subject. I could see he was determined to get me into a quarrel, and I used all the diplomacy in my power to avoid it. The most effectual way I found was to get him drunk, which I succeeded in doing without any great effort. I determined to find out as well as I could the number of persons in the place and surrounding country, and this I did without much difficulty from a free-state man who was stopping at the place, and from whom I ascertained there were but three or four settlers outside of "110," and as all the residents of the latter place visited the saloon from time to time, I could easily count them. McGee finally became so drunk that he was unable to walk without assistance, and I helped him to his residence. There I found several of his friends, including a younger brother, James McGee, who regarded me with evident distrust, and treated me as an unwelcome guest.

A short time after we reached the house, a two-horse team drove to the door, and Charles Albright and S. B. White alighted and came into the house. They appeared to be in almost an exhausted condition: they said they had lost their way on the prairie and had been wandering over the country for two days attempting to find some settlement; that they had run out of provisions and were nearly famished. Albright was from Pennsylvania, to which state he subsequently returned, and was elected to Congress. S. B. White afterwards located near Ogden, and from there came to Junction City, where he continued to reside and practice law to the time of his death.

* The report of the special committee on the troubles of Kansas, 1856, contains the names of 607 voters who voted at the election of November 29, 1854, at "110." (Pages 50-56.) Page 86 of the same report gives the names of fifty-two voters found by Captain McClure at "110" in February, 1855.

After we had supper and were warming ourselves by the fireplace, young McGee asked Albright if he was the man who attempted to preempt a claim on Switzler creek. Albright said he had some days before selected a tract of land on that creek and laid the foundation for a house, but had since concluded to abandon it and locate in another part of the territory. McGee answered that no d-d abolitionist would be permitted to settle in that part of the country; that all the lands were intended for the pro-slavery men and there was no room for any d-d Yankees. Albright tried to convince that he did not want the claim and had already selected another one near Ogden, where Mr. White had located. McGee said he intended to preempt the 160 acres on Switzler creek on which Albright had built a foundation and it would be dangerous for any Yankee to interfere with his claim. Albright told him he was willing to give a relinquishment of all his right and title to the land, and requested him to draw up a written agreement to that effect. McGee made several attempts to write a relinquishment, but failed to word one to suit him. I volunteered to write one that I thought would be sufficient, but he was not satisfied with it, and insisted we were trying to fool him. I requested him to dictate such a paper as would be satisfactory, and this he could not do. I became angry at his repeated insults during this controversy, and finally said to him that while we desired to avoid any quarrel or trouble there was a limit to our patience. I told him that Mr. Albright had offered to do all in his power to surrender his claim to the land on Switzler creek, and if he would not except the offer, nothing further could be done, and if I was in Albright's place, I would make no further attempt to satisfy him.

McGee then turned to me and asked if I desired to take up the quarrel. I told him there had never been any quarrel on our part and that we were anxious to avoid one, but I had come prepared to defend myself, and if it became necessary would do so. McGee then said that we had not been invited to the house, and we had better leave and seek shelter somewhere else. I answered that if I knew of any other place to go I would cheerfully do so, but to go out in the storm at that time of night without knowing where we could find a house to stop at would be suicide, and that I proposed to stay all night even if I had to fight for it. Fry McGee during this time was in a drunken stupor and took no part in our controversy. After a good deal more talk, in which young McGee indulged in many vile epithets against us and Yankees in general, I concluded it was time to find some place to sleep, and inquired of those in the house where we could find a place to spend the night. One of the men said if we would follow him he would try to show us a room. He conducted us to a vacant log cabin without furniture of any kind or even a fireplace or stove. The three of us spread part of our blankets on the floor and covered ourselves with the balance, placed our revolvers under our heads, and spent the night as well as we could with the dread of assassination constantly in our thoughts, awake or asleep.

We arose early in the morning and determined to leave just as soon as we could get off. I met Fry McGee and endeavored to obtain the names of the persons I found at "110."* He refused to give me their names or answer any ques-

* By C. R. GREEN, historian, Lyndon, Osage county: "110 CROSSING."—So named about 1840, from the fact that at this stream, the most important tributary of the Osage river from the north, 110 miles from the Sibley landing, east of Independence, on the Missouri river, the Santa Fe trail from the east came down off the divide, crossed the stream, and from its west bank the Mormon trail diverged, bearing away in a northwesterly direction across the Kansas river and up the Republican valley, while the Santa Fe trail bore westward, with Switzler's crossing the next station, and Council Grove beyond.

"110 Crossing" is in the southeast quarter of section 1, township 15, range 16, Osage county. It is easily found, being two and one-half miles east of Scranton, a town on the Santa Fe rail-

tions concerning them. All the other parties declined to give me any information, except one who claimed to be a free-state man, and from him I got all the data I was able to obtain. From his statement, and my own observation, I found, as near as I could approximate, 118 residents in the seventh district—eighty-two males, thirty-six females, and fifty-two persons entitled to vote.

The distance from "110" to Lawrence, where I intended to go, was about forty miles. The weather was very cold, and the high wind filled with particles of snow was blowing from the northeast, but I preferred to face the severe weather, rather than remain at McGee's place. I left about nine o'clock in the morning, following the Santa Fe trail, and riding at a rapid gait. The wind increased and the cold became more intense. The flakes of snow appeared as frozen particles of ice, and cut my face so that I had to cover it with my blanket, and guide my horse as well as I could in order to keep the road. The wind penetrated through my clothes until I became chilled, and was hardly able to keep my seat in the saddle. My horse also became covered with ice and snow and refused to go faster than a walk. The road was on a high ridge, with an open prairie on each side, as far as I could see, and the merciless wind had free sweep against my person. I was then some thirty miles from Lawrence, and knew of no place where I could secure shelter until I reached there. I finally dismounted and led my horse, with my back against the wind, and walked backwards for near three miles, when I observed a cluster of timber some two miles to the north, to which I walked my horse.

When I reached the timber I was completely exhausted, and benumbed to such an extent that I had lost the use of my fingers. I found a fallen tree, and with my feet I kicked some leaves into a heap against it and then tried to light a fire. I was unable to hold a match between my fingers and had to grasp them in my hand, using several at a time. The wind would blow them out before I could apply them to the leaves. I had with me a full box of matches, and I wasted nearly all of them before I was able to start a fire. I felt that I was freezing, and unless I succeeded in igniting the leaves I would never be able to see my wife and children again. After the fire started in the leaves I pushed with my feet some dry twigs on top of them, and then some larger limbs on the twigs, until I succeeded in getting a good fire. Here I remained until I became thoroughly warmed. My horse appeared to enjoy the fire as much as myself, and would stand as close to it as possible. After I had thawed, and once more felt able to renew my journey, I mounted my horse and followed down the branch where I had stopped until I struck the Wakarusa river, and then down the river to Lawrence, where I arrived after dark, and remained there over night.

The next day I reached Westport, and at once went to where my family were

way. At the present day, as seventy-five years ago, the public travel follows a diagonal road from northeast to southwest through a part of section 1, crossing about the same place on a bridge as forty-seven years ago, when McGee put in his first bridge. It is one of the two well-known permanent trail markers of Osage county; Santa Fe avenue of the city of Burlingame, which was founded in about 1856, at Switzler's crossing, being the second.

A white man by the name of Richardson married a Shawnee squaw and settled here, opening up a little farm in the late '40's or early '50's. Fry P. McGee and family, of Westport, Mo., journeying to Oregon and back in 1849-'50, recognized the commercial value of such a location near the north line of the Sac and Fox reservation, and, bought him out. I believe Richardson had a partner, also a "squaw man." No other could move here on the Shawnee reservation until it was opened for settlement. July, 1854, Fry P. McGee, wife and three daughters came here. Mr. McGee died September 19, 1861. I believe his widow is yet alive in their old Kansas City home. One daughter, Mrs. Sophia Berry, lives in Burlingame. Another daughter, America, married Wm. D. Harris, who settled on part of the McGee farm in 1857, and lived there until 1870. Some of his children live in the county yet.

In the territorial election of November 29, 1854, "110" voting precinct, one of only some

stopping. The next day I called on Governor Reeder, at Shawnee Mission, and submitted my report. The governor informed me that M. W. McGee had just seen him and entered complaint against me, claiming that I had not properly taken the census of the Seventh district, and had failed to enumerate all the voters. I told the governor I would be very glad to see Mr. McGee in his presence and explain to him the manner of my treatment by his brother, Fry McGee, at "110." A messenger was sent for M. W. McGee, who very soon made his appearance, when I gave him a full account of all that occurred at "110" during my visit. I informed him that, as far as possible, I had returned in my report all the residents that could be found in the district, and if any were omitted it was certainly not my fault, but the blame should be attached to his brother, who had refused to give me any assistance, and forbade me to take the names of those found at his place. McGee was very sullen, and expressed great indignation at the treatment of the pro-slavery men by the census-takers, indicating there was an attempt fraudulently to conceal their strength in the territory.

At the election held on March 30, 1855, M. W. McGee was a pro-slavery candidate for representative, and received 210 votes in the seventh district, while H. Rice, the free-state candidate, received twenty-three. There is no doubt that at least three-fourths of the votes counted for McGee were fraudulent. Governor Reeder refused to give him a certificate of election, and called another election for that district, to be held for May 22, 1855. At that election seventy-nine votes were cast—sixty-six for the free-state candidate, but McGee was declared the duly elected member by the legislature when it convened.

I remained at Mr. Ragan's home two or three weeks, and made frequent visits to Kansas City. At that time the road was almost impassable. The heavy freight wagons had cut deep ruts, and in places the mud was so deep that teams had to turn off into the fields in order to get through. There was great excitement over the settlement of Kansas, and wherever I went the question of making the territory slave or free was the absorbing topic. Nearly all the residents of Westport were in favor of slavery, while there was quite a number of the citizens of Kansas City in favor of a free state.

Immigrants were constantly arriving on steamboats, most of them from the free states. They would only remain long enough to procure teams for transportation and supplies, and then move over the line into Kansas. It was a constant source of irritation to the Missourians to see the stream of Northern men pouring into the territory, and all kinds of threats were made against the invasion of a country which they claimed belonged to Southern men, and of right should be settled by them with their slaves.

I had always been a Democrat, but favored making Kansas a free state. I found it was useless to argue with these violent and unreasonable men. According to their code there were but two parties, one that favored slavery and the other abolitionists, and every one who was opposed to slavery in their opinion

seventeen in the territory, gained an unenviable reputation. Horace Greeley, in his history, even choosing it of all Kansas voting-places to show the great disregard of law and order that the pro-slavery forces of Missouri had, coming here the day before election and casting 587 fraudulent votes out of a total of 607.

Mr. McGee was determined from the first that no abolitionist should settle on the "110"; but with a rough exterior, a slave-owner, and quite partizan in politics, the early settlers in time found him to be kind-hearted, honest, and never known to shed blood. In 1856 it was known as Richardson post-office. No less than three towns were projected, boomed and went to the wall in the first twelve years in and about this place, viz.: Prairie City, Washington, and Versailles. At least two of these had a number of settlers and lots of history. Members of the family still own land there, and Harris's old stage station and stone barn yet stand, monuments to the departed glory of "110 Crossing."

was an abolitionist. I became especially obnoxious to most of the persons I met, and I felt a constant watch was kept upon me by a number of parties in Westport and Kansas City. It was known that I made frequent visits to Governor Reeder; that he had appointed me to take the census of the seventh district, and that I had refused to return the list of fraudulent voters which Fry McGee had prepared for me.

Mr. Ragan and his family had become very much attached to my wife and children, and particularly to the baby born in their house, and although they were in sympathy with the slavery element they did not want any harm to happen to me. Mr. Ragan in strict confidence informed me that I was in constant danger, and advised me to be as discreet as possible in all I did or said. He told me several persons accused him of harboring a Yankee family, and intimated it was for his interest to get clear of them: and further, if he failed to do so they would relieve him of the trouble. After this warning I tried in every way to avoid conversation with any one, and when the slavery question was broached took occasion to leave the person or party who started it in as quiet a way as possible.

At this time Milton McGee owned a farm west of Kansas City, and kept a small tavern in a two-story frame house. I had frequently stopped at his place in going and returning from Westport to Kansas City. He was a very hospitable man, and always kept a decanter of whisky on the table in the hotel office, and invited every one who called to take a drink. I had become well acquainted with him, and, by avoiding to controvert his political views, obtained, as I supposed, his friendship. But after my return from taking the census, and he learned of the complaints made against me by his brothers, he was very abusive and violent toward me, and I found it impossible to explain my conduct or vindicate myself. He charged me with being an abolition spy, employed by Reeder to defraud the pro-slavery men of their just rights. I found he had prejudiced a great many of his friends and acquaintances to such an extent that I was looked upon with suspicion and distrust. I ascertained some years after that a party of pro-slavery men had conspired to mob me, and either compel me to leave the state or suffer a worse fate, and that they were only prevented from carrying out their plot by the interference of Mr. Ragan and some of his friends, who persuaded them to abandon their purpose, as it was my intention to move my family into Kansas as soon as the weather would permit.

The land that Milton McGee then lived upon as a farm is now a part of Kansas City, and is all built up and occupied by costly houses. In 1861, when the Second regiment of Kansas volunteers were stationed at Kansas City for a short time, before joining the army of General Lyon, in southwest Missouri, the regiment was encamped on McGee's land, and the officers boarded with him. After the commencement of the civil war McGee became a good Union man, and used all his influence to put down the rebellion.

I made another trip to Fort Riley, for the purpose of preparing my cabin so it would be ready to occupy when I moved my family. I found quite a number of persons had located at Pawnee, and several houses had been erected. John T. Price had constructed a stone building for a grocery store; Lemuel Knapp, a log cabin for a place of entertainment; the stone warehouse had been finished, and probably twenty, or thirty rough structures for temporary residences had been built.

It was confidently believed by all persons interested in the town that it would be the permanent capital of Kansas, and lots were selling for high prices and advancing in value every day. I ventured at this time to object to the location on

account of the narrow strip of land between the river and the bluffs not affording sufficient land suitable to build upon, and also for the reason that I anticipated trouble would result from a change of the boundary of the military reservation. I represented that the present site of Junction City was a far more eligible location; that there was ample room for a large city; that it was just above the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers, and would command the trade of the valleys and their tributaries, and that in every respect it had all the advantages for a town site. I had passed over the land several times, and the place impressed me as one of the most desirable locations for a city of any I had seen in the territory. At that time there was no bridge or ferry over the Republican river, and I don't think any member of the Pawnee Town Company had ever been on the present site of Junction City. At all events, it was too late to change the location. If the company had first selected the land between the two rivers, where Junction City was afterwards located, which would have avoided the trouble that was caused by a change of the military reservation, it probably would have been selected and remained the capital of Kansas. At this time a number of claims had been settled upon in the vicinity of Fort Riley, and every day brought to the place many persons who were looking for lands on which to locate.

I found that my cabin had been as far completed as practicable. It was built of rough logs and covered with clapboards. It had no floor nor chimney. It consisted of one room, about fourteen feet by sixteen feet in size, and appeared to be a very undesirable place to bring my wife and children, but it was the best I could provide at that time, and I concluded to move into it and try to make it more comfortable afterwards.

I had procured a skiff at Fort Riley and taken it by wagon to the mouth of Lyon creek, and, after my visit to the claim, the two men who had put up my cabin and I concluded to return to Fort Riley in the skiff. We started early in the morning, in high spirits, anticipating a pleasant ride to the fort, which we expected to reach in two or three hours. No one can realize the crooks and windings of the Smoky Hill river who has never passed through our experience. We would row around one bend and, after reaching the end, could see the place where we had started but a short distance above. It appeared we were traveling in a circuit without gaining distance. As soon as we succeeded in passing around one bend we encountered another. The river was very low, and we had frequently to leave the skiff and shove it over the sand-bars. We all became wet and worn out. We had no provisions with us and were hungry and mad. I had my shotgun along, and suggested, in order to lighten the skiff, that I would go ashore and walk some distance and try to kill a duck. With some reluctance and distrust of my intention my companions consented. It was then three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

When I reached the top of the bank and took a look at the country, I could see that we were farther from Fort Riley than from the place we started, and that we could not reach there before midnight. I made up my mind to desert my friends and walk the balance of the way to the fort, and let my companions manage the skiff. I will confess, at this time, that my conscience was not quite clear in adopting this course, and I had some doubt whether it was the right thing to do, and if it would meet with the approval of the men in the skiff, but I finally concluded it would in no way alleviate their distress by remaining with them, and by walking it would lighten the load and enable them to make faster time. I further reasoned that there was no use of three persons suffering the discomforts of a ride on the river when one could escape it without any wrong to

the others. I therefore made a bee line for the fort, which I reached after night, in a very dilapidated and forlorn condition both in mind and body. After a hearty supper, I laid down in a comfortable bed in Captain Lyon's quarters. Although I was tired and sleepy, I could not close my eyes or divest my mind of the experience I had gone through and the fate of the poor men I had deserted. In the solitude of my room my conscience annoyed me more than it had before, and, with all my efforts to suppress my troubled thoughts, I failed to satisfy myself that my conduct was altogether right and would meet the approval of my friends. I struggled hard to divest my mind of these unwelcome thoughts and go to sleep, but was unable to do so. In the fitful naps I fell into I had frightful dreams, in which I could see my companions trying to extricate themselves from quicksand bars, when they had stepped from the boat to pull it over, and gradually sinking, without the power to save themselves, or rushing over an unforeseen fall, and the boat dashed to pieces against the protruding rocks; and in their struggles I could hear them in bitter terms denouncing me as a coward and traitor.

I remained in this unhappy state until about three or four o'clock in the morning, when I heard a loud tapping at my door. On opening it I saw two miserable creatures, with their clothes torn nearly off their bodies, blood on their hands, and covered with mud. I don't think I ever saw two more wobegone and miserable beings in my life. I knew they were not in condition nor in humor at that time to explain the experience they had passed through since I left them, and, in order to escape their reproaches and distract their attention, I suggested they must be hungry, and I would endeavor to find them something to eat. I immediately left the room and went to the kitchen, where I found an ample supply of bread and meat, which I carried to the room. They were nearly famished, and in silence devoured all the provisions brought them. After their meal was finished they rolled themselves in blankets and laid down on the floor, where they slept until the middle of the next day.

After they were in humor to talk they told me a tale of woe I have seldom heard equaled. They said that after I left them they remained in the skiff and rowed round innumerable bends of the river until late into the night; that they were wet, hungry, and nearly worn out; they were unable to estimate the distance to Fort Riley, but it appeared to them the harder they worked the further away it was. They finally concluded to abandon the skiff and attempt to find their way to the fort. They tied the boat to a tree in the bend of the river, about a mile above the mouth of the Smoky Hill, and then started through the timber to reach the prairie. It was very dark, and they had to stumble through underbrush, brier vines, grape-vines, and over fallen logs and other obstructions; that the underbrush and briars had cut and lacerated them, and torn their clothes so that they were nearly naked, and that it took them several hours to find their way out of the timber, and that, after they did so, it was with great effort they were able to drag themselves to the fort. I tried to extenuate my conduct in leaving them as well as I was able, but have always thought they were not altogether satisfied with my explanation.

Soon after this I left for Westport, for the purpose of moving my family and effects to my claim. After I reached them, and in the month of April, 1855, I hired two teams to haul my family and effects to my claim in Kansas. It was with many misgivings that I left Westport to take my wife and children to the rude cabin in a wild and unsettled country, where I knew they would be deprived of all the comforts and even the necessities of life; but as I had fully determined upon making Kansas my home, and had selected the place where I

intended to live, I had to make the move. It was with great reluctance the Ragan family, and especially Mrs. Ragan, saw us start on our journey. She had become very much attached to the baby, and she parted with it only after repeated huggings and kisses, and the shedding of many tears.

We drove some fifteen miles the first day, and camped near a clear stream of water. In the morning it was found that one of the horses had become lame and unable to travel, and it was necessary for the driver to return to Missouri and procure another horse, and we were compelled to remain in camp until his return, which required two days.

During our stay, Gen. James H. Lane, with his family and effects loaded in wagons, passed our camp, on his way to Lawrence. I had known Lane for a number of years in Indiana, and was a member of his regiment (the Fifth Indiana volunteers) in the Mexican war. I also was candidate for district attorney in 1852 on the Democratic ticket, when he was elected to Congress from the fourth Indiana district, and assisted him in making a canvass of Franklin county, in which I resided. Lane had become unpopular in Indiana. His term in Congress had just expired, and he knew that his party would not renominate him for another term. He was then in the vigor of manhood, ambitious, and full of energy, and determined to seek a new field to gratify his irrepressible desire for notoriety and leadership. He fully realized that Kansas was on the eve of a desperate conflict, in which was to be decided whether she was to become a free or slave state, and it was the place where a man of his temperament, love of strife and great ambition could best succeed in securing what he most craved—office and fame.

Lane had always been a Democrat, and I think intended at that time to support the side of slavery, but was willing to espouse either cause that he found was most likely to advance his political interests. He asked me many questions about the different places I had visited; the advantages they possessed; their probable growth in the future; and especially as to the views of the people on the question of slavery. Lane told me he had not fully determined where he would locate, but was going to stop at Lawrence for some days and look around. He appeared to be very much interested in my description of Fort Riley and the surrounding country, and intimated he would make it a visit, and might decide to locate there. He also spoke of Leavenworth, and said he would go there from Lawrence, and, if it suited him, would probably locate there. He remained at my camp some two or three hours and talked freely on all subjects except politics. He evidently had not then decided on which side he would cast his fortune, as he carefully avoided any expression that would indicate the party he would support. Lane, as is well known, made Lawrence his home, and remained there up to the time of his death. He took a prominent part in the fierce and bloody struggle that ensued between the free-state and pro-slavery parties. His life was one of constant strife and excitement. His history is well known to every citizen of the state. No one in Kansas has ever impressed his character so clearly and deeply upon the minds of her people. His career was a stormy one, and his death a sad and tragic ending of a disappointed and discontented man.

After the return of the man who went for a horse to replace the one that had become lame our journey was resumed. Our way led through the Shawnee reservation, and we found no settlement until we reached Lawrence, then a small village of rough cabins and tents. We passed through a beautiful country—a vast green prairie, untouched by the hand of man, dotted with fringes of timber along the streams. Nothing unusual occurred on our journey.

We camped at the town of Tecumseh, settled by pro-slavery men, and which,

it was then thought, would become one of the prominent cities of Kansas. It was about eight miles east of Topeka, and I concluded to walk from Tecumseh there in advance of the teams. I started at four A. M., and after walking some two or three miles I heard the barking of wolves some distance away. At first the noise appeared to come from two or three, but as I advanced the number increased, and they were evidently approaching nearer. I had heard and read of men being pursued and devoured by these wild animals. I became thoroughly frightened and feared there was no way of escape. I pulled my revolver from the belt, cocked it, and started on a run, which I kept up until I came to what is the present city of Topeka. During all this time the wolves followed close behind me, their number constantly increasing and their howls growing louder and louder. It was a great relief when daylight appeared, and I reached a place of safety. These wolves, I learned afterwards, are great cowards, and seldom attack a man unless driven to do so by severe hunger, and then only when a large pack is collected for that purpose. I did not know their cowardly nature at the time, and fully expected to be torn to pieces. I will never forget the terrible ordeal I passed through that morning, and the relief I felt when I found myself safe from their attacks.

Topeka had been selected as a town site, and, if I remember, there was only two or three rough shanties built near the river. We crossed the Kansas river on a ferry at the Baptist mission, a few miles west of Topeka, and passed through the Pottawatomie reservation on the north side of the river. There were no white men on the reservation except those connected with the Indian mission at St. Marys, which at that time contained quite a collection of houses occupied by Indians, and white men employed by the government as storekeepers, mechanics, etc.

The Big Blue river was crossed at Dyer's ferry,* some six miles north of Manhattan. From there we passed through Fort Riley and over the site where Junction City was afterwards located, and which has since become one of the most prosperous and enterprising towns in the state. I then recognized its favorable location and advantages as the proper place to command the trade of the two valleys that, just west of Fort Riley, united and formed the Kansas, and was more than ever impressed with the great mistake made in the selection of Pawnee for the capital of Kansas. I have always thought that if Governor Reeder had located the capital at Junction City it would always have remained there. We reached a point on the bank of the Smoky Hill river opposite the mouth of Lyon's creek in the evening, and the teams were unloaded at once. My brother William, who had preceded me some days, waded the river, and we consulted as to the best means of crossing my family and effects over the stream.

*James Humphrey, of Junction City, writes: "The first election held in the territory in 1855, for the first legislative assembly, for this election district, was appointed by Governor Reeder to be held at the house of Samuel D. Dyer, at the crossing of the Big Blue river. The Dyer family and that crossing have disappeared now many years ago, and I presume there are very few people living in Riley county or this part of the state who know who Samuel D. Dyer was, or on what part of the river he lived. Samuel D. Dyer was probably the first settler on the Big Blue. He built a large log house on the east bank of that river before the organization of the territory, about five miles above Manhattan. He established a ferry in 1853 and kept a sort of house of entertainment for travelers. The military road from Leavenworth to Fort Riley crossed the river there at that time, and until Manhattan began to be settled, and a ferry was established at the latter point. Dyer's was then the most prominent point in the region of the Blue, and the focus of political interest in this locality. Dyer was appointed by Governor Reeder as justice of the peace for Dyer township, Riley county. I knew Dyer and his family when they lived at that place, but they disappeared many years ago, Dyer dying in February, 1875. The first settlers had to cross the river at Dyer's to get to Manhattan and the region west of that stream, and many were entertained at his house."

There was no ferry-boat by which they could be crossed over. We found some dry logs on the bank and pushed them into the river, and nailed across them limbs of trees so as to form a raft. My wife and children were first safely taken over, and then we had the goods carried across.

It was a dreary looking place to take a young wife and three children. A rough log cabin with only one room, without floor, fireplace, furniture, or conveniences of any kind, in a wilderness, with no settlement nearer than Fort Riley. I began to feel the mistake I had made in bringing my wife and children to this desolate home, and to regret my mistake when it was too late to recall it. I had no other home, was destitute of money, and all my worldly possessions were brought to this place. Whatever may have been the thoughts of my young wife, she did not reproach me nor make any complaints. She had been accustomed to all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life—was only a girl attending college when married—and, on her arrival at our new home, only twenty years old. I was young, full of energy, and ambitious, and had no regrets on my own account. I felt able to conquer all the obstacles and difficulties I would have to encounter in my new life, and did not, as I have since, fully realize the terrible ordeal this young wife would have to pass through. The longer I live the more deeply I feel the great wrong inflicted upon her, and honor the noble conduct of this brave little woman in quietly performing the hard duties imposed upon her, and faithfully and without reproaches submitting to her fate. I wish to confess my great fault, and let her children know that I have many times and do now repent of the wrong I inflicted upon their loving mother. There are few women who have endured the hardships she passed through during the time she lived in Kansas.*

Our bedstead was made by boring holes in the logs of our cabin and driving in small posts or timbers so as to form the legs; slats were then laid upon the framework, and our bed placed upon them. Our tables and chairs (or rather stools) were made of splitting a dry walnut log, and hewing and planing the rough pieces until they answered the purpose. I even attempted to manufacture a rocker, ornamented with various devices. When it was finished I felt a

*MRS. HESTER PATTISON MCCLURE was a woman of charming manners and lovely character. She was much beloved by all who knew her in Junction City and Fort Riley, and quite easily a leader in society in both places. She had been surrounded with every comfort in her early home. No pains had been spared in her education, but her school-days ended at the age of sixteen years. At that time she left the Wesleyan Female Institute, of Cincinnati, Ohio, then under charge of President Wilber, to become the wife of the young and promising lawyer, James R. McClure. She thus entered upon a school of experience where the stronger and more courageous, as well as the finer and more feminine, traits of character were to be developed and strengthened.

Three children were born to them before she was twenty years old, and they had changed their residence from an old state to a new, unsettled territory, much disturbed by the question of slavery. Most of the money brought with them had been exhausted before the final choice of a home was made, and, this being done, a change was impossible, even if it had been thought wise. Therefore this plucky little woman, who had never before felt the weight of responsibility, resolved to hold that homestead of 160 acres of beautiful farming land, at whatever sacrifice. In the roughest kind of a log cabin, with the barest necessities in the way of furniture, entirely cut off from church and social privileges, with her three little children to care for, cooking, washing, everything in the way of household service to be done by her young, fair hands, she yet retained her cheerfulness and courage, and her unbounded faith in her energetic, much-beloved husband's ability to bring final success out of all this toil and privation. To do her part, she would remain to hold the homestead, while he earned money by attending court, or land-office contests, in the town of Ogden, some fifteen miles distant. A few acres had been broken up and planted to corn, and, being only partially fenced, the preservation of it from predatory attacks of stray cattle and horses added much to her burdens.

But it was not alone toil, but danger, that beset her. Bands of Indians, not always friendly, were continually coming and going through the country. Even the friendly ones would enter

great deal of pride in my handiwork. I desired my wife to take the first rock, as it was made expressly for her. I learned later that the rockers were not so placed as to preserve the proper equilibrium. After some hesitancy and an examination of its construction she consented, but when she attempted to test its rocking qualities and shoved herself back the rocker fell over and threw her on the ground. Fortunately the rockers were broken and I never repaired them. We had no stove nor fireplace, and at first had to build a camp-fire on the outside of the cabin to cook our food. My brother and I soon constructed a rude fireplace and chimney, built of stones and plastered with mud, and put it (in Missouri style) on the outside of the building. We next split out slabs from a dead tree and dressed them as well as we could and made a floor with them. The cabin was made as comfortable as possible with the means and material we used. The spaces between the logs were stopped with mud, and through a great effort I obtained some glass and a sash, and put a real window in the front part of the cabin. I felt very proud of my work and viewed it with the eye of a connoisseur. I have never since felt more pleasure in anything I have ever done. It was constructed under many difficulties and was the work of my own hands. I experienced, only in a different way, the pride and satisfaction an artist takes when he has completed a beautiful painting or piece of statuary.

I think it was on the 15th day of May that three old bachelors, Cobb, McCoy, and Bean, selected a claim above mine, and where James Morris afterwards lived. These men built a cabin where the Morris home now stands. They were the first settlers, after me, who settled on Lyon creek. We found them very pleasant and good neighbors, and frequently exchanged visits.

The next settler was Richard Chivers, who located a preemption on land now owned by Robert Henderson, and his old cabin is still standing, having been carefully preserved by Captain Henderson as a relic of the past. Chivers was an English tailor, and he worked for the soldiers at Fort Riley. His card read: "Richard Chivers, Oxford, Eng., tailor to his royal highness Prince Albert." He was a very eccentric character and the subject of many practical jokes during his residence in this part of Kansas, where he was out of place and never should have come.

her cabin unasked, and always expected to be fed. Generously she shared with them her reserve supplies, but the quantity was not always sufficient. Once, when her stock was short, and they had greedily devoured what was set before them, without feeling their appetites appeased, they became boisterous and threatening, and called loudly for more. Almost overcome with fear, but with the thought of her little ones to keep alive her fainting courage, she determined to try the potency of a determined mind and an assertion of confidence she by no means felt. Drawing herself up proudly to her small height, she looked them sternly in the face, with flashing eyes, and stamping her foot and pointing to the door, in imperious tones, she bade them "Go!" They hesitated, glowering upon her; but she was unflinching in her manner, and, one by one, they slunk away and departed. Another time she stampeded them when they became disagreeable by pointing down the road and asserting that her husband was coming and would punish them. They derisively said: "No white man come"; "No white man come." "Yes, yes," she answered, and, running to the top of a knoll, gazed off into the distance. To her great surprise and joy she saw a white man coming, and the Indians, seeing him also, made their way off. These were friendly Indians, however, and from them she learned many Indian words, by which she was able to converse intelligently with them. Some of them afterward visited her in her Junction City home, and were delighted that she remembered them, and could call them by name.

But there were other bands that went through the country bent on murder and plunder and devastation; and of these she was always in mortal terror. Once word was sent her that the Cheyennes were on the war-path, and she had just time to catch up her two youngest children in her arms, and, leading the elder, make her way for several miles to the nearest blockhouse for protection. Another time, in the dead of winter, she crossed the river on the ice, in her bare feet, her little ones with her, because of a rumor that the Cheyennes were coming. Sup-

We spaded up a small plat of ground on my claim, near the creek, where the ground was mellow and easily worked, for a garden. As I had no team, I engaged Cobb, McCoy and Bean to break up about three acres of prairie sod, on which we planted corn, beans, watermelons, pumpkins, etc. We had an abundance of vegetables during the fall and winter. Our other provisions had to be procured at Fort Riley and "packed" from there to the claim. During the summer my brother and I cut and dressed, as well as we could, cottonwood logs for another and more pretentious house, to be erected on the east side of the creek, just below the present residence of Mr. Huston.

The country then abounded with game; deer, antelope, wild turkeys, prairie-chickens and rabbits were plentiful. During the winter of 1855-'56 we killed about fifty wild turkeys, besides other small game. I went on a buffalo hunt with Cobb, Bean, and McCoy, some ten or twelve miles west of my cabin. We found an immense herd, covering the prairie for miles. It would be impossible to estimate their number, but probably there were over 1000. We killed enough to furnish us with meat for the winter. We only selected fat young cows, as their meat is more tender and juicy than the bulls.

We spent the winter as cheerfully as we could under the circumstances. I had brought with me quite a number of books, and spent a great part of the time reading and hunting.

Lyon creek was a favorite resort for the Kansas Indians. Several hundred encamped near my claim during a great part of the time I lived there. They had for many years hunted and fished in this locality, and looked upon the land now embraced in Geary county as their own. They regarded it as an intrusion upon their rights for white men to settle and build houses in this part of the territory, and it required a good deal of tact and diplomacy to keep on friendly terms with them. I tried to win their confidence and maintain friendly relations with them, and probably succeeded to a greater extent than most of the settlers who came to the country afterwards. These Indians had been cheated and deceived so

plies of all kinds had then to be brought from beyond the Missouri, and the shoes had failed entirely, in the absence of her husband.

But it was not only the toil and the fear and the danger that made this pioneer life so oppressive, it was the uninterrupted dreariness and loneliness. Days and weeks sometimes passed without the sight of a human being, without the interchange of thought through speech, and they became exceedingly oppressive. Mrs. McClure was at one time, for more than a year, deprived of the sight of a white woman. Hearing at last that one had come to live on a claim some miles away, she resolved to have a sight of her. Setting one morning early, accompanied by her little ones, she walked several miles. At length, oh, oy! she stood the cabin door, and there — there was one like unto herself. They were strangers; their names were unknown; but they fell upon each others' necks and wept, and then laughed, and wept again. Oh, that happy day, that blessed day of sympathy and relief, to be repeated often afterward. For the woman, Mrs. Nathan S. Gilbert, had come to stay, and Mrs. McClure and herself became neighbors in Junction City. [Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert now live in Chicago.] Another time, when inclined to be despondent, the young wife was cheered by the coming of her father, Mr. Pattison, of Indianapolis, Ind. He remained for some days, and she was only too happy to press his hand and look into his face, and know that one of her loved ones had come to her from her dear old home.

But at length the weary days were over and the McClure family were housed comfortably in Junction City. Then still another trial, involving a deeper heartache, came to this brave little woman. When the war broke out, in 1861, her husband organized a company and went to the front as captain. He was wounded in battle and brought home to his wife in an ambulance, carried into his home on a cot, a seeming wreck of his active, vigorous young self. Then, indeed, his loving wife broke down, and he was obliged to cheer her drooping spirits by rallying her, and calling her chicken-hearted. She soon recovered, however, and became again his brave, gentle companion. Though the captain lost his foot, his old energy and vitality triumphed, and they had years of prosperity and happiness before her early death, April 26, 1879. Four daughters and three sons still live to rejoice in her virtues and revere her memory

often by white men that they were led to believe no trust could be placed in any of them. I first cultivated the friendship of one of the chiefs, whose name was Reg-e-kosh-ee, a fine specimen of physical manhood, a large, well-developed, proportioned Indian, with keen black eyes, commanding appearance, and the bearing of one who was born to lead. I found that he had quick perception, and, in his way, was intelligent and fully informed on many subjects; that he was honest, and could be trusted by those who treated him fairly and convinced him they were his friends. I always invited him to eat at our table when he came to my cabin, with the understanding that no other Indian should have that privilege unless by my invitation, and he faithfully carried out his part of the agreement. Whenever any of the tribe made themselves obtrusive, or did anything that was objectionable, it was only necessary to call upon this chief, and he either rebuked or punished them for their misconduct. Most of them were natural thieves, but very seldom stole anything from me.

I had brought with me a number of law-books; they made quite a display in the little cabin and excited the curiosity of the Indians. They would point to the books with wonder depicted in their faces, converse among themselves, evidently attempting to find for what purpose the books were used and for what object I had brought them to this out-of-the-way place. I finally discovered that they had settled the question in their own minds and put me down as a medicine-man. After reflection, I concluded it was best to allow them to remain under this delusion, as it would secure their respect and give me a standing among them I could not otherwise obtain.

I found it was a dangerous experiment to administer medicine to an Indian: if the remedy had a bad effect it settled the fate of the doctor; nothing could convince them that he had not purposely given it to make them sick, and with the intent to kill. They had great faith in medicine-men, and believed they possessed supernatural power, and could either kill or cure. They were looked upon as superior beings and commanded the respect and fear of the whole tribe. They were regarded with such superstition that they were perfectly safe from any danger or injury to their persons or property, and could rely upon their protection and assistance when necessary.

These Indians had evidently, after talking over the subject, concluded I was an educated doctor and possessed the power to minister to and relieve them of any disease. I knew all this from their conduct and the signs they made whenever they came to the cabin. I also realized the danger I ran in attempting to play medicine-man, but concluded to take the risk, when one day old Reg-e-kosh-ee told me one of his wives (he had two), Ka-lu-wende, was very sick, and that they had no medicine-man with them, and he had therefore called on me to cure her. With many misgivings, I requested him to bring his squaw to my house and I would diagnose her case and see what I could do for her. She was brought in with a number of other squaws. I carefully felt her pulse, examined her tongue, looked wise, took down several law-books, turned over, and pretended to master the cause of her trouble. During all this time the Indians watched intently every move I made, and appeared to be satisfied with my professional skill and ability to cure. I then, after going alone in another place, prepared several doses consisting of flour, sugar, salt, pepper, and other ingredients, wrapped them in small papers, breathed upon them, repeated in a slow and solemn voice several Latin phrases, and then directed the chief to administer one of the powders in the morning, another at noon, and one at sundown. I did this by putting the powder in my mouth, going through the motion of swallowing it, and pointing to the East, where the sun arose, where it would be at noon, and then to the West,

where it set. The chief understood the directions as clearly as if I had directed him in his own language. I awaited the result of my prescription with a good deal of anxiety and apprehension, but fortunately the old squaw got well, and the whole credit of her cure was attributed to me, and my reputation as a medicine-man was fully established. I was called upon by several other Indians to doctor them, but I feared to extend my practice and experiment too often, for fear I would lose my reputation and incur their anger and resentment by having a dead Indian on my hands; so I shook my head, and gave them to understand that it cost a heap of money to purchase my books, acquire a medical education, and procure medicine, and I could not afford to go into a general practice without pay: that I had consented to cure the chief's wife because he was a big Indian and a good friend of mine.

Reg-e-kosh-ee's wife, Ka-lu-wen-de, about one year after I doctored her, died, and the chief mourned for her a long time afterwards. His grief was sincere and, according to the Indian custom, very expressive. Whenever he came to the cabin, before he would sit down to the table, he would retire to the outside, where no one could see him, cover his face with mud, mutter a prayer in a doleful and supplicating tone, moan and cry over the death of his squaw, and then wash the mud off his face, resume his natural manner and expression, and eat his meal.

I formed the acquaintance of another chief, whose name was Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-na-gah. I think he was the finest-looking Indian I have ever seen. He was quite young, handsome, and well-proportioned. He had a dignified and refined appearance for an Indian. His teepee was put up some distance from the others, and in his manner and the expression of his face he exhibited a consciousness of his rank and superiority. He held himself aloof from any intercourse with the tribe, except to give orders and command them on the war-path or the hunting excursions. I never could secure his confidence as I did that of old Reg-e-kosh-ee. He repelled all efforts to secure a close friendship with him, and persistently declined my invitations to eat at my table. There is no doubt he regarded himself my superior and resented any intention on my part to form an intimate friendship with him. His wife was a beautiful Indian woman, and in her manner and dress displayed her superiority over the other squaws. Like her husband, she held herself aloof from any intimate association with them. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-na-gah's teepee, dress and trappings were neat, and far better than those of any of his tribe. It was evident the Indians esteemed him very highly for his mental and physical qualities—for his prowess on the war-path and in the chase. I found he was looked upon as a brave warrior and an expert hunter. I have described this chief at length for the reason that I have never met an Indian who would compare with him in manner and appearance.

These Indians spent a great part of the time in the summer and fall hunting buffalo, then found in great numbers a short distance from their camp. They killed all that was required to last them through the winter and spring. The meat was cut into strips, smoked by the camp-fires, the strips platted together and rolled up in packages of about fifty pounds each. The buffalo hides were saved, brought to camp, and cured by the squaws. I could purchase at that time a fine cured robe that would now command a large price for a few pounds of flour or sugar. In addition to buffalo, they killed large numbers of deer, antelope, wild turkeys, and other game, and would always supply me with all the meat I desired without any request, without demanding pay for it, but expected me to make them a small present of pork, flour or sugar in return.

Late one night, after we had retired to bed, we were awakened by the most

dismal and piercing screams and howls I had ever heard. We were unable to account for this discordant noise, which kept up all night. In the morning I determined to go to the camp of the Indians, which was near my cabin, and find out the cause. When I came near the camp I observed all the bucks squatted in a circle, chanting in a mournful tone one of their songs, which I afterwards learned was a death-song. Their faces were smeared with mud and they presented a wild and dismal appearance. The squaws were crying, screaming, and throwing their arms wildly about their persons. At times they would gather up stones and carry them to a place where the ground had recently been dug up and cast them down. I saw by the expression of their faces that I was an unwelcome visitor and that it was prudent to go back to my home, which I did without attempting to talk with them. I afterwards learned they had buried one of their braves who had died from smallpox. I visited the grave afterwards and found the top covered with stones, and on an adjoining tree a buffalo-robe and blanket. I subsequently learned that it was the custom of these Indians to place in the grave ammunition, cooking utensils, and other personal effects of the Indian, so as to supply his wants on his journey to the happy hunting-ground. The robe and blanket were hung on the tree, so as to afford him additional covering, in the event of a change in the weather. The stones were laid upon the grave to prevent the wolves digging up the body.

The smallpox had broken out among the Indians, and proved very fatal, owing to their filthy habits and mode of life. It prevailed to such an extent that they became very much excited and alarmed, and, as I found afterwards, attributed the cause of the disease to my intrusion upon their land and the erection of a house near their favored camping-ground. A day or two after the burial I witnessed, the chief, his interpreter and several braves paid me a visit and demanded a talk. They were all armed and profusely painted, and showed in their conduct and appearance a hostile attitude. After I signified my willingness to hold a council with them, the interpreter said the chief wanted to know why I had built my house on their land and close to the camping-ground. I answered that the "great father" had taken possession of the land, and had given me the right to settle there, and that I had not done so to interfere with the Indians or prevent them from enjoying any of the privileges they claimed. The interpreter then told me that the chief was very mad, and said the smallpox had broken out and was killing them for the reason I had built my house near their camp. I requested him to tell the chief I was very sorry and greatly distressed on account of the terrible disease that afflicted them, and was anxious to do all in my power and give them such medicine as I had with me to relieve their suffering, but that the chief was mistaken in accusing me of bringing the disease among them; that I was a medicine man and their good friend, and if I thought for a moment that my house was the cause of the smallpox I would tear it down; that the chief and I had always been good friends, and had never quarreled nor lied to each other; that I wanted, as far as I was able, to help them, and would give them such medicine and provisions as I possessed to relieve their sickness and wants. The talk ended by the chief agreeing to accept a sack of flour, a small quantity of sugar and coffee, and a number of powders I made up to administer to the sick Indians. I was careful to say that I did not have much faith in the medicine, as it was not strong enough to cure smallpox, but it was the best I could give them, and would try as soon as I went to Fort Riley to procure some strong medicine for that disease. They appeared to be satisfied with my talk, and, much to my relief, left me, after shaking hands all round.

These Indians made frequent requests of white men, and especially of those

whom they thought had any influence, for letters, recommending them as honest and good Indians, to use as a passport when traveling from place to place, and if the letter was embellished with a seal, and especially a red one, they prized it very highly; but they never felt absolutely certain of the contents of the letters given them, and showed them with a great deal of hesitancy, for fear they were written by some evil-disposed person, as many of them were, and contained a warning to beware of the Indian to whom it was given, as "he was a thief and a dirty dog," or similar expressions. They showed many of the letters to me, as they did to others, and had me read them and, while I was doing so, would intently watch my countenance to see from my face, if possible, what impression they made on me, as they were often deceived by reading them differently from the contents. A letter commending one as an honest Indian would be stated as calling him thief and bad Indian, and *vice versa*. These letters were exhibited to so many persons and interpreted in so many different ways that they were always in doubt of their real contents.

THE FRIENDS' ESTABLISHMENT IN KANSAS TERRITORY.

Personal recollections of WILSON HOBBS, M. D., among the Shawnee Indians, from November, 1850, to November, 1852; with supplement, written at the request of the Kansas State Historical Society, November, 1884.

IN the autumn of 1850 I made an agreement with the committee on Indian affairs of Indiana yearly meeting of Friends to go to their establishment or mission among the Shawnee Indians, located in the territory of Kansas, as the superintendent and teacher of their school. At that time I had a little family, consisting of a wife and two children, a son and a daughter, the former two and a half and the latter one year old. Besides my service, it was agreed that my wife should give what time she could spare from the care of her children to the care of the Indian girls who were connected with the mission, when they were out of school. My wife and I contracted to serve the committee thus for two years, upon the conditions that we were to be transported there and back to our home at the expense of the concern, that we should have our board and other necessary expenses, except clothing, free, and that we should be paid \$400 in cash for the term.

The special occasion of this engagement on my part was that I had been some years employed in the profession of teaching in western Ohio, and my health was proving insufficient. Besides this, my salary as a teacher in that day was insufficient to support my growing family, so that for three years I had added to my other work the study of the medical sciences, and was ready in the fall of 1850 to take my first course of medical lectures in college. But I had no money to take me to college, and thus necessity compelled me to stick to my old profession until something would turn up. This proposition of the Indian committee seemed to be the something. Besides this, my habits of study had made my progress in the knowledge of the medical sciences very good, and I thought myself, as compared with average medical students, quite able to practice among the Indians, should opportunity offer, and thus I could add a little experience to my reading.

We set out from Cincinnati, Ohio, in the last week of October, 1850, *via* the Ohio river. The river was so very low that none but the smallest steamers were

running. We were nearly a week on our way to St. Louis, and much of this time the steamer was stranded on sand-bars.

Cholera was prevailing that year, and we had a number of cases aboard. Except myself, there was no one on the vessel who had any knowledge of medicine: consequently all the sick fell to my charge. Two passengers, a man and a child, died the day of our arrival at St. Louis. The boat came to land, and the dead were buried upon the shore.

At St. Louis we took passage on a small stern-wheel steamer for Kansas City. The Missouri river was very low, so that few boats were running. Every state-room and berth on our boat was sold over and over again, with promises of delivery to the purchaser as soon as we were out from port. When night came, it was found there were not rooms or beds for one-third of those who had paid for them, and scarcely room on the cabin floor for all to lie down. Cholera soon made its appearance amongst us, and as before, on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the care of the sick fell upon me. Before our arrival at Jefferson City my little daughter took the disease, and we determined to stop at that city for her better care and treatment. The officers of the vessel refused to return any part of the through fare I had paid, and they only consented to do this when it became evident that they were in danger of personal violence from the indignant passengers.

At Jefferson City there was no objection to receiving us into the hotel, and after the arrangement of preliminaries I set out in search of a physician. These were to be found at almost every street corner, but none could be persuaded to visit my child. Such a set of professional cowards I have not since seen in a professional life of thirty-four years. Shame on such men!

In my extremity I accepted the services of a son of the hostess of the hotel where we had stopped. He had just graduated and commenced practice, but made no claim to being wise; but he proved to be a gentleman, and brought his patient safely through.

After three or four days' delay we boarded the next up-bound steamer for Kansas City. Here we met a Mr. McCoy* (James, I think,) and his wife. They had just married and were home-bound. Mr. McCoy resided in Jackson county, Missouri, on the direct road from Westport to Independence—four or five miles from the former place. This was his second marriage. My wife and I several times visited this family at their home, and became much attached to them. They were large slaveholders, and there I first saw the practical workings of the slave system.

We landed at Kansas City late in the afternoon of November 12, 1850. There was standing near the landing a large brick building which had the appearance of a hotel. I afterward learned that it was built for such use during the more prosperous days of the early California emigration, and had for some time been abandoned. We soon learned there was but one hotel in the "city." This was a double, hewed-log house on the bluff, a few hundred yards to the left of the old brick hotel. Here we spent the night of November 12. My present recollection

*The author probably refers to John Calvin McCoy and his second wife, nee Elizabeth Woodson, whose marriage occurred April 17, 1850. A brief sketch of Mr. McCoy is given in the Kansas State Historical Society's fourth volume of Collections, page 298, accompanying Mr. McCoy's paper on the "Survey of Kansas Indian Lands." Among the Indian office manuscripts in the Society's possession is a large volume containing the field-notes and maps of United States surveys of Indian reservations in Kansas, a large part of them copied in Mr. McCoy's own hand. He early gave the Society its largest single gift of manuscripts, a trunk full of the correspondence, journals and miscellaneous papers of his father, Rev. Isaac McCoy. These are now bound.

is that the population of the place did not exceed 500 or 600. It was a mere port for the debarkation of goods to Western points of trade.

The morning of the 13th I hired a liveryman to convey us and our goods to the mission, then about ten miles away, *via* Westport. In the suburbs of the village we passed the sawmills of Mr. McGee, and from there to Westport, four miles, the way led through almost unbroken forest. Westport was then a village quite as large as its more pretentious neighbor, Kansas City, and had much the advantage in stir and businesslike appearance.

Here we first saw the Indians, the most of whom were clad in some of the attire of civilized life, but none wore hats or bonnets. We soon learned that the adoption of our head gear by an Indian, especially by an Indian woman, is evidence of great progress in civilization.

From this point it was six miles to the establishment, and the way was the direct road from Westport to where the old military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crossed Turkey creek.

We passed to the right of the elegant residence of chief Jo Parks,* near Johnson's Methodist mission, leaving it on our left; near the Baptist mission and church, leaving them to our right, to the edge of the timber which skirted Turkey creek, where was our destination.

We found Thomas Wells and his wife, Hannah, in charge, as superintendent and matron of the establishment, and John Stuart, the farm laborer, temporarily in charge of the school.†

The establishment or mission consisted of about 250 acres of fine fertile prairie, rising to the southward of Turkey creek valley, enclosed and divided into suitable fields, with a thriving young orchard of fruit-trees. The mission house consisted of a story and a half frame, set upon a stone wall, on a hillside,

*Abelard Gnthrie gives a brief sketch of this head chief of the Shawnees. See Counelle's "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," page 120.

†The following names of persons connected with the mission work of the Friends among the Shawnees in Johnson county appear in the annual reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs:

1840.—Henry and Ann Harvey, superintendents; David Jones, teacher.

1842.—Thomas and Esther French, principals; Thomas Stanley, farmer, John Steward, assistant; Mary Stanley, housekeeper, Mary Crew, assistant; Thomas and Hannah Wells, teachers.

1843.—The same names, with the omission of Thomas and Esther French.

1845.—Thomas and Hannah Wells, superintendents; Zerri and Miriam H. Hough, teachers.

1848.—Report signed by Elizabeth Harvey, superintendent.

1849.—Elizabeth Harvey, surviving superintendent; Wm. H. Harvey and Sarah T. Harvey, teachers.

1851.—"There are now employed on the farm James Stanton, Edward Teas, Calvin Cornatzer, and Joseph D. Shane. The two former are members of the Society of Friends; C. Cornatzer, a young man of steady habits, and Joseph D. Shane, an Indian youth who has been raised at this institution, and thus far maintained a steady character. Wilson Hobbs and Zelinda Hobbs, the former a teacher of books, the latter of sewing and knitting; Thirza Ainett, teacher of spinning and weaving, and other domestic work; Thomas and Hannah Wells, superintendents."

1852.—"There is now employed on the farm but one man, William H. Harnaday, a member of the Society of Friends; Wilson Hobbs as teacher; Zelinda Hobbs, his wife, assists in the family; Rebecca H. Jenks, as matron, and Ellen Harnaday to assist in the kitchen; Cornelius Douglas, superintendent; and Phoebe W. Douglas, his wife, has charge of the clothing department."

1853.—"We have in our employment at the present time Robert Styles, as teacher; Rachel Styles, his wife, has charge of the girls when out of school; Rebecca H. Jenks as matron; Cornelius Douglas, superintendent; and Phoebe N. Douglas, his wife, has charge of the clothing department. Davis Thayer has been employed in erecting a barn during the present summer; his wife, Elizabeth, and daughter, Elizabeth M., have rendered important services in the family."

1854.—Davis W. Thayer makes the report as superintendent.

1857.—Simon D. Harvey, superintendent.

so that the excavation formed a basement. This building stood north and south in its greatest direction. In the basement was a large kitchen, a large dining-room, a pantry, and a cellar. In the central portion of the second story were the offices and living-rooms of the officers—in the north end was the schoolroom and collecting-room for the boys, and in the south end the sewing- and work-room for the girls. The upper half-story was devoted entirely to sleeping apartments. The barn was a poor concern, but a good one was built soon after my time there. A most excellent spring was near by, a few rods north of the house; this doubtless determined the site for buildings. The farm was well supplied with utensils for working it, and with horses, cattle, hogs, and domestic fowls. The house was very plainly furnished, with only such furniture and conveniences as were absolutely necessary for comfort and business.

The school when I took charge of it consisted of about forty children, all of whom were Shawnees but one, who was a Stockbridge. These were fed, clothed and educated entirely at the expense of the church. They were received without preparation, and came ragged, covered with filth and vermin, with long hair, and the habits of uncivilized life upon them, and with no knowledge of the English language.

The service to a new pupil was to trim his hair closely; then, with soap and water, to give him or her the first lesson in godliness, which was a good scrubbing, and a little red precipitate on the scalp, to supplement the use of a fine-toothed comb; then he was furnished with a suit of new clothes, and taught how to put them on and off. They all emerged from this ordeal as shy as peacocks just plucked. A new English name finished the preparation for the alphabet and the English language. The children were not allowed to speak the Shawnee language among themselves except when absolutely necessary. The object of this rule was to force the knowledge and use of the English upon all as soon as possible. Our school-books were all in this language. Our people never made a translation into the Shawnee tongue. Doctor Barker, superintendent of the Shawnee Baptist mission, translated the New Testament scriptures into the Shawnee tongue, and printed the book himself, but I think it did very little service. It could only be read by those who had been taught in the schools, and these had all been taught the English.

The progress made by the children in learning was very fair. Except on Saturday and Sunday, they were kept in school six hours each day.

When not in school, it was my duty to have the boys at such work about the house or farm as was needed to be done, and the girls were under the care of my wife in the sewing-room, except such as were detailed for dining-room and kitchen work. The fact is worthy of observation that the boys did not like to work, and the hardest part of my duty was to keep them at it. Besides this, it took a great stretch of forbearance on the part of their parents and Indian friends to be pleased at seeing them work. An Indian man must make a great stride toward civilization, yes, in civilization, before he can crown labor with his respect.

At the time of my residence with these people there were very few full-blooded Indians among them. Two hundred years of contact with border white men had done much to change their blood and set them out on what I think their only sure way to civilization. The Parkses (Jo and William), the Blue-jackets (Charles*

*A sketch of Charles Blue-jacket is given in Connelley's "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," page 18. He died at his home in the Indian Territory October 29, 1897, having made a visit to Wyandotte county the preceding month for the purpose of locating the grave of the famous Shawnee prophet. The Historical Society's Scrap-book B, volume 2, contains an account of this visit and also of the death of the prophet, the latter by Dr. J. A. Chute, of Westport, in 1837.

Henry, and George), the Fishes (Paschal and John), the most noted and influential men of their tribe, were scarcely half-bloods, the white predominating. Of the three Blue-jacket brothers, George had most red blood and least civilization. These men were all formerly pupils in the early mission schools of the Friends while still in Ohio.

The widow of the prophet, the brother of Tecumseh, was still living, and I knew her well. She resided in the woodland, down Turkey creek toward Kaw river, where was the principal settlement of the tribe, and there were, in the same neighborhood, several families of the descendants of the old warrior and his brother, the prophet. I also saw in the same vicinity an Indian woman said to be 125 years old, and, from some historical facts which she called to mind as related to her early life, I was led to believe her age was not misstated. She was certainly the oldest human being I ever saw. She was smoked and dried up so that she looked like a mummy, and so different from any human creature I ever beheld without embalming cloths upon it, that it would have taken little testimony to have made me believe her to be two or three centuries old.

Jo Parks resided near the state line, about ten miles from Westport, Mo. He had a large and well-managed farm and an elegant, well furnished brick house. His wife was a Wyandotte, and an excellent lady. My wife and I often visited them, and were entertained in a superb manner. He was the head chief of his tribe. He owned a number of slaves, and, so far as I know, was the only slaveholder in the territory except Rev. Mr. Johnson, superintendent of the Methodist mission, which was near by.

A very interesting story was current during my stay in the territory of Jo's experience with the fugitive-slave law. How much or whether all the story was true I cannot tell. It ran thus: In 1849, or thereabouts, two of his slave men escaped from his service, and to facilitate their flight they took with them two of his best horses. Of course Jo was after them in hot haste. The scent became so warm near the Iowa line that, thinking them near by, he procured a warrant for their arrest. They were discovered just over the state line, at work in a harvest field. Jo was too anxious to secure the prey to consider that his warrant would not carry its force across a state line, but pushed forward and made the arrest. He soon found that his property was not only in a free state, but amongst friends who did not believe in the divine right of the slave-catcher; so a posse of abolitionists came around them to see that the property had fair play, and soon dissolved the grip of Jo's warrant. The matter by this time looked a little scary to Jo, but he must do something to hold his prey until he could have counsel and improve his catch; so he had the negroes arrested for horse-stealing. It appeared on trial, however, that by the slave code the negroes and horses stood in the same relation to the claimant before the law, and it was quite evident that the horses had run away with the negroes, not the negroes with the horses; and hence the action must lie against the horses. About this time Jo became aware of the fact that his enemies were preparing to arrest him for kidnapping. At the mention of this he cut out for home, leaving negroes and horses behind him, glad to escape in safety.*

* OSAWATOMIE, KAN., 1st month, 18th, 1857.

To Augustus Wattles: ESTEEMED FRIEND—Thy note of the 4th inst. has been received. . . . I have no information from Friends' mission of a reliable character—only the official report to the yearly meeting, the substance of which I send herewith.

On the 20th of August last a body of armed men eighteen in number came to the mission, threw down the fence, and made their way through the farm; they went to the barn, where they found the horses harnessed for work; they cut the harness to pieces and threw it on the ground; they took all the horses on the farm. The superintendent of the mission went out and asked them to leave one horse for him to ride to Westport for a physician for his wife, who was sick,

William Parks and the Blue-jackets resided on the table-land between Turkey creek and Kaw river. They had large and well-improved farms, and lived in good style. This remark applies to Charles and Henry Blue-jacket, not to George, who, while he was a chief, was guilty of habits of intoxication, and gave little encouragement to methods of progress. The Parks and Blue-jacket brothers, except George, dressed in full civilized attire, but George never wore a hat, and carried many marks of his race. William Parks was perhaps the most prosperous farmer in the territory, not even excepting his brother Jo. He died of pneumonia the winter of 1851-'52.

The Fish brothers and Tula resided on Wakarusa creek not far from Blue Mound. Paschal Fish was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—an offshoot of Johnson's Methodist mission. I think he had a little church and following up there.

I very distinctly remember an old Indian named Cuepia. He was one of the company of Shawnees commanded by Jo Parks who were employed by the United States Government to go to Florida to assist in dislodging the Seminoles. These savages had given the government an immense amount of trouble and expense in efforts to dislodge them, but the methods of civilized warfare in the everglades of Florida, after years of trial, were given up to be a failure. Hence, the government thought to take advantage of the tact and methods of the Shawnee Indians, thereby to accomplish what had before proved so difficult an undertaking. In a short time they brought the Seminoles to terms, and brought about peace. Cuepia was the only man of the company wounded. He was shot through the wrist while holding up his hand in token of friendship. He loved to tell the story of their great success, and I as well to hear him. I am sorry that I cannot now rehearse it with sufficient distinctness and accuracy to make it valuable as a historical fact.

Near the mission premises, on the west, resided Kotcheque, an old Indian widow, with her two sons, Quamopia and Red—the latter a drunken, dangerous Indian; the former a dutiful son, who loved his mother and gave her good support. Quamopia was the best shot with a bow and arrow I ever saw. He could so direct a vertical flight of a heavy-ended arrow as to make it strike, in its fall, upon the spot intended. He used to amuse himself, very much to the dismay of the Indian boys, by shooting upward and having the arrow fall upon their heads.

Adjoining us on the east was the government blacksmith and shop, where was

but the captain of the band gave utterance to profane and abusive language, and, pointing his gun at him, told him this was only a beginning of what he might look for if he did not leave the place. When he went into the house, the ruffian told the hired man if the superintendent came out again he would shoot him. After the ruffians left they found that one of the horses would not answer their purpose, and some of them advised the man who had him to take him back. He swore he would not, and shot the horse down. On going back to Westport, they held a meeting and passed resolutions that if the Friends did not leave they would burn the mission to the ground; but these proceedings coming to the ears of Senator David R. Atchison and others, they said it would not do; that policy would require them to let the Quakers alone, and a circular to that effect was issued by them. Friends have had assurance that they would not again be disturbed.

I have thought that some account of the band of Georgians who stopped near this place might be acceptable.

In the early part of last summer a band of Georgians located themselves on the lands of the Miami Indians, about three miles from Osawatomie, in numbers variously estimated from 75 to 200. They said their object was to form a colony and build up a town. For a time they were very friendly, and some of them told free-state men that they were hired to stay here till such time as they could vote for slavery, but that they wished themselves away. They began to commit depredations in the neighborhood, which soon amounted to robbery and theft on a large scale. Then the free-state men thought it time that such a nuisance should be abated, and about 100 men from different parts of the territory (but no one from Osawatomie) came to

done the smithing for the Shawnees, as per treaty contract. A Mr. Perkins was the smith employed during my time. He died of cerebro-spinal meningitis during the winter of 1851-'52.

The Baptist mission was some two miles southeast of us, and under the superintendence and care of Doctor Barker and wife.* They had no school, but a few Indian children were cared for and educated in the family. Doctor Barker preached regularly every Sabbath at the little frame church at the roadside near by, sometimes in the Shawnee, and at other times in the English language, with an interpreter. His congregations were usually very small, and consisted chiefly of a little membership of Indians which he had built up around him. The chief work of this mission was in the service of Doctor Barker as a physician to the Indians. He was well informed in medicine, and the only physician in the territory. He did all the practice among the Indians, outside of their own means of cure.

Doctor Barker and his wife were the most conscientious and self-sacrificing people whom I knew while in the mission work. They were large-minded, well educated and refined; they left a good home, where they were enjoying the comforts of New England life, and gave themselves, body and soul, to mission work. There did not seem to be a selfish impulse about them; their only thought was to do the Indians good. When they went to this work or when they left it I do not know. I found them there in 1850, with the appearance of being old residents, and left them there in 1852. My impression is that Doctor Barker died at his post about the time of the Kansas war.

Of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church South,† under the superintendence of Rev. Mr. Johnson, I had little knowledge. It was much better equipped in every way than any other mission in the territory. The farm was large and well improved: the location a choice one; the buildings were of brick, large and commodious, and the outfit in every way superb. But there was an air about it which did not inspire confidence. The superintendent was a slave-owner, and worked slaves upon the mission premises, and he was largely engaged in speculation and trade. The concern seemed to hold herself aloof from, and above, the more humble sisters near by, and they were too modest either to court or demand her respect. Hence there was little intercourse between them.

At this time no white persons were allowed to reside in the territory except those engaged in missionary work, those in the employ of the United States government, licensed traders, and those who had intermarried with the Indians. Of the latter number there were but few. John Owens was one of these. He was about fifty years old and had no children. He resided in a little valley, I

disperse them; but the Georgians, getting wind of their coming, hastily left, and the free-state men took possession of their property — about \$500 worth, in clothing and provisions — and burned their fort, the only building they had erected. Reports were rapidly circulated in Missouri that the abolitionists were killing and driving off pro-slavery men and burning their houses; hence the plea for getting up the invasion which resulted in the battle and destruction of Osawatomie.

The few Friends living near Osawatomie have never been molested in any way, nor has a hand been laid upon anything of theirs. My life has been repeatedly threatened, and that too by those whom I never saw. There has been a set of creatures among us who professed to be free-state men, but who acted as spies for the ruffians, and reported to them the name and sayings of every prominent free-state man. Respectfully, RICHARD MENDENHALL.

*Mrs. Governor Robinson gives a very pleasant account of Doctor Barker's family, with whom she tarried while on her way into Kansas, in March, 1855. — "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life, 1856," chapter 3.

†A very appreciative sketch of Rev. Thomas Johnson and his mission work is contained in Audreas's History of Kansas, page 300. At this mission were domiciled the executive officers of the territorial government from 1854 to 1856, and the legislature of 1855.

think on Cedar creek, near its entry into the Kaw river. It was on the main road leading from the missions and Westport, Mo., to the Wakarusa neighborhood, near Blue Mound. He was a very useful man among the Indians—a man of good sense, well informed, of correct habits, and of no mean inventive genius. He had a large and good influence among his adopted people. I cannot now recall his history prior to taking up his abode with the Shawnees, but think he had been some time with them when I first knew him.

Samuel Cornetzer was employed a while as a laborer at the Methodist mission, and about 1850 he married an Indian girl who had been educated at the mission. He then built him a house and opened a farm near by where the Santa Fe trail crossed One Hundred and Ten creek. He was a good man, and I am recently informed that he is still with the tribe, at their new home in the Indian Territory. His brother Calvin came to the territory in 1850. He was a while employed at our mission, but I am informed that he afterwards married an Indian girl and still resides with the Shawnees.

My mission work kept me so closely employed that I had little time to look at the country, and no business called me away. As I was determined to return to the states in October, 1852, I very much desired to make a trip to Council Grove, which was the seat of a trading point among the wilder Kaw (Kansas) Indians and of the Methodist mission among that tribe. It was located at the crossing of the Neosho river by the Santa Fe trail. So, in July, 1852, I borrowed an Indian pony of Charles or Henry Blue-jacket, I do not remember which, and prepared for a week's absence and a journey of 125 miles and return. I received very many cautions from my Indian friends about the dangers of traveling alone, as some stray party of Kaw Indians whom I might meet on the way would probably take an opportunity to possess themselves of my pony, clothes, and wealth. The possibility of a return home on foot and naked was not very agreeable, it is true, but I had little fear, as I had seen most of these wandering fellows, and had often fed them, and had lost no opportunity to do them such favors as allowing them to carry off dead cats and the offal of butchering pen and smoke-house. So I felt safe.

I set out soon after dinner, and took the Westport branch of the Santa Fe trail westward, and stopped over night at Lone Jack, or Black Jack Point. This was fifteen or twenty miles from the mission, and here was the first house seen after leaving home. The host was a Shawnee whom I knew well, and I was treated as a distinguished guest. The next morning I had an early start, and about twelve o'clock passed Willow Springs,* which was a distinguished watering-place on the trail, but marked only by the fountain of water.

Here I met a party of Kaw Indians who were too much inclined to make themselves familiar to suit me, but one of them knew me, and they allowed me to pass without disturbance. Toward nightfall, after forty miles of travel, I arrived at the house of Samuel Cornetzer, of whom I have before spoken. Here was the first house seen since morning, and the second since leaving the mission, then fifty-five or sixty miles away.

The travel so far has been on very high ground, as the trail maintained a place on the dividing ridge between the Kansas and Arkansas rivers.

I found Calvin Cornetzer at his brother Sam.'s, and he agreed to join me in my journey the next morning. Recent rains, however, had so swollen the streams that we could n't cross One Hundred and Ten creek with safety on our small

*Afterward a town laid off, in sections 21 and 23, township 14 south, of range 19 east, in the southern portion of Douglas county, but abandoned.

ponies, and the deeper one, Dragoon creek, was not far away: so I laid by that day, and on the following morning we set out. We had about sixty miles before us to Council Grove, and no house or other shelter on the way. At Dragoon creek we had deep fording for ponies. The stream ran in a very narrow and deep channel, so that a small increase of water made fording difficult or impossible. The day was passed as was the second day's journey over prairies, only broken by a little timber skirting the streams, and over a wealth of soil never disturbed by man. Buffalo-wallows were frequently seen, but they were but memories of the past, as no hoof had lately been upon them. Our minds were chiefly occupied with the discussion of the landscape in view, and the expectation of what the next hilltop would reveal. It was a day of wonder to me why God had so long allowed so much wealth and beauty to lie waste.

About four P. M. we overtook a wagon and ox team loaded with supplies for the trading-post of Mr. Hays at the grove. As we had already traveled about fifty miles since morning, and were still ten or fifteen miles from our destination, we decided to halt with the wagon and partake of the hospitalities of the teamster for the night. So we fed our tired ponies out of the oxen's corn and tethered them upon the prairie, after which we satisfied our hunger upon bacon, corn-bread, and coffee, and slept soundly under the "ship of the plain" until morning, little disturbed by the barking of the prairie wolves, which made music from dark until daylight. After breakfast we cantered over to the station in a little while.

The Kansas or Kaw Indians at this time were entirely uncivilized, and dwelt in tents and subsisted upon the chase. Their dress was very little changed from primitive habits. They had had little contact with the border, and hence their blood was purely American Indian. The whole tribe was clustered about Council Grove and along the Neosho thereabouts. At the time of my visit most of the lodges were away on the buffalo grounds engaged in their summer hunt. Plenty of game was found on the plains at a distance of from fifty to seventy-five miles.

We found the mission outfit ample for their work. The building was a substantial brick, with a considerable farm attached. The institution was established and conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church South. I cannot now recall the names of any of those in the service. Mr. Hays was licensed trader for this post, and he carried a considerable stock of goods, which were chiefly supplies for the Indians. The Indian village was chiefly on the east bank of the river, while the mission store and other appurtenances of civilization were on the western shore. The stream was about waist deep to a man at the crossing, and there was no bridge. But there was no hesitation by the Indians at crossing. I was much interested at the sense of shame by the women. To cross, the men disrobed themselves of all clothing except the breech cloth and boldly waded through: but the women were much more modest and careful of the exposure of their persons. They carefully lifted their skirts, as they waded in, to suit the depth, and as carefully dropped them as the water grew shallower toward the other shore. I carefully watched one who approached the crossing with two children in her arms, as her hands and arms were already employed. She stood the little ones in the shallow water near the shore and waded in the deeper water in front of them, where she squatted down in the water and fastened her clothing high up on her shoulders. She then reached for the children and moved on, gradually rising as the water grew deeper. When the water became shallower, near the other shore, she began to squat, and came lower and lower down until she could safely land the children, when she put them down in the water and

loosed her skirts and let them drop as she straightened herself up, and waded out without having wet her clothing or exposed her person.

After spending two days with these we set about the return. The first day's travel was to Sam. Cornetzer's, a fatiguing journey of fifty-five or sixty miles. Here my companion stopped, and the next morning I proceeded alone. At Willow Springs I found the skeleton of a Mexican who died there a few weeks before of cholera. The wolves had dug up the remains and closely picked the bones. I hung the brainless skull to my saddle and brought it home with me.

At this point I left the Santa Fe trail and turned to the left, toward Blue Mound. Much of this way led me along the brow of the bluff which overlooks Kaw river valley. I suppose I passed near and overlooked the site of the present city of Lawrence. The trail led me close by Blue Mound, and to the house of an old Indian whose name was Tula, which was my objective point for that day. He lived in a comfortable way in a log house on the bank of Wakarusa creek, a sinuous, sluggish stream, the valley of which bounded the western limit of Shawnee settlements upon their lands. Tula was a very intelligent old Indian and well illustrated the good results from the early work of the Friends with his tribe. He was a leading man in his neighborhood, spoke English fairly, and was, I think, a member of Paschal Fish's church. His door was but a few yards from the stream, and, if I remember rightly, but two or three miles east of Blue Mound. It was the second human habitation seen since leaving Council Grove, a distance of nearly 100 miles. From Tula's to our mission was near thirty miles. The trail here expanded into a roadway, as it was the line of travel from the large Wakarusa settlement to the missions, Westport, and Kansas City. I cannot now distinctly locate the track, but my best recollection is that it ran along the bluffs of the Kaw river and was chiefly in the timbered region. It passed near the residences of Chief Black-hoof and John Owens; also near by Chief George McDougal's and Chief George Blue-jacket's.

On my arrival at the mission I was sun-burned almost beyond recognition, and worn out with travel, and, although all possible changes had been wrought upon my saddle-blanket, the pony's back was skinned from mane to tail.

In these times the great financial event of the year was pay-day—the day of the annual payment by the United States of the annuity to the Indians, stipulated by treaty. Their year's purchases were made with promises to pay from money thus and then received. It was thus a great day not only to the Indians, but also to all their creditors.

The payment was usually made in one of the autumn months. I attended that of 1851. It was made in a grove near the Blue-jacket residences. The head of each family drew the per capita allowance for all his household. The payment was made exclusively in gold coin. The paymaster and his clerk first made an enumeration of the tribe, and from this payment was made. They set up a table in a suitable shaded, grassy spot and shut off the approach, except at the front. A line of creditors leading to the pay table was formed long before the payment began, with the "early birds" at the head, ready to catch the first "worm." When the clerk called a name the respondent marched down the narrow lane to the front, and touched the tip of the clerk's pen in acknowledgment of the receipt of the sum due him. The paymaster (agent) then counted out the precious coin due him, and dropped it into his hand. Before his fingers could close upon the money all his creditors within reach would make a grab at the hand, while those further away would catch at his clothing to pull him back to them. His credit for the next year depended upon the celerity with which he allowed every fellow to pick out of his hand the amount he pleased; more often than otherwise the money was all gone before the Indian got out of the lane, and he was much

of a financier who carried any home with him. As a rule, the creditors to whose lot fell the more distant places from the table had poor picking. Often three or four creditors were taking money out of the hand at the same moment, and, if any chose to do so, the sum taken could be made to exceed the demand without the possibility of discovery. There was no assurance of honest settlement but the unquestionable character (!) of border traders.

The Society of Friends, in their mission work among the Indians, has never made it an object to make Quakers of them and build up a church following. While by correct example and instruction in Christian morality and the doctrines of the gospel of Christ they endeavored to lead them to correct conduct and religious opinions, they felt it too great a weight for the church to carry a membership of half-civilized people. Every day of the year the whole mission family was collected for Scripture reading and such other devotional exercise as might be offered in the way of prayer, testimony, praise, or teaching; and three times a week (Thursday morning, and twice each Sabbath) there was held regular church service. During my stay at the institution there was at all times a recognized minister present, in the person, first, of Thomas Wells, the superintendent of the mission, and afterward Cornelius Douglas, who succeeded him. Our work was confined almost exclusive to the maintenance and conduct of a school and family, into which the Indian children were received and educated and all their wants supplied. The course of study embraced reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and English grammar; and should any desire to push their learning beyond this course, they were sent by order of the committee in charge to neighborhoods of the Friends in Ohio or Indiana, where they might have the opportunities of the better white schools and of civilized society. Very many of the older pupils accepted these privileges, and remained away from their people two or three years. Among these I remember the names of Lewis Doherty and Joseph DeShane. It was very much desired that some of these might qualify themselves for teachers in the mission school, but the Indian traits were never sufficiently stamped out of any of them to make suitable examples for the children.

It was a source of great sorrow to us that, after years of careful instruction and training at the mission, the society of their people outside so easily led them away from what they had learned and adopted. But day by day the work was done amid hopes and fears, with little present proof of good done, but believing that the years to come would gather a harvest from our seed-sowing.

On the morning of April 2, 1852, the second year of my service in the Mission, there was born to my wife and self a son, whom we named Walton C. Hobbs. He has since grown to manhood, and for some years has resided in Indianapolis, Ind. He is now (1884) the assistant general freight agent of the Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis & Chicago railroad, and is the proprietor of the Cable tea store, 918 Main street, Kansas City, Mo. So far as I know, he was the first white child born on the territory now comprising the state of Kansas,* but I

*The author was mistaken in this supposition. Napoleon Boone, grandson of Daniel, was born at the home of his father, Daniel Morgan Boone, then farmer at the Kaw Indian agency, in Jefferson county, Kansas, about seven miles west of North Lawrence, August 22, 1828. Lewis B. Dougherty, son of Maj. John Dougherty, agent of the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas of Nebraska, was born at Fort Leavenworth, December 7, 1828. Col. A. S. Johnson, son of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, was born at the Shawnee Methodist manual-labor school, in what is now Johnson county, July 11, 1832. Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, youngest daughter of Rev. Robert Sinnerwell, was born at the Shawnee Baptist mission, in Johnson county, January 24, 1835. She married John S. Carter, March 1, 1866, and died at her home near Auburn, Shawnee county, January 3, 1883. Her grandson, John R. Carter, was nominated for the office of superintendent of schools for Shawnee county at the Republican primaries, February 27, 1904.

cannot certainly state it as a fact that he was the first. He was the first so far as I am informed.

At Indiana yearly meeting of Friends, held at Richmond, Ind., October 6, 1862, the committee on Indian concerns made the following report, which I here present as a historical sketch of the work of the church with the Shawnee Indians up to the year 1862, taken from the minutes of Indiana yearly meeting for that year:

DEAR FRIENDS—As our labors for the civilization of the Shawnee Indians, which have been continued with very little intermission for over forty years, are about to close, we apprehend it is a duty we owe to the yearly meeting briefly to advert to those labors, and endeavor to show some of the benefits resulting therefrom during that period.

In the year 1821, when Ohio yearly meeting was divided and Indiana yearly meeting set up, this committee was originally appointed to cooperate with a similar committee of Baltimore and Ohio yearly meetings in carrying the "plan for the civilization of the Indians," as received from Ohio yearly meeting, into effect; and at the meeting held at White Water meeting-house, on the twelfth day of tenth month, 1821, Isaac Harvey, Aaron Brown and Jonathan Wright were appointed a subcommittee to cooperate with a like subcommittee of Ohio yearly meeting in purchasing a tract of land and preparing a school establishment, as contemplated by the yearly meetings concerned.

At a meeting held at Waynesville, Ohio, fifth month, tenth day, 1822, this subcommittee reported that they, in conjunction with the subcommittee of Ohio yearly meeting, had procured an eligible situation adjoining the Wapakoneta (Shawnee) reserve, and had caused to be erected suitable buildings thereon.

At this time the Shawnees were in a wild state, residing in small villages, neglecting the cultivation of the soil, and depending almost entirely on the success of hunting for support. And although they profess to believe in the Great Spirit, the creator and upholder of all things, they were without the Holy Scriptures, ignorant of the revealed laws of God and the plan of salvation by Jesus Christ. They were very superstitious and labored under strange delusions. As an evidence of this, we may refer to a single case. On one occasion a prominent woman among them was tried and condemned as a witch, and would have been executed had not our superintendent, Isaac Harvey, assisted by the head chief, interposed, at the peril of their lives, and saved her from an untimely death. After that occurrence, Friends were enabled through divine aid to inculcate Christian views among them so far as to cause that, with some other evil practices, to be abolished.

The committee continued to labor among them at their reservation in Ohio about twelve years, within which time they obtained considerable influence with them, and a number of Indians opened farms and engaged in agricultural pursuits, and sent their children to school, to be instructed in the duties appertaining to civilized life; but we apprehend that greater progress would have been made had more devotion and greater zeal been manifested in inculcating the doctrines and precepts of the gospel.

In 1832 the Shawnees concluded a treaty with the general government, by which they agreed to dispose of their reservation in Ohio, and take in part payment a large tract of land west of the Mississippi river. The Friends, having obtained permission from the government, sent a deputation to visit them at their new homes. By the report of that deputation, it appears they found the Shawnees located in a rich and healthy country, and well pleased with their change.

They received the deputation with gladness, manifesting gratitude toward Friends for their former labors to ameliorate their condition, and desires for a continuance of their care.

In 1834 a donation of £300 was received from Friends of London yearly meeting, for the Christian instruction and civilization of the Shawnee Indians west of the Mississippi river, and such other tribes as may be located in the neighborhood. The donation was accompanied by a communication expressing much sympathy with Friends in their good work, and a desire that a "meeting for worship might be established, to be held on first and week-days, and that the objects of care be invited, as they may incline, to sit down with Friends in silence to wait upon the Lord."

In 1835 the committees of Baltimore, Ohio and Indiana yearly meetings met at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and revised the "plan of operations for the Christian instruction and civilization of the Shawnee Indians," which, being submitted to the secretary of war, was approved, and a deputation was sent to visit the Indians, to submit the plan to them, and, if approved, proceed with the preliminaries necessary to put it in operation. The deputation, on return, reported that the Shawnees, in full council, in presence of the government agent, gave their consent fully and freely, and desired that the committee would erect buildings, and open a farm on their land, with the privilege of occupying as long as they wanted to keep up the school, declaring "that they had full confidence in their friends, the Quakers."

During the year 1836 the committees were engaged in erecting the necessary buildings and opening a farm.

In 1837 superintendents were employed, a school opened, a meeting for worship on first and week-days was established, and the superintendents were directed to have portions of the Holy Scriptures read daily in the school and in the family, and to take particular care to instruct the Indian children in the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel.

From this time the committee continued to labor among them with pretty good success for several years, the school numbering from fifteen to forty-five scholars, who were boarded, lodged and clothed at the expense of Friends. During this period many of the Indians built comfortable houses, opened farms, and prepared to enjoy the comforts of civilized life. A considerable number of the Indians were brought under conviction, and embraced the doctrines of the Gospel, but no provision having been made by our yearly meeting for their reception into membership with Friends, they united themselves with the Baptist and Methodist churches. Some of the Shawnees, however, continued to attend Friends' meeting, and in 1852 an Indian by the name of Kako (a as in far), not feeling at liberty to join either of these societies, made application to the committee, and was finally received into membership by Friends of Miami monthly meeting (Ohio), and during the remainder of his life his conduct and conversation were circumspect and exemplary. The closing scene of his life was rather remarkable. He had a large number of Indians collected, and was enabled to address them in a very feeling and impressive manner. His death was triumphant, exhibiting in a striking manner the power of faith in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

We also believe it to be right to mention in this connection, that in 1860 the head chief of the Shawnee nation voluntarily resigned his office because he could not conscientiously pronounce sentence of death on a member of the tribe who had been tried and found guilty of murder. In a conversation on the subject with our superintendent, he expressed (placing his hand on his breast at the same

time) that it seemed to him, indeed, a very solemn thing to take away the life of a man—it would be taking from him that which not the whole nation, nor even the whole world, could restore to him: and that a forcible conviction in his mind was that a day is coming that will try such transactions very closely.

Although this individual had not connected himself in religious fellowship with Friends, yet he was warmly attached to them, and was a public advocate of the principles of peace, the abolition of slavery, and the cause of temperance. He frequently attended Friends' meetings at the establishment, and was occasionally very earnestly and fervently engaged in public exhortation in the meeting, but more frequently was he so engaged in the evening family readings with the school, where, by his counsel and encouragement, he was particularly helpful to the right ordering of the Indian children; and we doubt not but those good principles thus manifested in him were matured and from time to time strengthened by his acquaintance with Friends.

In the year 1854 the Shawnees made another treaty* with the United States, by the provisions of which they sold all their lands to the government, except the eastern part of their reservation—a tract twenty-five by thirty miles in extent, from which were to be selected 200 acres of land for each man, woman and child of the tribe, to be secured to them individually by the government. The treaty also secured to Friends the use of 320 acres of land, for the benefit of the school, so long as it may be continued. The few families living in the ceded tract were allowed to select 200 acres for each individual at their place of residence.

Should the school be discontinued, the land and the improvements were to be appraised separately and sold, the value of the land to be paid to the Indians and the value of the improvements to be paid to the Friends.

By the regular report received by our superintendent through the past year, we are informed that the school was kept up until the 27th day of sixth month last, when, at the suggestion of the superintendent, with the unity of two members of the committee living in Kansas, it was discontinued, and the teacher returned home and was paid for her services.

The school has been undergoing a gradual change in character for some years, and is now properly a school for Indian orphan children generally. During the last year, while refusing no Shawnee child that was offered, it has received and instructed children from the Wyandotte, Stockbridge, Ottawa, Seneca and Brotherton tribes. All Indian children in attendance were orphans except two.

The teachers' reports show that the children made good progress in their studies, were very susceptible to kind treatment, and easily managed in school.

The Holy Scriptures were regularly read in the school and in the family, and a first-day school kept up, in which all the members of the family took part. The principal branches taught in the school were spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography.

The following notes of the further progress of the work of the Friends at this mission are extracts taken from the reports of the committee in charge of the work as made in the yearly meeting year after year, as noted:

1863.—Early in eleventh month last the committee met at the establishment and made an inventory and appraisal of the personal property, amounting to \$1070. This was sold for \$1111. It did not include the buildings. The school has been discontinued and the premises were left in the care of James and Rachel Stanley. Soon afterward the Shawnee chiefs and council became anxious for a

* See Revision of Indian Treaties, 1873, page 792.

school for their orphan children, offering to pay the expense by an appropriation from their school fund. A contract was concluded through their agent, by which the Friends were to receive eighty dollars per scholar per annum for boarding, clothing, tuition and medical attendance for a number not exceeding fifty. A contract was then made with James and Rachel Stanley to board, clothe and educate such children for seventy-five dollars per annum per capita, and the use of the buildings and farm, the five dollars being retained for medical attention and incidental expenses.

The school, under this arrangement, opened April 1, 1863, under the care of Henry and Anne M. Thorndyke as teachers, with an average attendance of forty-three scholars.

1864.—The superintendent reports they have seventy-six children in attendance—forty-three girls and thirty-three boys—forty-five of these orphans. During the winter smallpox broke out in the school. They had thirty cases and but three deaths.

1865.—Soon after our last report the school closed, owing to great advances in the price of every article necessary for the support thereof, the chiefs and council not being willing at that time to advance the price; after which there was some change made in the council, and at the meeting held in January, 1865, we were informed they wanted the school opened again. We had several satisfactory interviews with them, and concluded a contract in February for reopening the school, by which we agreed to receive at Friends' mission forty Shawnee children, and board, clothe, furnish medicine and medical attendance, and teach the ordinary branches of English education, for the sum of \$31.25 per quarter. The school opened April 1, 1865, with Elisha Parker and wife, superintendents, and Mary E. Hill, teacher. It filled up in a few days and proved very satisfactory.

1866.—Since our last report the Shawnee mission establishment has been carried on by contract as made last year with the chiefs and council of the Shawnee tribe of Indians through their agent. The following summary shows the condition of the school the last year, viz.:

Number enrolled: Males, 35; females, 33; total, 68.

Average attendance	40	In reading	34
Orphans (thirty-five no parent)	54	In writing	18
In school over nine months	22	In mental arithmetic	15
In school over six months	27	In practical arithmetic	5
Over fifteen years of age	6	In geography	15
Under ten years of age	39	In grammar	4
In alphabet	17		

1867.—The school has been kept up, with an average attendance of thirty-five scholars.

1868.—The school has been kept up during the past year, with an average attendance of thirty-three scholars. Their general conduct and advancement in literary knowledge have been satisfactory. We have very recently received notice from the council of the Shawnees that they desire to terminate the contract under which the school has been maintained at the close of the present quarter. Most of the children in the school are orphans. Many of them without home or friends to take care of them, if deprived of a home at the mission. The committee, therefore, feels the importance and necessity of endeavoring to maintain a school or asylum for such children, to such extent at least, as can be sustained by the farm.

1869.—At the termination of the contract with the council the school closed, in November, 1868, and most of the children were withdrawn. Such as had no

other home remained. The council soon afterwards desired it reopened under same contract, and this was done in January, 1869, and continued to do well until April, when the council again changed its mind and the school was closed. This vacillation on the part of the council was not on account of any dissatisfaction with the school, but on account of some consideration relating to the title to the mission farm.

1870.—At this yearly meeting the committee proposed that Levi Woodard and Eli Vestal should sell all the property belonging to the mission and close up its affairs in Kansas. To this the yearly meeting assented, and Woodard and Vestal were so directed; and further, to receive all moneys then in the hands of the Indian committee, and pay all over to the treasurer of the yearly meeting.

1871.—The following is the report of the committee consisting of Woodard and Vestal, who were appointed in 1870 to close out the mission affairs:

"To the Yearly Meeting: We the committee appointed to sell the personal property and close up the business connected with the Shawnee mission report that we sold at public sale, on the 11th day of November, 1870, all the property that was then in readiness for sale, the grain not being in condition for market, and realized therefor..... \$687 25

For grain sold afterwards.....	271 00
Funds in hands of superintendent.....	63 75
Received of Indian committee, May 22, 1871.....	1,191 11
Received of Indian committee, September 12, 1871.....	*5,000 00
Received interest on above.....	97 50
Total.....	\$2,810 61

Paid out since report of Indian committee last year:

For hogs.....	\$98 00
Provisions.....	14 00
Work done for rent not collected.....	86 00
Marketing grain, advertising and sale expenses.....	60 00
Balance salary of superintendent.....	200 00
Forward to treasurer, May 22, 1871.....	1,189 31
Forward to treasurer, September 20, 1871.....	1,159 75
Exchange.....	3 55
	\$2,810 61

The treasurer of the yearly meeting made the following report as to the money he had received, in any way relating to the affairs of the Shawnee mission, with an account of the investments he had made of the funds:

Received, November 17, 1870, of the United States, the value of improvements on land sold.....	\$5,000 00
Less exchange.....	7 50
	\$4,992 50
Received, July 28, 1871, six months' interest on \$5000 of bonds bought,	293 04
Received, May 28, 1871, of committee, from sale of personal property....	1,186 31
Received, September 27, of committee, from sale of personal property..	1,162 75
	\$7,634 60

Invested:

November 17, 1871, United States 6s of 1881.....	\$4,500 00
Premium.....	503 35
July 28, 1871, United States 6s of 1881, premium.....	291 42
September 28, 1871, cash on hand.....	2,339 83
	\$7,634 60

The order of the yearly meeting as to the disposition of this money was that it should be invested in permanent stocks, and that the interest should be expended by another Indian committee, which is engaged in a wider field of effort to help on the work of Indian civilization.

* This probably is an error; if \$500, then the totals agree.

Thus closed the missionary work among the Shawnee Indians which was begun by the Friends of Baltimore yearly meeting in 1803. The Ohio yearly meeting afterwards joined hands with Baltimore; and in 1821 the Indiana yearly meeting stood in with the others, and soon afterwards assumed the whole work and carried it to the end.

There are no detailed reports of this work except the annual reports of the committee in charge made to the yearly meeting. These have never been published except in the annual minutes of each yearly meeting. These minutes were published in pamphlet form each year, and no file can be found except in the hands of some very careful person who has preserved and bound them for his own use.

Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, Ill., informs me that he has a complete file of these minutes. I have nearly a complete file in my hands, which was preserved by John Hadley, jr., late of Springboro, Ohio, which now belongs to W. R. Evans, Esq., of Indianapolis, Ind., to whom I am indebted for the courtesy of their use.

BY CHARLES F. COFFIN.*

The copy of the report of the Indian committee to Indiana yearly meeting, made in 1862, and quoted in full by Doctor Hobbs, was intended as a condensed history of the work of Friends of that yearly meeting amongst the Shawnee Indians. It is, however, quite condensed. A full history of the work might be taken from the reports of the Indian committee, as found in minutes of the yearly meeting for many years, while the work was going forward. The condensed report in Doctor Hobbs's paper of transactions after 1862 I find has been taken from these minutes and is correct so far as it goes.

The care of the Friends of this yearly meeting alone over the Indians was continued until after the first inauguration of General Grant as president of the United States, when, at his request, a number of tribes in Kansas and on the border were placed under care of Friends, of the United States, and a committee was appointed by each yearly meeting in the United States, which acted together, and was called the "associated executive committee on Indian affairs," which has continued work among the Indians until the present time. The Shawnee Indians, who were especially the object of the care of Friends of Indiana yearly meeting, had in the meantime sold their land in Kansas and removed into the Indian territory, near the Kansas border, and were affiliated with the Cherokee Indians. This tribe had in the meantime, through the labors of Friends and others, become largely civilized. There were educated men amongst them and the habits of white life had been generally adopted, and many of them in their new location had opened good farms. The work of civilization and the intermixture of white blood had to a great extent eradicated almost all the appearance of Indians amongst them.

The work of Friends is now extended over many of the small tribes in Kansas and vicinity, and the results have been quite remarkable. In fact, the "Indian problem" as it used to be spoken of, has been solved, and the work of education and of religious instruction have gone forward until many of the tribes have become quite enlightened.

The Society of Friends has now more than 500 Indian members, and quite a number of meetings made up almost entirely of Indians. The remnant of Modocs removed into the territory, under the charge of Friends, proved particularly susceptible to religious work, and there grew up amongst them several ministers

*For many years clerk of Indiana yearly meeting, and member of the associated executive committee on Indian affairs.

of the Gospel, one or two of whom were quite remarkable men; but the climate was not healthful for them, and death removed several of the most striking Christians, who died full of the faith and hope of the Gospel, amongst them these ministers.

In the year 1894, accompanied by my wife, we visited several of the mission stations in the tribes under care of Friends, and were greatly interested in seeing the advance in civilization and Christianity amongst them. A meeting of Friends was held at the town of Blue-jacket, on the lands belonging to the Shawnees, which was attended by several of the Shawnees and other Indians; amongst others, Charles Blue-jacket, their old chief, became a steady attender of the meetings, and took part in the devotions. He was a local minister amongst the Methodists previous to this time, and I believe always retained his connection with them, although attending Friends' meeting frequently. He was an interesting man, of fine physique, educated, and of great force of character. We were guests at his house, which we found in excellent condition, with all the comforts possessed by the whites around them. His grown daughters were beautiful and attractive young ladies, well educated, and in every respect, except a shade of color, like white people. Indeed, his whole household and family bore all marks of refinement and culture. He has since died.

Friends still continue their mission work amongst these various tribes, and have assisted in their education. They will probably, however (as their land has been divided into allotments), soon intermingle with the whites around them, and form reputable citizens of the country. Amongst these tribes the young people who have been educated do not fall back into Indian habits. The danger is that they will adopt the evil habits of the whites, as they are surrounded largely by evil influences; and yet, on the whole, the work has proved quite satisfactory, and the results show that it is possible to make good Christians and useful citizens out of Indians.

Much of this work was commenced within the limits of the state of Kansas, and all of it is so near the border as to be considered in connection with the history of that state.

By NATHAN AND LYDIA HENSHAW.*

In the year 1831, the Shawnee Indians, with whom Friends had been laboring for a number of years in Wapakoneta, Ohio, agreed with the government to exchange their reservation for lands west of the Mississippi river. The chiefs expressed a wish that Friends would continue with them, as they had always been true to them, and they were very desirous to have their children educated. In 1832 they removed to eastern Kansas (Johnson county). In 1833 three members of the Indian committee of Indiana yearly meeting visited the families of the Indians in their new homes, encouraging and advising them as they saw fit, and reported: "The Indians are settled on an excellent tract of land, nearly one-half of which is rich, dry prairie; the remainder well timbered, with good mill streams, and apparently healthy, and they appear to be satisfied."

The reports of Indiana yearly meeting for 1834 note: "The concern for the civilization of the Shawnee Indians, who have heretofore been under our care, in the future will be carried on by the yearly meetings of Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana, the active part of the work devolving on Indiana and Ohio jointly; that a suitable family be placed among them to superintend the work, and a school be kept up regularly, with at least twenty-five scholars, who are to be taught the use of letters and the domestic arts; that the secretary of war be asked to ap-

* Written January 28, 1897.

point Friends as subagent, blacksmith, etc., in order that there may be Friends enough in the neighborhood for a regular meeting." A valuable tract of 320 acres was leased of the Indians; two natives were employed to build two houses of hewn logs, twenty feet square, one and one-half stories high, with a brick chimney in each end, and another for school and meeting-house, of same dimensions, to be warmed by a stove.

In 1837 Moses Pearson and wife, of Ohio (parents of Mahala Jay), were employed as superintendent and matron, and moved out in wagons, with their family, to take charge; Mary H. Stenton, assistant matron; and Elias Newby, as teacher. The amount expended that year for salaries, traveling expenses, freight, etc., is reported as \$756. A meeting was established and held regularly twice a week, a few of the Indians attending first day meetings. Fifty acres of ground was fenced, broken, and put in cultivation. Moses Pearson is spoken of as one of our best workers. In the year 1842 Thomas H. and Mary W. Stanley took charge of the mission, a brother, James Stanley, acting as assistant.

The year 1844 was a very wet one, causing a general failure of crops; consequently great destitution among the Indians. Thomas H. Stanley informed Eastern Friends, and almost all the yearly meetings, through their meeting for sufferings, contributed to their relief. Thomas Wells, who was several times connected with the work, came West and received and distributed the donations. In 1845, finding there had been more funds sent than was really necessary for the relief of the Indians, permission was obtained of the donors to use the surplus in building a good house, which was greatly needed. The plan proposed by Thomas H. Stanley, and adopted, was to construct a house 24x70 feet, three stories high—the basement of stone, for kitchen, dining-room, and cellar; the upper stories of frame, school rooms in each end, dormitories above, with four rooms in the middle of the building for the family. Thomas and James Stanley went into the forest, chopped and hauled the logs to the mill for the lumber, hewed the framing timber, and did most of the work in erecting the building, which still stands, within a few miles of Kansas City (then an insignificant place, known as Westport Landing), a monument to their integrity, energy, and faithfulness. Thomas H. and Mary W. Stanley still live, beloved by all who know them—"green in old age." The former has probably been a representative to our yearly meeting every year since its origin; has traveled over the Indian Territory many times, since his wards have been again removed; oft-times on foot, "without money and without price," looking after the spiritual and temporal welfare of the children of the forest of many tribes, and gladdening the hearts of the missionaries in their isolation.

In the year 1847 Jesse and Elizabeth Harvey, with their family, were placed in charge of the mission; Dr. Wm. Foster Harvey, long since a minister, and his sister, Sarah, as teachers; and the late Dr. Thomas B. Harvey, of Indianapolis, as industrial teacher or farmer. Before the close of the first year, Jesse Harvey, superintendent, was called from "works to reward," and was laid to rest in the little burying-ground on the mission farm, the rest of the family still remaining at their post for two years.

The reports of the year 1849, from Richard and Sarah Ann Mendenhall (the latter, late of Lawrence), illustrate the thoroughness with which the Indians were instructed both "in the use of letters and the domestic arts": "First-day school has been regularly kept up, and the children exercised in Scripture quotations and Barclay's Catechism. Also there has been made about 500 pounds of butter, 600 pounds of cheese: 84 pounds of wool spun, 42 yards of linsey woven blankets; 32 yards of rag carpet, and a piece of linsey for dresses made; over 50

pairs of stockings knit, 130 garments made up for the girls and over 100 for the boys; also 50 sheets and towels, etc., for house use (all before the day of sewing-machines); one beef, 7000 pounds of pork, salted on the farm; over 60 acres of corn and other vegetables cultivated; 56 children in school, 30 of whom can read the Scriptures, and seem more interested in reading them than in any other book; most can write and cipher; 20 can read and spell easy lessons; 6 are in the alphabet."

James and Rachel Hall Stanley were in charge of the work several years before the close of the mission, and were remarkable for the spirit of self-sacrifice they manifested, often using almost their entire salary, of about \$300 for both superintendent and matron, to support the institution. Few persons have labored as arduously with their own hands in such positions as did she as matron. She has just entered into her rest, to receive her reward.

Many orphan children took refuge in this home, and greatly appreciated the care and affection bestowed upon them. Old John Wolf used frequently to attend the meetings, and preach to the children in their native tongue.

Though the accessions to the church at the time were comparatively few, those now situated among them in the Indian Territory tell us the good done was incalculable; that the children of parents educated at that mission prove beyond doubt that the labor and treasure were not spent in vain. Through the instrumentality of Jeremiah Hubbard and others in the field, many have connected themselves with Friends, and we know of a few able ministers from the tribe who, for many years, held that position in the Methodist church. A number of Friends were formerly connected acceptably with the work whose names space forbids mentioning. Hence we see Quakerism in Kansas was not of so recent date as some may suppose.

In the year 1854 Ira Hadley settled on the Cottonwood river, near where the city of Emporia now stands. The following year the family of Joseph Moon arrived, and in 1856 Curtis Hiatt, Thomas H. Stanley and three other families joined them. Their meeting was held twice a week, at the residence of Curtis Hiatt and Joseph Moon for about three years, when a meeting-house was built, and a large colony of Friends soon gathered. During the border-ruffian troubles they experienced many dangers. Ira Hadley was once arrested by a band of ruffians, but his cool, easy manner threw them off their guard, when he put spurs to his horse and escaped, notwithstanding several shots were fired after him. A company who became disheartened and left the country for the East came to one of the Friends to get him to join them; but he replied, "No; I came here to make my home, and expect to live and die near the Cottonwood," and is there yet. The country was traversed by bands of wild Indians, and several murders were committed by border ruffians, but Friends escaped unhurt.

All milling, groceries and dry-goods had to be transported in covered wagons from Kansas City, Fort Leavenworth, or Westport, the nearest point being about 100 miles. Cottonwood monthly meeting was set up by Ackworth quarterly meeting, Iowa, tenth month, 6th, 1860, then belonging to Indiana yearly meeting. The approach of the civil war brought a large number of valuable Friends from North Carolina and Tennessee, many of whom settled here. In third month, 1868, Cottonwood quarterly meeting was opened by Indiana yearly meeting. It was then composed of two monthly meetings, Cottonwood and Toledo, but has since spread its branches until its meetings number seventeen, and a new quarterly meeting has been set off from it, known as Buffalo quarter.

Richard Mendenhall, who was a personal friend and neighbor of old John Brown, was a prominent man in early Kansas history, his home often proving a

place of refuge and safety to free-state men when in danger and trouble. A monthly meeting is still held here, known as Spring Grove meeting.

In the year 1861 William and Penelope Gardner and Winslow and Margaret Davis came from North Carolina, settling in the village of Hesper, where Jonathan Mendenhall and family and a few other Friends had previously located; very soon a little meeting was organized, first at J. Mendenhall's house, afterward in the schoolhouse. Although little was heard without but talk of war, and the clicking of instruments of war by day and night, as soldiers were passing to and fro through the country, the little company of Friends endeavored to keep their minds stayed in the quiet, feeling they were engaged in their Master's work. A meeting for worship and a preparative meeting were first established in a small meeting-house built for the purpose. Gradually the number was increased by other settlers, and in 1864 a monthly meeting was granted by Kansas quarterly meeting. Quantrill and his band of 300 marauders passed through Hesper on their way to Lawrence, stopped, and surrounded the house of Adella Davis in the night, and demanded to know who lived there. On being told it was a lone widow with her little children, they quietly passed on to the next corner, to the home of a Union refugee from Missouri, and murdered the father of the family, forcing a young man from the house to pilot them to Lawrence, twelve miles away.

Sadness is but a feeble term to express the feelings of those pioneers on that beautiful summer morning, as they watched the smoke ascending straight as a pillar of cloud toward heaven from one home after another, while brave, defenseless men, called from their beds, were being shot down promiscuously, while the arms of their pleading wives were thrown around them. Is it any wonder the people of Kansas look with pity on the ignorance of Eastern political writers, who assail the people of our state "with want of character," when it was settled by the bravest and truest of every state in the Union? But we digress. At this time Levi Jessup and wife, of Indiana, were visiting the families of Hesper meeting, and while the experiences referred to were new and sorrowful to them, they were a great comfort to Friends, and I presume he never preached a more feeling funeral sermon than the one over the remains of that poor man.

In the year 1869, by common consent, Kansas quarterly meeting was divided; Kansas and Tonganoxie monthly meetings to constitute Spring Dale quarter, and Hesper and Spring Grove to form Hesper quarter. In the same year a quarterly meeting was established at Spring River, for the southeastern part of the state and the western portion of Missouri.

In the year 1869 a request was forwarded to Indiana yearly meeting for a yearly meeting to be held in Lawrence, to be known as Kansas yearly meeting. After the request was made, monthly meetings, previously requested, were organized at Lawrence, and at Shawneetown, in Johnson county; the latter place near the Friends' mission, where Amasa and Lydia M. Chase, Eli and Jemima Vestal, and a number of others had located.

Not having means at their command to build a suitable house to accommodate the rapidly-growing population, William C. Coffin consented, with the sanction and authority of the committee, to visit Friends of other yearly meetings as solicitor. He was most kindly received, and raised about \$8000 from the meetings in America, and \$16,000 from Friends of London and Dublin, which enabled them to erect a commodious house, at a cost of \$31,079 for building and premises. Kansas yearly meeting was opened in 1872, with representatives present from every yearly meeting on the American continent. Dr. Wm. Nicholson and

Drusilla Wilson were appointed clerks, and filled the position for many years. The first statistical report shows a membership of 2514, with four quarterly meetings and twenty-five established meetings. The last yearly meeting reports a membership of 10,848, fifteen quarters, and 110 established meetings, a large number of one new quarter being Indians, who show by their lives that they are "acquainted with Christ."

Among the first pioneers in Kansas called to definite work, Abel Bond might be mentioned as one who felt work to be a distributor of religious tracts, always traveling on foot: at one time canvassing the country to and from the Pacific in this way, distributing to all he met.

Many Friends took an active part in the struggle for the prohibitory amendment in our state. Perhaps first among these were Jonathan and Drusilla Wilson, then of Lawrence. When the "crusade" spirit reached us, she was the unanimous choice for president. We take the following from her diary: "It was undertaken with many misgivings on my part lest I might not do justice to the cause, but this crusade was an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work. . . . One morning, at the close of one of our visits to a saloon, the proprietor said to me: 'Our business is just as legal as the business in which your husbands are engaged; we have paid our license, and the city is bound to protect us in our business.' We retired from that saloon wiser, if not better. I said to the women: 'It is time we had changed our crusade from the saloons to our fathers, husbands and sons who make them their agents for a stipulated price.' They then made frequent visits to the city councils, endeavoring to get the state law on the dram-shop act enforced in the county; this failing after a majority of the voters had signed the petition for no license. We often met in council, and to take counsel of God; held mass meetings; visited churches and Sunday schools; circulated petitions all over the state to be presented to the legislature for a constitutional amendment. During one year Jonathan and Drusilla Wilson traveled over 3000 miles in their carriage and addressed 300 audiences, besides Sabbath-schools and bands of hope." She was for many years local president, and for three years state president, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Her diary closes on this subject with "I can exclaim with the Psalmist, 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.'"

KANSAS AT CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA.

THE following is the action taken by the state of Kansas for participation in the dedication of the Chickamauga park. On February 18, 1895, Gov. E. N. Morrill* approved the following act:

AN ACT to create a commission and provide for the erection of monuments and tablets to mark the position of Kansas troops on the battle-fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has provided, by an act approved August 19, 1890, for the purchase and improving of 7600 acres of land

*EDMUND N. MORRILL was born at Westbrook, Cumberland county, Maine, February 12, 1834. He was educated in the common schools and at Westbrook Academy, and learned the trade of tanning. He settled in Brown county, Kansas, in March, 1857. He began business in Kansas with a sawmill. In 1857 he was elected from Brown and Nemaha counties to the first free-state legislature, serving in the special session, December, 1857, and the regular session, January, 1858. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in company C, Seventh Kansas cavalry, was made a sergeant, and in August, 1862, promoted a captain and commissary of subsistence. He was honorably discharged in October, 1865. In 1866 he was elected clerk of the district court, and in 1867

in Tennessee and Georgia to be known as the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, providing for the improving and beautifying of it, for the purpose of preserving and suitably marking for historical and professional military study of the fields of some of the most remarkable maneuvers and most brilliant fighting in the war of the rebellion in which Kansas troops won distinguished honors; and

WHEREAS, The same act provides that it shall be lawful for the authorities of any state having troops engaged, either at Chattanooga or Chickamauga, to enter upon said lands and approaches of said park for the purpose of ascertaining and marking the lines of battle of troops engaged therein, by monuments, tablets, or otherwise; and

WHEREAS, It is but a just recognition of Kansas' brave soldiers that suitable tablets should mark their position, and monuments be erected to commemorate their deeds of heroism on the battle-field: therefore,

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That the governor of the state of Kansas be and he is hereby authorized to appoint a commission consisting of five soldiers of the state of Kansas who served with honor in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, not less than three of whom served in a Kansas regiment in that battle, to locate and erect suitable memorials and monuments commemorative of the deeds of the soldiers of Kansas who fought on those battle fields.

SEC. 2. The said commission is hereby authorized to erect suitable memorial structures, monuments, and tablets, to properly commemorate the heroic deeds of the soldiers of Kansas who took part in said engagements, and to audit the accounts therefor and pay for the same out of the moneys hereinafter appropriated, and said commission is also authorized to audit and pay the actual expenses of said commission out of said appropriation. Said commission shall keep an accurate account of all disbursements, and shall make a full report thereof and of the execution of their trust to the governor on or before the 15th day of November, 1895

SEC. 3. That the sum of \$5000 be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any funds in the treasury of the state not otherwise appropriated, to be drawn and used by said commission for the purpose heretofore mentioned, and the auditor of state is hereby authorized to draw his warrants on the treasurer of state for the purposes and amounts specified herein.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the official state paper.

The following Kansas soldiers who took part in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga were appointed as such commission: Lieut.-col. J. L. Abernathy,* Maj. S. R. Washer,† G. W. Johnson, J. F. Starnes, and L. Akers.

county clerk, of Brown county. He served in this latter capacity until 1872, when he was elected to the state senate. In 1876 he was reelected. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, of which body he was a member for eight years, distinguishing himself as the special champion of the old soldier. In 1890 he voluntarily retired from Congress. In 1894 he was elected governor of Kansas by a large plurality. In 1896 he was defeated. He has been engaged in the banking business at Hiawatha since the war, and has the credit of having never foreclosed a mortgage. He has been a director of the State Historical Society since 1879, and for the year 1896 was president of the Society.

*J. L. ABERNATHY was born in Warren county, Ohio, in 1828. He died at Leavenworth, December 16, 1902. He came to Kansas in 1856, and engaged in the furniture business at Leavenworth. He was a very successful banker and manufacturer, and left an estate worth \$1,000,000. He was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church, and superintendent of its Sabbath-school. He gave large sums to Park College, and maintained a free kindergarten school in Leavenworth. He enlisted in 1861, and was made captain of company A, Eighth Kansas, and was mustered out as lieutenant-colonel at the close of the war. At Kansas City he owned the largest furniture factory in the West.

†SOLOMON R. WASHER was born at Indianapolis, Ind., February 2, 1836. He resided in Indiana until 1860, when he came to Kansas, settling at Atchison. By occupation he is a grain merchant. He has served the public as a member of the board of education, street commissioner, county treasurer, and postmaster. In November, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Eighth Kansas, and was appointed sergeant-major. He served through the grades of lieutenant and captain, was brevetted major, and discharged at Fort Leavenworth, January 6, 1866. He was wounded at the battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863.



Kansas at Chattanooga — Mission Ridge.



THE 3RD KANSAS VOL INFTY
COL. JOHN A. MARTIN COMMANDING
1ST BRIG. GEN. AUGUST VOLLMER
3RD DIV. GEN. T. O. WOOL
J. H. A. G. GEN. GORDON GRANGER
NOVEMBER 23RD 1863.
MOVED IN THIS POINT AT 2:00 O'CLOCK FROM
THE RAILROAD TRACK IN FRONT OF FORT WOOD
AS SKIRMISERS FOR THE BRIGADE AND SUP-
PORTED BY THE BRIGADE CAPTURED THIS KNOB
AND LINE OF WORKS WITHOUT MUCH RESIST-
ANCE AND BEFORE THEIR MAIN LINE ARRIVED.
THE REGIMENT REMAINED IN THIS POSITION
UNTIL 3 O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON OF THE
25TH WHEN IT MOVED WITH THE BRIGADE
TO ASSAULT THE ENEMY'S WORKS AT THE
FOOT OF MISSIONARY RIDGE.

Kansas at Chattanooga — Orchard Knob.

They entered upon their labors with praiseworthy diligence, and faithfully performed all the duties assigned to them. Governor Morrill accepted the invitation extended to the state of Kansas by the National Park Commission, and was present at the dedication of the park, September 19 and 20, 1895, accompanied by the following members of his personal staff: S. M. Fox, adjutant general; C. S. Elliott, paymaster general; H. G. Cavanaugh (captain Thirteenth United States infantry), inspector general; W. S. Metcalf, aide-de-camp. He was also accompanied by Maj. William S. McCasky, Twentieth United States infantry, and Maj. John K. Rankin, both of whom were present and served in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

On the morning of September 20 the commission turned over to the state of Kansas the monuments and tablets erected to mark the lines and to commemorate the heroic services of the Kansas troops on the several battle-fields. They were received with appropriate honors.

The report of the Kansas commission is as follows:

His Excellency E. N. Morrill, Governor of State of Kansas, Topeka, Kan.:

DEAR SIR—The commission appointed by you, under the authority of the legislature (see house bill No. 201), to mark the positions occupied by Kansas troops in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and to purchase and erect monuments to their memory, have completed the work assigned to them and have the honor to hand you herewith their report.

Your commission, consisting of S. R. Washer, G. W. Johnson, J. F. Starnes, L. Akers, and J. L. Abernathy, organized March 4, by the election of J. L. Abernathy, president, and S. R. Washer, secretary.

In April the commission visited the battle-fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga and marked the positions the Kansas troops occupied in these battles. Your commission advertised for designs and proposals, and received quite a number of sketches, but learned that parties doing the work were to meet and submit designs to the Wisconsin commission. Your commission decided to send the president and secretary to Milwaukee to select and contract for monuments. After seeing a large number of designs, your commission finally selected a large granite sarcophagus and two granite markers for the Chickamauga field, the first base of sarcophagus to be 9 feet by 5 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 11 inches high; second base, 7 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 4 inches and 2 feet high; the die, 6 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 10 inches high. The four sides of this stone and the foregoing are rock-faced, with marginal lines, and the peak is fine-hammered. On the front there is cut in large letters in the granite: "Eighth Kansas Infantry, Third Brigade, First Division, Twentieth Army Corps." On the reverse side is the following inscription, in bronze plate:

"On September 19, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin, commander, Heg's brigade, Davis's division, McCook's corps, went into action east of this point, and was in the hottest part of the battle from 12:30 until 6:00 p. m. During the battle Colonel Heg was killed. Colonel Martin assumed command of the brigade, and Lieut.-col. J. L. Abernathy commanded the regiment. The fighting during this day was severe. The ground where this monument stands was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces. At the close of the day the regiment bivouacked west of the Viniard house. During the night the division moved to the high ground west of Crawfish Springs road, and north of Widow Glenn's house. September 20, at twelve o'clock, the brigade went into action on the Brotherton farm, but was soon forced to retire to McFarland's Gap. The regiment joined General Thomas at six p. m. Total number engaged, 406. Loss: 2 commissioned officers killed, 9 commissioned officers wounded, 28 enlisted men killed, 156 enlisted men wounded, 25 enlisted men missing. Total loss, 220, or fifty-five per cent. of strength of regiment."

On the end of this monument there is in bronze plate the seal of the state of Kansas.

About 500 yards east of where this monument stands your commission placed one granite marker, with the following inscription: "The Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry occupied this position at one p. m., September 19, 1863."

About half a mile north of the monument another granite marker fixes the position of the Kansas troops in the second day's battle.

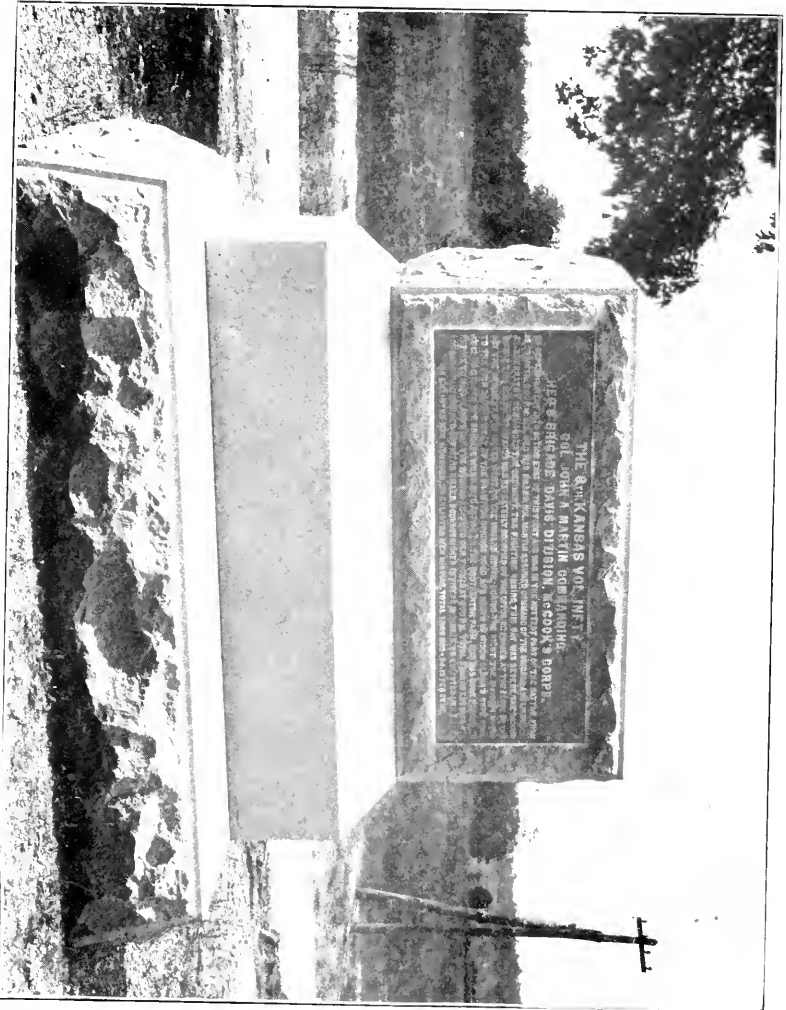
Your commission erected a large granite boulder on Orchard Knob, Chattanooga, of the following dimensions: One solid piece 4 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches at base and 6 feet 6 inches high. The front of face is fine-hammered. The sides and rear and top are rock-faced. On the front there is a bronze panel, on which appears the following legend:

"On November 23, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin commanding, first brigade, third division, fourth army corps, moved on this point at two o'clock p. m., from the railroad track, in front of Fort Wood, as skirmishers for the brigade, and, supported by the brigade, captured this knob and line of works without much resistance, and before the main line arrived. The regiment remained in this position until three o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, when it moved with the brigade to assault the enemy's works at the foot of Mission Ridge."

In the battle of Chattanooga, the Kansas troops were among the first to reach and drive the enemy from Mission Ridge. Your commission had erected at this point a fine granite shaft, of the following size and description: Material used for this monument is Barre granite for pedestal and bronze for the statue. The first base is 6 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 9 inches and 1 foot 6 inches high. The four sides are rock-faced, with marginal lines. The wash is fine-hammered. The second base is 4 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 6 inches high. The sides of this also are rock-faced, with marginal lines: the wash fine-hammered. The next stone is 3 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 3 inches and 1 foot high; the side rock-faced, with marginal lines. The die is 3 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 8 inches high, all four sides fine-hammered. Above this is a plinth 2 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 11 inches and 9 inches high; sides rock-faced, with marginal lines. On this there is a cap 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches and 1 foot 7 inches high: sides fine-hammered and molded. Above this is a plinth 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 7 inches and 1 foot high; sides rock-faced, with marginal lines: wash hammered. The whole of this base is surmounted by a bronze statue of the color-bearer, bearing aloft the stars and stripes. The bronze statue is 6 feet high to top of head. The entire height of the monument is 17 feet 11 inches, containing 175 cubic feet of granite, and weighing 31,500 pounds. On the front is a bronze panel bearing the following inscription: "Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry." The following legend, also in bronze plate, is upon the face of this monument:

"November 25, 1863, the Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry, Col. John A. Martin commanding, Willich's brigade, Wood's division, Granger's corps, advanced from Orchard Knob at three p. m., and with the brigade carried the works at the foot of the ridge, and continuing the assault up its face, the regiment broke through the opposing lines on the crest of the ridge at this point, and a portion of it pursued the enemy 200 yards beyond, and there engaged in a lively but short fight, while the rest assisted in driving the enemy from the left. The regiment bivouacked on the ridge near this point. Total number engaged, 219. Loss: 1 commissioned officer wounded, 2 enlisted men killed, 23 enlisted men wounded; total, 26."

Upon one of the sides of this monument there is also the seal of the state of Kansas, in bronze. This monument is in a conspicuous place, overlooking Chattanooga, and your commission was very fortunate in securing this position for the monument.



Kansas at Chickamauga — Vinard's Place.

These monuments were all completed and received by your commissioners on the 20th of September, and by your request were turned over to you, as governor of Kansas, for such disposition as you might think best, and under the rules and regulations for the government of the Chattanooga and Chickamauga National Military Park.

Your commission deem it unnecessary to speak of the valor and bravery displayed by the Kansas troops engaged in these battles. The record of the dead and wounded tells the story in more eloquent words than we could use. Your commission believe that they have executed their trust in a manner which will meet your approval, and that citizens of Kansas visiting the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park will be pleased with the work of your commission and with the record of the troops from Kansas in both of these battles.

In the discharge of their trust your commission have expended the following sums:

April 15, expense of five commissioners to Chattanooga to locate positions of Kansas troops in battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga,	\$260 90
April 23, expenses of president and secretary to Milwaukee to examine and select monuments.....	90 15
Expense of secretary's office to date	76 53
Bill of Smith's Granite Company, for three granite monuments and two granite markers, set up, complete.....	3,600 00
Bill of American Bronze Company, for die and two copies of state seal in bronze.....	50 00
September 20, expense of five commissioners to Chattanooga to inspect and receive monuments.....	395 05
Total expenditure.....	\$4,472 63

Leaving a balance of appropriation unexpended of \$527.37.

I have the honor to enclose herewith my imperfect blue-prints of designs of the monuments.

Trusting that the foregoing report and the manner in which the work of your commission has been performed may meet with your approval, I have the honor to be,

J. L. ABERNATHY, *President of Commission.*

S. R. WASHER, *Secretary.*

WITH JOHN BROWN IN KANSAS.

Written by AUGUST BONDI,* at request of Maj. Henry Inman, and published in the *Salina Herald* in January and February, 1884.

PURSUANT to your request that I should give you my recollections and views of the character and deeds of freedom's hero, John Brown, in reply to the slanderous article of Utter,† I have tried my utmost to refresh my memory and

* AUGUST BONDI was born in Vienna, Austria, July 21, 1833. His father, Herz Emanuel Bondi, was born at Prague, Bohemia, December 24, 1790; his mother, Martha Franke, was born at Prague, Bohemia, December 24, 1806. His father engaged in manufacturing in Vienna, but was impoverished by the political disturbances of the '40's, and in September, 1848, emigrated to the United States with his family, consisting of his wife and son — the subject of this sketch — and a daughter, Henrietta. They settled in St. Louis, Mo. In August, 1857, they moved onto

† REV. DAVID N. UTTER, pastor of a Unitarian church in Chicago, published, in the November, 1883, issue of the *North American Review*, an article entitled "John Brown of Osawatomie." It was a bitter arraignment of Brown for his connection with the killing of certain pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek, which occurred May 24, 1856. (See foot-note, page 439, volume 7. Collections Kansas State Historical Society; also writings of Richard J. Hinton, George W. Brown, W. E. Connelley, John J. Ingalls, F. B. Sanborn, etc.)

recall that border war (ended now for more than a quarter of a century), and my intimate relations with the grandest personality of that eventful struggle.

About the middle of May, 1855, I, with a friend named Benjamin, of St. Louis, settled on the Mosquito branch of Pottawatomie creek. About the end of May I called upon one Henry Sherman ("Dutch Henry"), living about four miles from our claim. I had heard he was a German, and I wished to make his acquaintance. After a short talk this worthy said he had heard we were free-soilers, and he therefore would advise us to clear out, or ours might be the fate of Baker. Baker was a settler on the Marais des Cygnes, whom a band of ruffians had taken from his house, whipped, and hanged upon a tree, but had been taken down before life was extinct, and released, upon his promise to leave Kansas—all this because Baker was from Vermont. On my return from Sherman's I had some words with one Wilkinson, who saluted me in the style of Dutch Henry.

Reaching home, Benjamin and I held a council of war. Benjamin (who had worked several days at the settlement on the Marais des Cygnes) reported that no help could be expected thence, where the settlers were all from Missouri or Arkansas. He had heard, however, of a small settlement of Ohio men about five miles to the northeast, and we agreed that these ought to be seen. Next morning Benjamin went there, and returned about noon with Frederick Brown, who brought a greeting from his three brothers, and assured us that they would always be found ready to assist us.

a claim near Greeley, Anderson county, Kansas. In May, 1867, the family removed to Salina, and remained with the son until their deaths. The father died September 26, 1868; the mother, August 19, 1889; and the daughter, March 28, 1896. August Bondi had a classical and scientific education to his fifteenth year, and lived in Vienna, Austria, until September 4, 1848. He lived in St. Louis until March, 1855, when he started for Kansas on the "Polar Star." He crossed the line into Kansas April 2, 1855, and in May settled on the Mosquito branch of Pottawatomie creek, in Franklin county. He removed to Greeley, Anderson county, in March, 1857; thence to Leavenworth, August, 1865; and in July, 1866, to Saline county, which has been his home to this day. Since settling in Kansas he has worked in stores, printing-offices, on steamboats, kept tavern, taught school, farming most of the time until 1877, with an interval of thirty-seven months in the army; and in later years has engaged in real estate, loan and law practice. He has served as a member of the school board, township trustee, clerk of the district court, land-office clerk, member of the State Board of Charities, postmaster at Greeley, in the early days, and postmaster at Salina from May, 1894, to August, 1897.

In 1848 he was a member of the Vienna Academic Legion, Captain Zaeh's company; in 1852, 1853, and 1854, active in the ranks of the Benton (or free-state) Democratic party, in St. Louis, Mo. In 1856, he was with Capt. John Brown at Ottawa camp, in May; at Black Jack, June 2, and at Osawatimie August 30. In 1857 he stumped Anderson county for the Topeka constitution; participated in fight at Bayne's ford, on Little Osage, in Bourbon county, against United States marshal's posse, December 2, 1857, for which action he was removed from postmastership at Greeley; was present at the first organization of "jayhawkers," near Mound City, December 14, 1857, of which he is the sole survivor. November 1, 1861, he was mustered in as first sergeant of company K, Fifth Kansas cavalry, commanding said company at times, and participating in every scout and engagement of the regiment, still carrying in his body two ounces of lead. He stumped Saline county against prohibition, and in 1882 joined the Democratic party. In church relationship he is a Jew. At Leavenworth, June 28, 1860, he was married to Henrietta Einstein, who died August 24, 1900, leaving nine living children. Mr. Bondi has preserved his Academic Legion membership card to this day, and at the semicentennial reunion of the Academic survivors, March 12, 1898, he was informed that but one other card existed. The Academic Legion consisted of the students of the university, technical college, and academy of arts, about 9000 in all, four-fifths of them being boys from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. They organized the revolution in the German Austrian states, assisting Kossuth's efforts for free government in Hungary. The movement collapsed through the apathy of the masses and Russian intervention.

John Brown, jr., in a letter to the committee of the quarter-centennial celebration, January 29, 1886, mentions August Bondi as one of his company. (Page 465, volume 3, Collections Kansas State Historical Society.)

In the course of that summer (1855) I got acquainted with the rest of the Browns who at that time resided in Kansas, namely, John Brown, jr., Jason, Owen and Salmon Brown. They had claims on Middle creek, and owned a herd of full-blooded Devons, brought from Ohio. They had come to Kansas with their families and all their property, and, as free state men, had the intention of helping to make Kansas a free state by lawful means; but they were also firmly resolved to resist force by force. During this summer there was considerable immigration both from the North and the South—the Northern men in the majority; but the pro-slavery men had the advantage of being generally well armed and under better organization. On their side, too, were all the gangs of robbers and murderers who had long considered the borders of Missouri and the Indian Territory as the starting-point, of their plundering raids. The free-soilers abstained from voting at the first legislative election, held in March, 1855, for the Missourians had a second time taken possession of the polls, and only allowed their own friends to vote. In the early part of October the free-state men held an election* of their own for a territorial convention. I was then down with the fever, but the neighbors, two Germans, placed me in an ox cart and conveyed me to the voting-place.

Here I first got acquainted with Captain Brown. He told me that he had heard from his sons and kindred of our need, and that he had come to stand by them and us in the coming struggle. Besides his four sons, above named, he had also two brothers-in-law, Orson Day and Rev. S. L. Adair, settled near Osawatomie, in Kansas. If John Brown himself did not come as a settler, his principal object in coming was to help, by counsel and deed, his children and kinsmen in their deadly conflict with murderous ruffians. It was in Kansas, too, that he came to the conviction not only that slavery was a crime against the negroes, but that its continuance and spread would bring innumerable evils and crimes upon the whites; and to get rid of its effects, the cause, he thought, should be destroyed.

A few days after that October election I went to St. Louis, and, consequently, know nothing of the so-called "Wakarusa war," in December, 1855.

I returned to Kansas in the spring of 1856, and arrived on my claim the morning of May 21, the day when Lawrence was sacked. The same day mounted messengers brought news of the danger which then threatened Lawrence, and at two P. M. the Pottawatomie rifles, under the command of H. H. Williams,†

*An election of delegates to the Topeka constitutional convention was held October 9, 1855, and on December 15, the election on its adoption or rejection.

†HENRY H. WILLIAMS was born in Hudson, Columbia county, New York, September 26, 1828. In the spring of 1855 he came to Kansas. He was the third settler on Pottawatomie creek, in Anderson county. Soon after his arrival he attended a free-state meeting, of which he was made secretary, John Brown being chairman. The meeting repealed certain squatter laws that a pro-slavery organization had established. He was a delegate to the Big Springs convention, September 5, 1855. He marched to the defense of Lawrence in December, 1855. When the Pottawatomie rifles were organized, John Brown, jr., was made captain, and H. H. Williams, second lieutenant. In December he was a delegate to a free-state convention, at Lawrence, to nominate officers under the Topeka constitution. In January, 1856, he and John Brown, jr., were elected members of the house of representatives under the Topeka constitution. He walked to Topeka to take his seat, a distance of sixty-five miles. He declined to accompany John Brown on the trip which resulted in the Pottawatomie massacre. In May, 1856, he was arrested by a pro-slavery mob and taken before a pro-slavery grand jury at Paola. He had his hands tied behind his back for a week, when chains were obtained, and he was made to walk to Prairie City, part of the way chained by the ankle to another man, and a portion of the way carrying the chain in his hand, the other end still being on his ankle. He was one of the free-state prisoners at Leecompton and Tecumseh. He was sheriff of Miami county in 1857, and again elected in 1859. In 1861 he enlisted, and participated in the battles of Cane Hill.

of Osawatomie, were on their march toward Lawrence. Theodore Weiner, who kept a store on my claim, and I, joined them. After a march of three miles we overtook the Osawatomie rifles, under the lead of a certain Dayton. The two companies marched together about a mile further, where we found Capt. John Brown, with his sons, John, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, and his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, waiting for us; and here John Brown, jr., took command of the Pottawatomie rifles.

On the morning of May 22, the whole command, reinforced by free-state men from Palmyra* and Prairie City, advanced nearly to Palmyra and went into camp. Here we first heard of the bombardment of Lawrence. In a council of war, it was resolved to wait further news before going forward toward Lawrence. In the evening a messenger came from that town with the request that we would return home, so as not to exasperate the pitiless enemy.

The heads of the free-soil party, who at that time had the upper hand in Lawrence, and therefore in Kansas, belonged to that class with whom interest always counts for more than principle, as was the case in 1848 in Germany. The chief of those foolish leaders at that time was S. C. Pomeroy,† afterward nicknamed the "Christian statesman." These cowards buried their guns and rifles, and were ready for anything to keep up the speculation in Lawrence town lots. The Osawatomie and Pottawatomie rifles counted, together, sixty-five men: the Palmyra guards, Captain McWhinney, and the Prairie City guards, under Captain Shore, in all about forty men. All these captains expressed their disgust at the thought of disbanding, for they said that in three days more, at farthest, enough men would have come together to drive Jones and his Missourians out

Prairie Grove, Van Buren, Fort Wayne, and Pilot Knob, being a major in the Tenth Kansas. He was provost marshal of St. Louis for a while. In 1855 he was elected sheriff of Jackson county, Missouri, his family having removed to Kansas City in 1853. In April, 1857, he returned to Osawatomie and engaged in the hardware business. In 1857 he was elected to the house of representatives, and in 1858 elected to the state senate. In 1859 he was a state-house commissioner, and assisted in building the west wing. He has for many years lived in California.

*Palmyra was the forerunner of Baldwin. It never reached the dignity of incorporation. Baldwin was incorporated by the territorial legislature February 4, 1859. Prairie City was located about one mile and a half southwest, on the northeast quarter of section 8, township 15 south, range 20 east. It was incorporated February 4, 1859. The battle between Brown and Pate, later described in this article, occurred four miles east of Prairie City, or probably two miles south of east of the present town of Baldwin, on section 7, township 15 south, range 21 east; all being in Palmyra township, Douglas county. Prairie City—now extinct—was an ambitious place. June 25, 1857, S. S. Prouty established *Freeman's Champion* at Prairie City, in a tent which was erected by the ladies for that use. He issued eleven numbers, when publication was suspended. In three months it was resumed, and continued until September, 1858. In fifteen months forty numbers had been issued. In September, 1859, the material was taken to Burlington. Prouty became a lieutenant and quartermaster in the army, first state printer, from 1859 to 1873, and one of the most prominent newspaper men in the state. He died at Topeka, January 31, 1889. The Historical Society has a complete file, bound, of *Freeman's Champion*.

†SAMUEL C. POMEROY was born in Southampton, Mass., January 3, 1816. He was educated at Amherst. In 1840 he became an anti-slavery man. He happened to be present, May 30, 1854, when President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He said to the president: "Your victory is but an adjournment of the question from the halls of legislation at Washington to the open prairies of the freedom-loving West, and there, sir, we shall beat you." He started from Boston on the 27th of August, 1854, with 200 emigrants for Kansas. On the 6th of September they crossed the line at Kansas City, destined for Lawrence. He settled at Atchison. He vigorously canvassed the East for the free-state cause in Kansas. He managed the aid business during the drought of 1861. Upon the admission of the state he was elected United States senator, and reelected in 1867. In 1873 he was defeated for a third term by the celebrated York exposure. Senator A. M. York, of Montgomery county, got \$7000 from him for his support, and in joint convention he denounced Pomeroy for bribery and turned the money over to the presiding officer. Almost unanimously the joint convention voted for John J. Ingalls to succeed him. He died at Whitinsville, Mass., August 27, 1891.

of the territory. But without consulting old Brown, a majority of the men at last resolved to stay in camp until the next morning, and then by slow marches return home.

At nine o'clock that morning a messenger arrived from Pottawatomie creek, reporting that the pro-slavery men, Wilkinson, Doyle and his sons, and William and Henry Sherman (*alias* "Dutch Henry"), had been going from house to house of the free-state men, and had threatened that shortly the Missourians would be there and make a clean sweep of them. At some places, where the men were absent, they had grossly insulted their wives and daughters. This news created great excitement in our camp. Still the majority thought it better not to start before morning. Old Brown, who felt indignant, called his sons, his son-in-law (Thompson), Weiner, Townsley and me aside, and said: "Something must be done to show these barbarians that we, too, have rights." After that he wished to know if we all were ready to obey him, and then ordered Townsley to get ready his team, but in a few words requested me not to go with him. He thought I might be elsewhere of greater service to the good cause if for the present I remained behind, and, if need be, keep open the communication between his men and their families. The remainder of that night (May 22)* those who remained in camp talked about the situation and the best means to defend the free-state cause.

In the afternoon of May 23 messengers from Lawrence arrived, and reported that Colonel Sumner, commanding the Second United States dragoons, had issued an order forbidding the gathering of armed men of either party, and there was no doubt Sumner would strictly enforce his order. Now it was urged from all sides that we disband. A few only demurred; our provisions were nearly gone, and to go to war on an empty stomach is unpleasant; so that evening (May 23) the Pottawatomie and Osawatomie rifles went home. Late in the evening I arrived at my claim, in company with an old neighbor, Austin, who was afterwards named "Old Kill-devil," from a rifle he had of that name. The family of Benjamin (whom we had left when we departed for camp) had disappeared, and no cattle were to be seen. This latter was a serious matter, for there was nothing left in the shape of provisions. When I told Austin that I was willing to stay with him until the last of the border ruffians had left the country, he encouraged me, and assured me that he would find Benjamin's family and protect them, at all events. This the old man faithfully did; and in memory of his friendship and self-sacrifice I have placed a simple slab upon his soldier's grave, near Helena, on the Mississippi.†

* Mr. Connelley's account of the Pottawatomie affair differs somewhat from Mr. Bondi's as to dates. The former states that the Browns were summoned to the defense of Lawrence on May 22, and on the same day started for the beleaguered city. Before camping that night they learned that Lawrence had been destroyed the day before, May 21. In the morning, on May 23, a messenger arrived from the Pottawatomie with intelligence which caused Captain Brown to return the same afternoon to the Pottawatomie. The Doyles and others were killed on the night of Saturday, May 24.

† Mr. Bondi explains: "I first met Freeman Austin May 21, 1856, when we tramped together in the Pottawatomie rifles, commanded by Capt. John Brown, jr., to the relief of Lawrence, and afterward we were frequently together; as he was a carpenter, a No. 1 mechanic, he worked often for my friend, Jacob Benjamin, and did also considerable work on a hewed-log house I had erected on my Mosquito creek claim, we became intimate. He was a native of Pennsylvania, had been in the Mexican war, would never talk of family or old home; lived mostly with Samuel Houser, on the Marais des Cygnes, near Osawatomie, in which neighborhood he pre-empted a fine claim. He was with the Pottawatomie boys in the capture of the blockhouse and fortifications of New Georgia, six miles southeast of Osawatomie, in August, 1856. Freeman Austin took part in the battle of Osawatomie, August 30, 1856. He had joined John Brown the evening before. His presence of mind and unerring rifle, named by him 'Kill-devil,' saved

The evening of May 24 I arrived, tired and hungry, at the camping-ground of old Brown, a log cabin on the banks of Middle creek, upon the claim of his brother-in-law, Orson Day. This is one of the cabins which, under the name "John Brown's cabin," has since become famous. Day built it as a first shelter for his family, in the winter of 1855-'56, and Brown dwelt in it with his younger sons. It was about twelve miles west from Osawatomie, on the bottom land of North Middle creek. Here, also, I found my friend Weiner, from whom I first heard an account of the killing of Doyle and his sons, Wilkinson, and Dutch Henry's brother William. In this account Weiner never expressed himself positively as to who killed those persons, and I could only guess about it. I was astonished, but not at all displeased. The men killed had been our neighbors, and I was sufficiently acquainted with their characters to know that they were of the stock from which came the James brothers, the Youngers, and the rest, who never shrank from perpetrating crime if it was done in the interest of the pro-slavery cause. As to their antecedents, the Doyles had been slave-hunters before they came to Kansas, and had fetched along two of their bloodhounds. "Dutch Bill" (Sherman), a German, from Oldenburg, and a resident of Kansas since 1845, had amassed considerable property by robbing cattle droves and emigrant trains. He was a giant, six feet four inches high, and for some weeks before his death had made it his pastime (in company with the Doyles) to break in the doors of free-state settlers, frightening and insulting the families; or once in a while attacking and ill treating a man whom they encountered alone.

It would take too much time to recount their atrocities. Wilkinson was one of the few Southerners who were able to read and write, and who prided himself accordingly. He was a member of the border-ruffian legislature, and a principal leader in all attempts to annoy and extirpate the free-state men. Although he never directly participated in the murders and robberies, still it was well understood that he was always informed a short time before an invasion of Missourians was to occur, and on the very day of his death he had tauntingly said to some free-state men that in a few days the last of them would be either dead or out of the territory. In this he referred to the coming invasion of Cook, at the head of 250 armed men from Bates county, Missouri, who made their appearance about the 27th of May and plundered the whole region. His men carried off a good many prisoners, but abstained from killing them, as they feared that for every murdered free-soiler John Brown would kill one of their number.

Should Mr. Utter ever visit southeastern Kansas, and make inquiries of any old settler there of the years 1855 and 1856, he will find the above statement confirmed as often as he may meet with a settler of those years still living. As a full man cannot understand the pangs of a fasting man, so Mr. Utter, in his luxuriously furnished study at Chicago, cannot imagine the feelings of frightened mothers who do not know which is worse, the day or night, nor how soon the fruits of their labor will be destroyed by a band of miscreants, or themselves be called to mourn the death of some of their loved ones.

the Osawatomie saw- and grist-mill. When the handful of free-state men scattered, he retreated with Capt. John Brown through the timber, but stopped at the mill, behind some saw-logs, and, as two border ruffians ran up, one with a burning torch, to fire the mill, he shot the torch-carrier; the other left for assistance, which soon came, so Austin related to me, but while they carried their wounded comrade off, no more attempts were made against the mill. He was mustered into company K, Fifth Kansas. I saw him last July 27, 1861, as he was taken to the hospital sick with chronic diarrhea. He died at Helena, July 30, 1861, in the hospital. He was about sixty-three years old. The congressional commission audited and issued to him a voucher for \$300 for tools, etc., lost and destroyed when the storehouse and log cabin on my claim were burned, in May, 1856, by Captain Cook's company of border ruffians."

John Brown and his small body of soldiers with him only executed upon those scoundrels a just sentence of death for the benefit of several hundred unprotected families. There was no cabin on the banks of the Pottawatomie in which, after the events of that night became known, fathers and mothers did not go to their day's work with a lighter heart, nor was there any pro-slavery man who did not perceive that the so-called "peace policy" (born of the selfishness of Eastern speculators) had come to an end, and that only good behavior could shield him from the arm of the avenger. Southern Kansas looked upon John Brown as the instrument of God's vengeance.

On the 26th of May, 1856, at an early hour in the morning, our little crowd rode onto the claim of John Brown, jr., on Vine branch, one mile and a half from Middle Creek bottom. About five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, Carpenter, from near Prairie City, joined us, and reported that he had come, at the instance of his neighbors, to request Captain Brown's assistance against the border ruffians, who, in spite of all proclamations, continued to harass the the settlers. Colonel Sumner, of the Second United States dragoons, was the only Northern army officer in Kansas—all others were from the South—and, while taking good care to carry out the letter of their instructions, lacked the good will to do more. The orders were to disperse all armed crowds. Whenever they received news of any devilment committed by the border ruffians they started after them in slow marches, but never reached anywhere in time to prevent mischief, and, if once in a while they caught up with a band of Southerners, the officers in command of the United States detachment halted the ruffians and read them the proclamation. The boss galoot, entitled "Cap." by his crowd, then stepped in front of his band, and with a few words admonished them to go home, which they seemed to do at once, by striking promiscuously for the next timber, where they at once reorganized for another raid. To complete the utter ruin of the free-state people, Governor Shannon had also issued a call for the enlistment of a "state militia,"* "to maintain law and order," and Buford, Titus, Pate, and others of like ilk, had recruited the same from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

It was Carpenter's mission to beg Captain Brown's assistance in behalf of the settlers of the southern part of Douglas county against these marauders, organizing under territorial laws, and armed with guns furnished by the government. Captain Brown declared to Carpenter his readiness to start at once. One of his sons went to Mrs. Jason Brown to tell her to send any inquiring friend who wished to join us to Carpenter, near Prairie City. We started after dark, eleven in number, viz.: Capt. John Brown, Fred. Brown, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Salmon Brown, Owen Brown, Henry Thompson (Captain Brown's son-in-law), Theodore Weiner, James Townsley, Carpenter, and myself.

Captain Brown carried a saber and a large-sized revolver; his sons and Thompson had a revolver, cutlass and a squirrel rifle each; Townsley an old musket; Weiner a double-barreled shotgun; Carpenter one revolver, and myself a flint-lock musket of 1812 pattern. Watson and Oliver Brown and myself rode bareback. Fred. Brown rode ahead; Owen Brown and Carpenter about ten steps behind; then followed Captain Brown and the rest, two by two. Going from Middle creek to Ottawa creek we had to follow part of the way the old military road from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth.

* August 31, 1855, commissions were issued by Acting Governor Woodson, by and with the advice and consent of the council, to Hiram J. Strickler, as adjutant general of the Kansas militia; to A. M. Coffey, as major-general southern division, Kansas militia; to William P. Richardson, as major-general northern division; to four brigadier-generals and to eight colonels.

Arriving near the Marais des Cygnes crossing of the same road, we discovered right ahead several camp-fires, and by their light about 100 yards before us a sentinel in the United States uniform. Fred. Brown continued to advance, and Carpenter informed the old man that he supposed we had struck a detachment of the United States troops acting as a posse of a deputy United States marshal. Captain Brown exchanged a few words with Carpenter, then ordered us to ride ahead, not to betray any anxiety, and strictly to obey his orders.

The sentinel allowed Fred. Brown and Carpenter to advance to within twenty-five steps, and then halted them with the usual "Who goes there?" and clear through the still night air rang Fred.'s answer, "free state." The sentinel called the corporal of the guard. We others, by our captain's order, continued to ride on to within about five steps of Fred. and Carpenter, and formed like a very disorderly crowd. Carpenter explained to the corporal that we were farmers near Prairie City, and had ridden to Osawatomie at the request of the settlers there to protect them against a raid from Missouri.* We had been there two days, with no Missourians to see or hear from, our provisions had run out, and so we had concluded to go home. The commanding officer, Lieutenant McIntosh, company F, Second dragoons, now came up, and Carpenter repeated his tale, none of the others mixing in the conversation. The deputy United States marshal made his appearance, and insisted that the lieutenant should hold us until daylight, but McIntosh replied to him that he had his orders, and could not detain peaceable travelers, and called out to us, "Pass on": and so we went on in slow gait till we had reached the hills on the other side.

About four o'clock on the morning of the 27th day of May, we reached the hiding-place on Ottawa creek which Carpenter had picked out for us: it was in a bend of the creek, in the midst of virgin forest about one-half of a mile thick. We made our camp near a large, old oak log, and tied our horses in the bushes. Captain Brown inspected the surroundings, put out guards, and appointed reliefs. After a while Carpenter brought in some corn for our horses, and a small sack of coarse flour (wheat ground in an iron corn-mill), and Captain Brown commenced to prepare breakfast. We stayed here up to the morning of Sunday, the 1st of June, and during these few days I fully succeeded in understanding the exalted character of my old friend. He exhibited at all times the most affectionate care for each of us. He also attended to cooking. We had two meals daily, consisting of bread made of the flour above mentioned, baked in skillets: this was washed down with creek water, mixed with a little ginger and a spoon of molasses to each pint. Nevertheless we kept in excellent spirits: we considered

* OSCAR E. LEARNARD came to Kansas in the fall of 1855, settling in Lawrence. He made the trip from Ottumwa, Iowa, on horseback. He soon enlisted on the free-soil side of the controversy, and in 1856 was in command of a squad of horsemen, engaging in the forays of that season. He was born at Fairfax, Vt., November 14, 1832, on the same homestead where his father was born and upon which his grandfather made the first settlement. He is the ninth generation of his family in this country, his ancestor, William Learnard, coming from England in 1639. Colonel Learnard was educated at Bakersfield Academy and Norwich University. He traveled for a year in the South, and then graduated at the Albany Law School. In the spring of 1857 he located the town of Burlington, in Coffey county. He was elected that fall to the territorial council, and served three sessions. He was president of the convention, at Osawatomie, May 18, 1859, at which the Republican party was organized. (See sixth volume of Historical Collections, pages 312-316.) Upon the organization of the state government he was elected judge of the fifth judicial district, but resigned at the breaking out of the war to accept the position of lieutenant-colonel of the First Kansas infantry. He served in the state senate from Douglas county for the sessions of 1868, 1869, and 1870. He served one year as superintendent of Haskell Indian School, appointed by President Cleveland, although always an ardent Republican. For twenty-six years he was tax commissioner and special attorney of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis (now the Frisco) railroad. His wife is a daughter of Col.

ourselves as one family, allied to one another by the consciousness that it was our duty to undergo all these privations to further the good cause: had determined to share any danger with one another, that victory or death might find us together. We were united as a band of brothers by the love and affection towards the man who with tender words and wise counsel, in the depth of the wilderness of Ottawa creek, prepared a handful of young men for the work of laying the foundation of a free commonwealth. His words have ever remained firmly engraved in my mind. Many and various were the instructions he gave during the days of our compulsory leisure in this camp. He expressed himself to us that we should never allow ourselves to be tempted by any consideration to acknowledge laws and institutions to exist as of right if our conscience and reason condemned them.

He admonished us not to care whether a majority, no matter how large, opposed our principles and opinions. The largest majorities were sometimes only organized mobs, whose howlings never changed black into white, or night into day. A minority conscious of its rights, based on moral principles, would, under a republican government, sooner or later become the majority. Regarding the curse and crimes of the institution of slavery, he declared that the outrages committed in Kansas to further its extension had directed the attention of all intelligent citizens of the United States and the world to the necessity of its abolishment, as a stumbling-block in the path of nineteenth-century civilization: that while it was true that the pro-slavery people and their aiders and abettors had the upper hand at present, and the free state organization had dwindled to a handful hid in the brush, nevertheless we ought to be of good cheer, and start the ball to rolling at the first opportunity, no matter whether its starting motion would even crush us to death. We were under the protection of a wise providence, which might use our feeble efforts.

Occasionally Captain Brown also gave us directions for our conduct during a fight, for attack and retreat. Time and again he entreated us never to follow

Shaler W. Eldridge. In 1884 he became proprietor of the *Lawrence Journal*, which he still owns. Colonel Learnard, as president of an old settlers' organization, called the Fifty-sixers, in an address delivered September 14, 1902, thus speaks of the importance of the skirmishes ending with the repulse of the 2700 before Lawrence, September 14, 1856, and Governor Geary's action in disbanding the Missouri militia:

"History is naturally divisible into epochs, which embrace the inception and the conclusion of some distinct phase of general history, or the determination of some special issue around which are grouped its incidental and correlated facts and incidents. This is notably true of Kansas history, which is full of startling and sensational features, even to this day. The events, the memories of which we are reviving here to-day, and the details of which we have been living over again, constituted an epoch the most stirring and potential in its results of any in our history: for it was a contest of physical force, in which the free-state men were placed at the most serious disadvantage, both in numbers and in resources. It was a period of armed antagonism wherein the emissaries of slavery sought the subjugation of the free-state element by force of arms and numbers. The Wakarusa war, Franklin, Fort Titus, the Leavenworth raid, Bull creek, and the memorable invasion of the 2700 on September 14, the last of the scenes of armed invasion—these are the parts of the whole that make up the war period in our history. It is a history that has never been written except in disjointed and incomplete parts, but they contain the substance and trial of the supreme issue out of which have come the privileges and opportunities of our million and a half of free and prosperous people. September 14, of which these meetings are the anniversary, was the last of the warlike invasions of Kansas. It was the last and supreme effort of the pro-slavery party to dominate Kansas by force, and it ends an epoch in our history worthy to be remembered and celebrated by those who appreciate its significance. No man or woman or child who participated in the events of that momentous period is likely to forget the experience it brought to them, the record of which it is the purpose of this organization to perfect and perpetuate. I do not, of course, mean to imply, by what I have said or may say, that the effort to make Kansas a slave state ended on September 14, 1856, though I do mean to imply that the question was settled from that day. I might even go farther, and say that the result, though not achieved, was clearly discernible before that. After that date, while matters were crude and unsettled, and it took some time to adjust things to the new conditions, there was a sense of relief and a brightened outlook, and life was opening up on pleasanter lines, and new plans and new enterprises occupied public attention. The matters of home and business, of new settlements and new schemes, were rife, and the following winter and spring were full of activities and industries. The epoch of war was past, and the character of the future state virtually settled."

the example of the border ruffians, who took a delight in destruction; never to burn houses or fences, so often done by the enemy. Free-state people could use them to advantage. Repeatedly he admonished us not to take human life except when absolutely necessary. Plunder taken from the enemy should be common property, to be used for the continuance of the struggle: horses to go to recruits, cattle and provisions to poor free-state people.

Before every meal the captain spoke the blessing aloud. He was an orthodox Christian; some of his sons were free-thinkers, regarding which he remarked that he had tried to give his children a good education, and now they were old enough to choose for themselves. Once he also talked about temperance, when Carpenter brought a pint of whisky into camp for Weiner's special benefit. Old Brown was a teetotaler, but still liberal enough on that subject.

On the morning of the 28th of May, Ben. Cochrane, a settler on Pottawatomie creek, and a member of the Pottawatomie rifles, joined us. He related that in the last raid the ruffians had burned my cabin, stolen my cattle, and plundered Weiner's store; all this had happened in the presence of United States troops, under their commanding officer. Captain Cook, company F, Second United States dragoons, was requested by the settlers to interfere. He refused, as he claimed not to have any orders to that effect; but he compelled the leader of the border-ruffian militia outfit, whose name was also Cook, to surrender all his prisoners to the United States troops. In the afternoon of the same day Carpenter brought Charles Kaiser into our camp. Kaiser had a claim three or four miles from our hiding-place, and had become acquainted with Captain Brown during the Wakarusa war. He was about thirty-three years old, and a native of Bavaria; had long resided in Hungary, where he had served during the whole of the revolutionary war of 1849. His face was marked with saber cuts and lance thrusts. He was extremely well pleased to find me a member of the old Vienna legion. He, Weiner and myself became very intimate in a few minutes. Kaiser was full of fun; no matter how serious the occasion, he was on hand with his jokes.

At our supper of the 28th of May, Captain Brown expressed his surprise that while Carpenter had informed many of the surrounding settlers of our presence in the neighborhood, still none as yet had come to see us. Such action seemed to him very strange, as we had come by their request, and had no other purpose in view at that time than to strike a blow in their behalf to assist them in getting rid of their enemies. He thought these people very much discouraged, and because in the last three or four days no horses had been stolen, no cabins plundered, all thought of resistance had been given up, and for our handful to go to war by themselves would be certain destruction without any benefit to the cause.

It was during that evening that Captain Brown used the following words: "If the cowardice and indifference of the free-state people compel us to leave Kansas, what do you say, men, if we start South, for instance to Louisiana, and get up a negro insurrection, and thereby compel them to let go their grip on Kansas, and so bring relief to our friends here?" Fred. Brown jumped up and said: "I am ready." Requested to give my opinion, I replied, that having traveled through the South during the years of 1851 and 1852, I was satisfied no baker's dozen could kick up a negro rebellion worth while, nor with any other certainty than that of having Judge Lynch to pass on their cases. Kaiser spoke up: "Never mind, captain, the reorganized border-ruffian militia will do its share to wake up the people to drive out these scoundrels; because, if they don't, the free-state men will not have teams enough left this fall to take their families out of Kansas. The settlers are as yet all busy planting corn, and no

neighborhood wishes to leave work for fight; but it won't last long, and the militia will soon arrive in this neighborhood, because little has been stolen here as yet, and much greater the inducement for them to come."

All this proves that two things were uppermost in the heart of old Captain Brown—the total abolishment of slavery and the liberation of Kansas from its oppressors. In his views and motives he never held anything in common with any of the free-state party of Kansas. These leaders, afterwards political bosses of Kansas, had come to Kansas as played-out politicians at home, whose ambition now consisted in swimming with the lately discovered current. These men were not overanxious for positions which implied bodily risks. What were they doing while Robinson and others were prisoners under guard of the United States troops and old Brown was straining his utmost to rally the disheartened people to strike a telling blow? They were East lecturing.

On the 29th day of May, Captain Shore, of Prairie City rifles, and Doctor Westfall, a neighbor of Mr. Carpenter, came into our camp and told us that many horses and other property had been stolen near Willow Springs, about ten or fifteen miles distant, and asked old Brown what he calculated to do. Brown replied with the question: "Captain Shore, how many men can you furnish me?" Shore answered that just now his men were very unwilling to leave home. Brown then said, "Why did you send Carpenter after us? I am not willing to sacrifice my men without having some hope of accomplishing something."

On the evening of the 29th of May, Captain Shore visited us again and brought us some flour. Captain Brown then told him that if his men continued unwilling to turn out, we had no business to stay there much longer, as the enemy would sooner or later find our hiding-place. Captain Shore then requested Captain Brown to wait a few days. The Missourians suspected our presence not far from Prairie City, and he believed their fear of Brown had so far protected this immediate neighborhood from raids. Should it ever be found out that Brown had left it would be worse than ever. Brown, in his answer, gave him time until the next Sunday to gather the settlers, that with our combined force we might hunt for the militia, and offer them battle wherever we found them. Shore promised to do his best. Before leaving on the 30th of May, Redpath, the well-known newspaper writer, visited us.*

Redpath declared that it showed well for the settlers that, in spite of the great rewards offered, nobody had, as yet, been found to pilot the enemy to our camp. He asked us to remain in good spirits: that while we alone represented the aggressive anti-slavery agitation of the United States, also on our perseverance alone depended the ultimate victory of the good cause. He also advised Brown not to leave Douglas county, and he would try to scare up some provisions, so that the Lawrence "stubbs" (a military organization of about twenty young men) might join us. Redpath was very cheerful. After he had left, Captain Brown decided to stay where we were for the present, that we might realize the expectation of our friend.

On the morning of the 31st Captain Shore informed us that a large company of Missouri militia had gone into camp on the Santa Fe trail near Black Jack (spring). At about ten o'clock P. M. of the same day, came Captain Shore, Captain McWhinney, and Carpenter, and reported that three men, pro-slavery mili-

*In his book entitled "Eccentricities of Genius," Maj. James B. Pond says of James Redpath: "'Jim' Redpath did several first things, to some of which I have already made reference. He was also the first 'interviewer' in the United States, as his 'interview' (as he called it in the *Tribune*) with old John Brown, which I witnessed, giving the Puritan leader's account of the fight with Henry Clay Pate at Black Jack, one of the memorable events of the free-state struggle, was the earliest of actual newspaper interviews."

tia, a few hours before, had broken into a house in Palmyra, about a mile from Prairie City, while the inmates, amongst them seven free-state men, were at supper. The three Missourians disarmed the seven free-state men and carried away their revolvers, five double-barreled shotguns, and two rifles. It was impossible to put up with such a shameful outrage. Rumors had been sent through the settlement summoning every one to appear at Prairie City, at ten o'clock in the forenoon next day. Captain Shore concluded with the words, "We expect you with us." Captain Brown grabbed Captain Shore's right hand, and answered, "We will be with you."

It was near midnight when our visitors left us. Next morning, on the 1st of June, Captain Brown had breakfast early, by sunup, and shortly afterwards Carpenter arrived to pilot us. We mounted with a will. Carpenter, Kaiser, and Townsley assisted Weiner to empty his bottle; Captain Brown called out, "Ready, forward march!" and we were on the road.

It is hardly possible to give an accurate description of our appearance. Our clothes readily showed the effects of the bushwhacking business, continued for the last ten days; we had come down to wearing ideas, suspicion and memories of what had once been coats, pants, and hats. Still, in the best of spirits, and with our appetites still better, just whetted by our scant breakfast, we followed Captain Brown toward Prairie City.

After a short ride we arrived at Prairie City. We there found about a dozen settlers gathered around the principal building of the village, a hewed-log house, eighteen by twenty-four; the same was afterwards occupied by Dr. H. J. Canniff, and then, in conjunction with two small cabins, represented the town. After picketing our horses we joined those present, and were informed that a number were expected, as the circuit preacher had made an appointment for the day. Shortly after large numbers commenced to arrive from all directions, some afoot, some horseback, some with their families, in all sorts of vehicles, generally with ox teams: the men armed with all sorts of guns. All respectfully saluted old Brown, who never tired of walking among the different groups, and, with words of cheer, encouraging the crowd to shake off the border-ruffian yoke. Divine service commenced at noon. So many were assembled that only women were admitted inside the house. Never have I met with a more attentive or devout congregation; and when the minister prayed for peace for the sorely tried people of Kansas, unanimous responses were felt as well as spoken.

The prayer was hardly finished when three men with guns across their saddles were seen galloping towards the village. They came within about fifty yards and halted. The two brothers Moore, who alone were armed with carbines, and four or five others, mounted and went out to meet the strangers, when they turned and put spurs to their horses, but, racing down the first hill, one of their horses fell, and they surrendered to their pursuers. The prisoners, brought before Captain Brown, acknowledged that they were from the camp of the Kansas militia at Black Jack, on the Santa Fe trail, commanded by H. Clay Pate, from Westport: that their company numbered about eighty, all armed with good rifles and revolvers. One of the prisoners owned up that he was one of the three who had raided Palmyra the evening before, and, as they had been ignorant of the free-state meeting, they had come to Prairie City for the same purpose. The prisoners and their arms were turned over to Captain Shore, who detailed seven of his men as guard. These border ruffians were free to talk, and, among other things, they informed us that they had several free-state prisoners in their camp—one of them an old man, a preacher, named Moore, whom they had "picked up near Westport and taken along for their special fun." The two

Moore at once knew this to be their father, and begged us to start at once; but Captain Brown declared that we should not start before night had set in, and attack the enemy at daybreak, to which proposition all agreed. Captain Brown then requested the women to prepare supper; teams were then started to bring in provisions, which soon returned with sufficient quantities of flour and meat, gathered in the neighborhood.

About half an hour before sundown supper was finished and Captain Brown began to organize the crowd. About forty men, the Prairie City rifles, put themselves under the leadership of Captain Shore. Carpenter, the Moores and Doctor Westfall asked Captain Brown for permission to face next day's dangers in his company, which was freely granted. On unanimous request, Captain Brown consented to be commander-in-chief. After sundown the order to saddle up was given, and it was night when our force of sixty men started from Prairie City. Captain Brown's company formed the advance-guard, with Carpenter and Westfall as pilots. About midnight we halted in a post-oak grove some two miles from the enemy. All hands rested as well as they could near their horses. During this rest Captain Shore agreed to Captain Brown's plan of attack in all of its details. It was agreed to leave the horses with a small guard, to move on foot up to within a mile of the enemy; then Captain Brown's company in advance and center, Captain Shore's men thrown out as skirmishers on each flank, and all together, without firing a shot, to charge upon the border-ruffian camp.

Captain Shore detailed five men as guard with the horses. Captain Brown prevailed upon his son Fred. to stay with them. At first streak of day we started, Brown's company ahead, consisting of Captain Brown, Owen Brown, Watson Brown, Salmon Brown, Oliver Brown, Henry Thompson, Charles Kaiser, Theo. Weiner, Carpenter, the two Moores, Doctor Westfall, Benj. Cochrane, August Bondi, and James Townsley. After a march of a mile and a half we reached the summit of a hill, and before us, about a mile distant, was the hostile camp, in the midst of a small grove. Captain Brown called out, "Now, follow me!" and down-hill he and his company started on a run. We had not yet run down half of the hill when we were greeted with the shots of the Missouri picket, and at the same time we heard the guns of Shore's men replying behind us. Soon the Missourians sent whole volleys against us, but on charged Brown's company. When we arrived at the foot of the hill we saw before us the old Santa Fe road, with its oldest wagon trail, which in many places had been washed out some two or three feet wide and some two feet deep. Beyond, within about 200 yards, was the Missouri camp.

Captain Brown jumped into the old washed-out trail and commanded "Halt, down!" and his companions followed his example. Now we saw that not a man of Captain Shore's company, except Captain Shore himself, had followed down-hill. Most of them had already disappeared; a few were yet on the brow of the hill, wasting ammunition, and very soon those also retired in the direction of their comrades. So, right in the beginning of the fight, Brown's forces had been reduced to his own men. He scattered them all along that old trail, and, using it as a rifle-pit, we opened fire, to which the enemy replied with continuous volleys. Weiner and myself were posted on the extreme left flank; Captain Brown passed continually up and down the line, sometimes using his spy-glass to inspect the enemy's position and repeatedly cautioning his men against wasting ammunition. About a quarter of an hour after we had reached the old trail, Henry Thompson was shot through the lungs and was led away by Doctor Westfall; shortly after Carpenter was shot through the right arm and had to retire. Then Captain Shore squatted himself on the ground and said to Captain Brown,

"I am very hungry." Brown never answered, and went his way to see that the gaps caused by the absence of Thompson, Carpenter and Westfall were filled as well as possible.

Captain Shore then spoke up: "Boys, I shall have to leave you to hunt up some breakfast"; and the hero of that day, according to Mr. Utter, got up and "dusted." After the lapse of another half-hour, Townsley asked Captain Brown for permission to go for ammunition. Captain Brown never answered, and Townsley left. Neither he nor Captain Shore returned to us until after Pate's surrender, when they came to us, following behind the Lawrence "Stubbs."

It might have been about nine o'clock in the forenoon when Captain Brown stopped near me and Weiner, and, after having looked through his spy-glass at the enemy's position for quite a while, he said: "It seems the Missourians have suffered from our fire; they are leaving one by one. We must never allow this: we must try and surround them, and compel them to surrender." He then walked down our line, spoke with some of the men, and returned with the Moore boys to where Weiner and myself were posted, and beckoned us to follow him. The five—Captain Brown, the two Moores, Weiner, and I—ran up a hill south of the Missouri camp. As soon as we had gained a commanding position within 200 yards of the enemy, Captain Brown ordered the two Moores to aim with their carbines at horses and mules exclusively, and not to shoot any men at this time, as he wanted to take as many prisoners as possible. The Moore boys, with four shots, killed two mules and two horses, which, we could perceive, created great consternation in the Missouri camp. We saw several leaving.

Now Captain Brown drew and cocked his revolver, and declared that he should advance some twenty yards by himself, and if then he should wave his hat we should follow, Weiner and myself ahead, the Moores to come up slower; that, if necessary, they could cover our retreat with their carbines. According to previous agreement our comrades along the Santa Fe trail would run to us as soon as they saw his signal with his hat. Captain Brown advanced some twenty steps, then waved his hat, and we four behind him, as well as the seven along the Santa Fe road, charged against the Missouri camp. Captain Pate stepped out in front of his men, waved a white handkerchief, and called out to Captain Brown that he was ready to leave. Captain Brown kept on until within five feet of Captain Pate, and then covering the hostile commander with his revolver, called out, "Unconditional surrender." The rifles slipped from the grasp of the riflemen and Pate surrendered his sword.

Twenty-four well armed cut-throats laid down their arms; some thirty had run off during the engagement; seven more or less seriously wounded lay on the ground. The booty of the day consisted of thirty stands of United States rifles and accouterments, as many revolvers, thirty saddle-horses and equipments, two wagons and their teams, and a large amount of provisions, ammunition, and camp equipage.*

*This is known in history as the "Battle of Black Jack." Among the manuscripts of John Brown in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society are two copies of the following contract for the exchange of prisoners. They are each signed in the handwriting of the men named: John Brown and S. T. Shore in behalf of the free-state men, and H. Clay Pate and W. B. Brockett for the pro-slavery. One copy is perfectly clean, and the other badly torn. The latter has on the back: "Indorsed by United States Marshal Hays, Colonel Coffey, General Heiskell, or Judge Cato, friends at Baptiste Paola, K. T." The paper reads:

This is an article of agreement between Capt. John Brown, sr., and Samuel T. Shore, of the first part, and Capt. H. C. Pate and Lieut. W. B. Brockett, of the second part, and witnesses that, in consideration of the fact that the parties of the first part have a number of Captain Pate's company prisoners, that they agree to give up and fully liberate one of their prisoners for one of those lately arrested near Stanton, Osawatomie, and Pottawatomie, and so on, one of the former for one of the latter alternately, until all are liberated. It is understood and

While Captain Brown was giving orders referring to the guarding of the prisoners we discovered two riders, one behind the other, charging down the Santa Fe trail towards us. Soon they were with us. The first was Fred. Brown, who introduced the other as William A. Phillips, the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. They informed us that the Lawrence "Stubbs" were right behind them. Now the three prisoners of the border ruffians appeared, and words failed to describe the joy and gratitude shown by these men. Their treatment had been most barbarous. Mr. Moore, a Methodist minister, sixty-five years old, had been tied down to the ground the evening before, and been compelled with a funnel to swallow a pint of whisky. Of course Mr. Utter is ignorant of such atrocities.

Now came up the Lawrence "Stubbs," with Major Abbott, Luke F. Parsons and Hoyt in the lead. Captain Shore and Townsley came up behind them.

After a few minutes Captain Brown succeeding in bringing order out of the general turmoil, and, with the prisoners in our midst, we started for Prairie City.

With this chapter I intend, for the present at least, to close my recollections of Capt. John Brown and his heroic deeds in Kansas in 1856. Every word that I have written is true, as I report no fact or event without being present and having personal knowledge, without fear or favor. I neither flatter nor blame, but as genuine historical truth compels me. Nor do I try to surround truth with a frame of romance, to make it more acceptable. I write as I saw and felt those many years ago, as I feel to day. In plainest language I try to describe the time in Kansas, "which tried the souls of men," which brought forth that hero, John Brown, and caused him to court the martyr's death. The further time removes that struggle of the distant past, the more thorough the purity of his principles and intentions and heroic sacrifices. My old friend must appear to impartial history as equal to the most exalted characters produced by humanity, and will so go down to the end of time. Truly, in his behalf can we say with Hesiod: "His is the immortal reward of the labor of the great."

THE GREAT SEAL OF KANSAS.

Written by ROBERT HAY,* for the Kansas State Historical Society, January 17, 1883.

THE great seal of Kansas has a history. We wish to give that history with some conciseness, but think it will not be uninteresting to premise something about seals in general.

It is probable that the use of seals is as old as alphabetic writing, and certainly it is older than the common use of alphabets. A seal was engraved on the gold or gems of rings, and very early had an important signification. The im-

agreed by the parties that the sons of Capt. John Brown, sr., Capt. John Brown, jr., and Jason Brown, are to be amongst the liberated parties (if not already liberated), and are to be exchanged for Captain Pate and Lieutenant Brockett, respectively. The prisoners are to be brought on neutral ground and exchanged. It is agreed that the neutral ground shall be at or near the house of John T. (or Ottawa) Jones, of this territory, and that those who have been arrested and have been liberated will be considered in the same light as those not liberated, but they must appear in person, or answer in writing, that they are at liberty. The arms, particularly the side-arms, of each one exchanged are to be returned with the prisoners; also the horses, so far as practicable.

PRAIRIE CITY, KANSAS TERRITORY, June 2, 1856.

JOHN BROWN.
S. T. SHORE.
H. C. PATE.
W. B. BROCKETT.

*For biography of Robert Hay, see foot-note, page 87, volume 7, Collections Kansas State Historical Society, and page 131, Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science, 1895-'96.

pression of a seal was a signet: that is, it was the sign of personality; it represented the power, character, wish or will of the owner. The costliness of the materials limited the use of seals to the rich and great, and this added to their significance. They were used as symbols of authority; the ring itself, carried by a trusty messenger, or an impression of it attached to a document, was a sign of the approval of the sender. It was the emblem of authority, and stood, in times when the ability to write was rare, for the signature of those who had authority. It would be a rich field of investigation to work out a comparison of the meanings of the words "signet" and "signature." Noblemen and kings used seals or signet rings as emblems of their authority. This custom was known among the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Romans, and other nations. When it was desirable to prohibit the opening of a door or package, the impression of a seal on wax or other soft material was added to the usual fastenings. This led to a superstitious reverence for seals, and in the popular mind the seal became not merely a symbol but an actual expression of royal or priestly or superhuman will.

We have illustrations of the use of seals in several parts of the Bible. In the beautiful history of Joseph, we find that the king "took off his ring and put it upon Joseph's hand." (Genesis xli, 42.) When Daniel was put into the den of lions, the mouth of the cave was sealed by the king "with his own signet and the signet of his lords, that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel." When, at the instance of Haman, the son of Hammedetha, the Jews were doomed to destruction in all the 127 provinces of the Persian empire, the order was given in the king's name "and sealed with the king's ring," which had previously been given to Haman for that purpose. Afterwards King Ahasuerus, on the intercession of Queen Esther, gave permission to the Jews to defend themselves, and directed that the privilege should be enjoined with the same formality, "for the writing which is written in the king's name and sealed with the king's ring may no man reverse." (Esther viii, 8.) Again, at a later time, when Jewish rulers desired to make sure of the confinement of the body of Jesus of Nazareth to the tomb beside the hill Calvary, their utmost certainty was obtained by "sealing the stone and setting a watch." (Matt. xxvii, 66.) Then, too, the book of fate seen by him of Patmos in apocalyptic vision, which no man or angel could open, is represented as "sealed with seven seals," and only one with divine power could prevail "to take the book and open the seals."

The rabbinical tradition that gives to Solomon power over spirits attributes the same power to his seal. The fisherman in the Arabian story, terrified at the threatening of the gigantic Afreet, evolved from the unsealed bottle of smoke, rids himself forever of the cause of his fright when once again he places him under "the seal of Solomon."

In the later Roman empire seals were used very definitely as symbols of authority, and in various European countries their significance was increased in the period we call the "dark ages." The color of the wax on which the impression was made was indicative of the rank of the sealer. Red was mostly the royal color, and yellow that of ordinary people, while green and purple were appropriated by different personages and corporations. White wax was frequently used, while Charles V, in the sixteenth century, used blue. Some seals were very simple devices—mere scratches of a cross or letter on the stamp, or a mark of a tooth on the wax. The following rhyming grant, which is believed by good authorities to be authentic, represents William the Conqueror as biting the wax,

though, from an impression preserved in the Hotel Soubise, at Paris, it is certain that William had a *great seal*:

“To the heirs male of the Hopton lawfully begotten:—
 From me and from mine to thee and to thine,
 While the water runs and the sun doth shine;
 For lack of heirs to the king again,
 I, William, king, the third year of my reign,
 Give to thee, Norman Huntene,
 To me that art both life and dear,
 The Hop and Hoptown,
 And all the bounds up and down,
 Under the earth to hell
 Above the earth to heaven,
 From me and from mine
 To thee and to thine,
 As good and as fair
 As ever they mine were.
 To witness that this is sooth,
 I bite the white wax with my tooth,
 Before Jugg, Maud and Margery
 And my third son, Henry,
 For one bow and one broad arrow
 When I come to hunt upon Yarrow.”

Some seals were elaborate specimens of engraving. They varied in size from a fraction of an inch to that of the great seal of Francis I of France, the diameter of which was four inches, and some have even been larger. Armorial devices on seals were not common until after the conquest of England. The earliest known being that of Arnulf of Flanders, of which there is an impression of the year 941.

The custom of monarchs having a great seal, the nations having most connection with the old Roman government having it first. The Normans settling in France in the tenth century adopted it, and from them the Saxon Edward, last of the line of Cerdic, but having Norman blood from his mother, Emma, brought it to England. The great seal of England dates from Saint Edward the Confessor.

Those seals which had two faces, a reverse and obverse, had their impressions stamped on coin-like pieces of wax, lead, or other yielding substance, which were attached as pendants to the documents they sealed. Patents obtained for lands, titles or privileges from the crown of England are thus sealed with the double impression. These pendant stamps were called *bulle*. The form of a seal is usually round, but ring seals were often polygonal and some others are oval.

We have already mentioned that use of a great seal was introduced into England by Edward the Confessor; but a century before his time Alfric, earl of Mercia, had a seal almost royal in its symbolism; and in the ninth century a bishop of Dunwich had a seal which is now in the British Museum. The seal of Saint Edward was three inches in diameter, had on each side the king seated on his throne, but with different royal emblems in the hand. The legend was the same on both sides: “*Sigillum Eadwardi Anglorum Basilei.*”

The Anglo-Saxon kings liked the Greek term *basileus* better than the Latin *rex*, or at least they used it more. The term *Anglorum* indicates the elective character of the English monarchy—king of the Angles, not of England. (When the French people recovered after twelve centuries the power of naming their rulers, in 1830, Louis Philippe became king of the French.) The Norman kings who followed the Confessor altered this. The venerable parchment in the British Museum, now nearly 700 years old, called the *Magna Charta*, has its *bulle*

broken and defaced, but we can make out on one side the figure of an armed and mounted knight and on the other the king on his throne, which were impressed by the seal of King John. The great seal of Edward I ("Longshanks") was four inches in diameter and its designs were similar to those of John's seal, but the workmanship was more elaborate. The legend was: "*Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Anglie Dns. Hibernie Dux Aquitanie*," which is precisely the style under which he was proclaimed at the death of his father, in 1272, when he himself was absent from England; *i. e.*, Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine. In connection with this, we may mention that Edward added Wales to his dominions; but, more than 100 years after, the English right was contested by Owen Glendower, who had a seal four and a quarter inches in diameter, on which he described himself as "*Princeps Walliae*." The workmanship was very elaborate, with the then usual en-signs of sovereignty.

In the last days of Henry VIII (civ. 1546-'47) that monarch, owing to sickness, of which unwieldy obesity was a part, not only had the seal used as ordinarily, but his sign manual was imitated on a stamp, and he was allowed to affix that or have it affixed for him in his presence, instead of affixing his signature. In that age we have two instances of the use of rings themselves, not by impression, giving authority. One is given by Scott as occurring at Flodden, A. D. 1513. Marmion is represented as saying:

"To Dacre bear my signet ring;
Bid him his squadrons up to bring."

And ninety years later the Earl of Essex is said to have lost his life because his messenger, the Countess of Nottingham, failed to carry a ring to the queen.

In the time of the Stuarts, the great seal, as formerly, showed the title of the kings. That of Charles I has the royal arms above the throne on which the king is seated. The legend is: "*Carolus Dei Gratia Anglie Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor*." It had a diameter of six inches. The absurd claim to the kingdom of France was not given up till the reign of William III. After the death of Charles I on the scaffold a new great seal was made, which bore on one side a map of the British Isles, with ships on the narrow seas, and the Irish harp and the cross of St. George in separate devices. The inscription was: "The great seal of England, 1651." The obverse had a representation of the house of commons; the speaker in his chair, the mace on the table, and the legend circumscribing the whole. It read: "*In the third year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1651*." It only lacked an eighth of an inch of being as large as the seal of Charles. After the restoration the old style of seal came back, as a matter of course.

There are one or two facts in connection with the great seal of England that show the importance that was attributed to this sign of authority. The person who has the custody of the seal is usually the lord high chancellor of England, who by virtue of his office is the first lay peer of the realm and chairman of the house of lords. Sometimes this office has been held in abeyance, and an officer called the lord keeper has had custody of the seal, with less responsibility than the chancellor. In the reign of Charles I, Lord Littleton was lord keeper of the great seal, and at the time when the king had left London and gone to the north Clarendon claims credit for influencing Littleton to send the seal to the king at York by a special messenger who came to demand it. There appeared to be an idea that government could not be carried on without it, and Lord Littleton excused himself for having given up the seal by stating that Charles had only

made him lord keeper on his taking a private oath that he would give it up whenever the king should demand it. Forty years afterwards, when James II was in the same circumstances as his father, and was fleeing to the continent from his rebellious people, with petty spite and deep malignity he threw the great seal of England into the Thames, as he was crossing that river, for the purpose of deranging the government he was leaving. It was afterwards recovered by some fishermen. Among others who have had the title of lord keeper was Lord North, an ancestor of the Lord North who was chief minister during the American war, and Lord Somers, who was so famous in the convention parliament of 1689 and in the following reign of William and Anne. In this century, Lord Eldon, Lord Brougham and Lord Campbell are about the most famous custodians of the great seal. They have all been lords chancellor. For this office and for others having a seal the resignation of office is symbolized in the phrase "giving up the seals."

The American colonies, like the mother country, had each a seal but the United States has not. Each governmental department has its own seal, but Uncle Sam has no great seal.

Why the United States has no great seal is not for us to answer here, but would merely suggest that, as one of the insignia of royalty, it possibly did not commend itself to the fathers of the republic. On the other hand, it was perhaps the idea of state sovereignty that led all the separate states to have great seals. Certain it is that each has one. Virginia has a notable place in the history of our country, and her seal is also remarkable among the seals of the states. It is a double seal, requiring an impression to be given on a coin-shaped *bulle* or on the paper under the wax, as well as above, on the wax. Its motto "*Sic semper tyrannis*," so appropriate for Richard Henry Lee, had a melancholy fame in connection with the murder of Lincoln. A few other states have a double seal, as Pennsylvania and Georgia. California has the largest seal, it having a diameter of three and three-fourths inches. Its motto is "*Eureka*." The seal of Connecticut is unique in form. It is oval.

The mottoes and designs of the state seals have all had a history, and very often the impression we see on a captain's commission or a land grant is all that is left of a fierce debate or a great public controversy. The Kansas State Historical Society has a very fine impression of the territorial seal of Kansas. It is said that the design was made by the first governor, Reeder. We have an impression now lying before us, which was attached to a document issued by Samuel Medary, the last governor of the territory, and another of Daniel Woodson, acting governor, of the date of March 16, 1857. It is two inches in diameter. It has a shield in the center, and around the margin the legend: "*Seal of the Territory of Kansas, erected May 30, 1854*." Above the shield is the motto, "*Populi voce nata*." Done into English, how well that sounds—"Born by the voice of the people." Done into history, how mean its meaning, "*squatter sovereignty*." But it was appropriate, and not the less so if looked at as a prophetic forecast of the birth of the state.

In the last days of July, 1859, an assembly of delegates from the territory of Kansas met at Wyandotte, at the mouth of the Kaw, and there devised a constitution that, exactly eighteen months after, became the constitution of the free state of Kansas. We are not concerned here with the debates of that convention or the main provisions of that constitution. What is necessary to know of that convention has been well told by John A. Martin on the occasion of the anniversary last July.* But we are concerned to know that section 8 of article I

*"The Wyandotte Convention," an address by John A. Martin at the reunion of the members and officers of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, Wyandotte, July 29, 1882.

of that constitution ordains that the state shall have a *great seal*, and section 9, immediately following, prescribes that it shall be used by the governor of the state. This was "*done*" at the convention at Wyandotte, July 29, 1859. After treason had met with some success, after several states had seceded by ordinance, if not in fact, and their senators had left Washington, the act of Congress was passed, on the 29th of January, 1861, which made Kansas a state. This act adopted and ratified the constitution of Wyandotte.

Under the new constitution, the first legislature of the state of Kansas met at Topeka, on Tuesday, March 26, 1861. The first few days were spent in examination of credentials and other matters pertaining to organization of legislative bodies, and it was on Saturday morning following when the houses received the first message from Charles Robinson, the first governor. In this message the governor called attention to the requirements of the constitution about a seal, and recommended the legislature to take the necessary steps to procure one.

On the 3d of April, the state senate, considering the governor's message, referred that part which mentioned the great seal to the committee on ways and means. Five days afterwards, on Monday, April 8, the following resolution was submitted to the senate: "*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed on behalf of the senate to act with a like committee on the part of the house to draw and recommend a design for the great seal of the state of Kansas." This resolution was referred to the committee on ways and means. Similar resolutions were considered by the house, and the two committees got to work; but this did not produce a seal very soon. There were designs, designs, and designs, mottoes and mottoes. Scholars suggested and Western men insisted. John H. McDowell, of the state library committee, suggested a design with a landscape, something like that afterwards adopted, and the emphatic motto "We will." Mr. Denman proposed to change the motto to "We won't." Backward and forward the thing was bandied about. The house journal for Friday, May 17, records the fact that the senate sent a message on "house joint resolution on state seal," saying they had amended, and desired concurrence. This message was discussed next day by the house, which did *not* concur. Then a committee was appointed for conference. The senate appointed a conference committee on Monday, and at a meeting of the two committees the same day the matter was substantially settled. Of that date, May 20, a letter in the *Conservative* (Leavenworth) contains the following passage:

"The vexed question of a state seal has at last received its quietus at the hands of the conference committee. The new design embraces a prairie landscape, with buffalo pursued by Indian hunters, a settler's cabin, a river with a steamboat, a cluster of thirty-four stars, surrounding the legend '*Ad astra per aspera*'; the whole encircled by the words: 'Great Seal of the State of Kansas, 1861.'"

The senate accepted the report of the conference committee on Wednesday, the 22d of May, 1861, and the house concurred on the same day; and so the design for a seal was decided.

D. W. Wilder, in his "Annals of Kansas," says the writer of the letter in the *Conservative* was John J. Ingalls, and as Wilder was editor of that paper he ought to know. The same John J. Ingalls was secretary of the state senate, and had therefore means of obtaining accurate information. John A. Martin,* of Atchison, was a member of the conference committee referred to above, and a letter of inquiry addressed to him by the writer brought back for answer the

*See foot-note, page 410, seventh volume Collections Kansas State Historical Society; eulogium delivered by Hon. B. F. Simpson before Historical Society, January 14, 1890, page 367, volume 4; also volume of "Addresses," by Martin, 1888.

statement that John J. Ingalls had submitted to the committee the design that was finally adopted. Why, then, did not the letter in the *Conservative* state that fact? Undoubtedly because Mr. Ingalls was too modest to claim the honor of having settled the "vexed question"—for modesty belongs to youth, and J. J. I. was a young man then. Besides being too modest, Mr. Ingalls had another motive for not claiming it. The design as adopted is not his alone, and though he may fairly claim credit for some of it, yet of other parts he is by no means proud. The design as submitted to the committee by Mr. Ingalls consisted "of a blue shield at the base of a cloud, out of which was emerging one silver star to join the constellation in the firmament, comprising the thirty-four then in the Union, with the motto '*Ad astra per aspera.*' The cloud symbolized the struggles through which we had passed; the star, the state; the constellation, the Union. The motto was both descriptive and suggestive, and the entire design simple, unique, and satisfactory." It was so satisfactory to the committee that they adopted it entire. But after that some of the "wild heralds of the frontier" altered it by mixing a steamboat and plowing with buffalo hunting, etc., till really nothing but the motto is Mr. Ingalls's, and the landscape is probably substantially the one submitted by Mr. McDowell. All the seal is historic, but suggestive of a fact that will be true forever, that the conquest of difficulties is the way to moral as well as to political success. John J. Ingalls* is now United States senator from Kansas, and his life has not been unmarked by usefulness, but in years to come he will probably be most proud of the fact that he gave our prosperous state its noble motto, which has been the text of many a sermon and the starting-point of many a career. "*Ad astra per aspera.*" So be it!

We have seen that it is constitutional to have a great seal for our state, and yet months elapsed in which the state government was administered without a seal. We saw a few days ago a commission issued by Governor Robinson in that same month of May, 1861, which has merely a blank where the seal ought to be. The old legal definition of a seal was a "cake of wax marked by the proper impression," but later judicial decisions say that a document is properly sealed if only there is a rough indication made with the pen of the place of the seal. The fact that King James threw the great seal of England into the Thames, or that Charles Robinson went on for many months without a seal in Kansas, shows that this is not an indispensable symbol of authority, though its use is a great convenience.

The report of John W. Robinson, secretary of state for the year 1861, says that "the state seal and seals for some of the state officers were procured early after the adjournment of the legislature." That adjournment took place in June, 1861. In the auditor's report for 1862, dated January, 1863, there is this item of money paid: "Estate of O'Shawnessy, seals, \$120," which we suppose is the payment for the seals mentioned by Secretary Robinson the previous year.

Thus, then, we have given the origin of the history of the great seal of Kansas. We have only to add that the first seal was in a screw-press, like those used for copying, and that since then there have been two others made, the present one being used like an ordinary notary's seal, and giving a very clear and definite impression. Further, in the transference of the office of governor from John P. St. John † to George W. Glick, ‡ the old symbolism was retained, and

*See "Life and Writings of John James Ingalls," by William Elsey Connelley, 1902.

†JOHN PIERCE ST. JOHN, the eighth governor of Kansas, was born at Brookville, Ind., February 25, 1833. In 1852 he crossed the plains to California, where he engaged in mining and wood-chopping. In 1853 and 1854 he took part in the Indian wars in northern California and southern Oregon, in which he was twice wounded. He visited the Sandwich Islands, South

handing over the great seal was part of the inaugural ceremony and referred to in the inaugural speeches.

To give this article a certain amount of completeness, we will state the authorities consulted to compile it:

1. "The Comprehensive History of England," published at Glasgow, Scotland.
2. Macaulay's History of England.
3. Appleton's Cyclopaedia.
4. The Arabian Nights Entertainments.
5. The constitution of the state of Kansas.
6. The Bible.
7. House and Senate Journals for 1861.
8. Auditor's and secretary's reports for 1861 and 1862.
9. Private letters from John A. Martin and John J. Ingalls.
10. Wilder's "Annals of Kansas."
11. Files of the Leavenworth *Conservative* and other papers.
12. A fine collection of impressions of seals made W. H. Ward, private secretary of Governor St. John.
13. "Old England," an archæological work published by Sangster & Co., London.
14. The state agricultural reports.
15. To the above must be added assistance very courteously rendered by the state librarian, H. J. Dennis; F. G. Adams, of the Historical Society; P. V. Trovinger, clerk of Geary county, and P. I. Bonebrake, state auditor.

KANSAS CITY, KAN., January 14, 1889.

Hon. F. G. Adams, Secretary State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

MY DEAR JUDGE—Herewith I hand you a letter from Senator John J. Ingalls, stating what he knows of the state seal of Kansas, and the motto thereon, with their origin and meaning, as understood by those who suggested their adoption.

I doubt if there is more than one in a thousand of our people who has more than a vague conception as to by whom or why the motto was suggested, or what it was intended to signify, and this direct statement by the father of the idea should be of value to future generations of inquirers, who will be looking to the archives of your society for authentic information on this and innumerable kindred points. I also inclose a copy of the Kansas City, Kan., *Daily Gazette* of 11th inst., containing an article by its city editor, Mr. J. J. Maxwell, upon the letter and its subject. Very sincerely your friend,

F. D. COBURN.

America, and Mexico. He returned to Illinois, and completed his law studies at Charleston, Coles county. He entered the military service in 1862 as captain, and was mustered out in 1865 as a lieutenant-colonel. He moved to Charleston, Ill., from thence to Independence, Mo., remaining at this latter place four years. He settled in Olathe. In 1872 he was elected to the state senate. In 1878 and 1880 he was elected governor, and was defeated for a third term in 1882 by George W. Glick. He became a temperance lecturer of national fame. In sixteen years he traveled 350,000 miles, made 4000 speeches, and never missed an appointment. He resides at Olathe, engaged in mining in Missouri.

‡ GEORGE W. GLICK was born at Greencastle, Fairfield county, Ohio, July 4, 1827. He located in Atehison in the spring of 1859. He was elected to the Kansas legislature in 1863 without opposition, and reelected in 1864, 1865, 1866, 1868, and 1876. In 1882 he was elected governor, defeating St. John by nearly 9000 votes. He was defeated by John A. Martin in 1884. In 1885 President Cleveland appointed him pension agent at Topeka, serving from January 1, 1886, to October 1, 1889. Under the second administration of President Cleveland he again served as pension agent for Kansas, from November 16, 1893, to September 1, 1897. He has served as president of the State Board of Agriculture, was a Centennial commissioner, a member of the board of managers of the Columbian Exposition, and president of the board of managers of the Omaha Exposition. He was the ninth governor of Kansas, and the only Democratic governor.

The Great Seal of Kansas.



WASHINGTON, D. C., October 10, 1888.

Mr. F. D. Coburn, *Kansas City, Kan.*:

MY DEAR SIR—In reply to your favor of 6th inst., I would say that I was secretary of the Kansas state senate at its first session after our admission, in 1861. A joint committee was appointed to present a design for the great seal of the state, and I suggested a sketch embracing a single star rising from clouds at the base of a field, with the constellation (representing the number of states then in the Union) above, accompanied by the motto, "*Ad astra per aspera.*"

If you will examine the seal as it now exists, you will see that my idea was adopted, but in addition thereto the committee incorporated a mountain scene, a river view, a herd of buffalo pursued by Indians on horseback, a log cabin with a settler plowing in the foreground, together with a number of other incongruous, allegorical and metaphorical augmentations, which destroyed the beauty and simplicity of my design.

The clouds at the base were intended to represent the perils and troubles of our territorial history; the star emerging therefrom, the new state; the constellation, like that on the flag, the Union to which, after a stormy struggle, it had been admitted. The motto "*Ad astra per aspera*" means, literally, "to the stars through difficulties." Had my original design been adopted without modification, its significance would have been apparent. Very truly yours,

JOHN J. INGALLS.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, TOPEKA, KAN., May 13, 1903.

George W. Martin, *Secretary Kansas State Historical Society*:

DEAR SIR—Agreeable to your request, I submit herein my views concerning the origin of "*Ad astra per aspera*," the motto of Kansas.

I pass by the question as to who is entitled to the honor of suggesting such an appropriate motto for our state. Such a question is purely historical, and not, I presume, attended with much difficulty.

The idea represented by the motto itself is very old, and occurs frequently in classic poetry, in German set phrases and quotations, and in the feudal mottoes of the European nobility. Ovid, Juvenal, and Horace especially, were the Kiplings and Roosevelts of ancient days, who wrote and sang of the strenuous life as exemplified in the Kansas motto.

Either of the two phrases comprising the motto, "*ad astra*" or "*per aspera*," may be gleaned with little difficulty from classical writers. However, the nearest I find to the embodiment of the whole idea is that of Caius Silius Italicus, a Latin poet of the early part of the second century. He says:

"Explorant adversa viros; per (que) aspera duro
Nititur ad laudem virtus interrita clivo."

A free translation of the foregoing would be: Adversity proves men; and, through difficulties undaunted, virtue struggles up the highest steeps to fame.

So also Seneca: "*Non est ad astra mollis a terris via*"—the way from the earth to the stars is not easy. And Virgil, speaking of virtue or bravery, says: "*Sic itur ad astra*"—just so is the way to the stars.

Horace is translated by Conington thus:

"Nil mortalis arduum est,
Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia."
Nothing for mortals aims too high;
Our madness e'en would scale the sky.

And Juvenal: "*Græculus esuriens ad cælum jusseris, ibit*"—bid a hungry Greekling mount to the sky, up he goes.

German literature has many expressions like the following, which, however, lose much in translation:

"The oppressions of earth, the holy ills of life, exalt the spirit and raise the soul to God."

"It is a greater difficulty to get to hell than to heaven."

Charles Marsh Foster, the learned recluse of the state library, called the attention of the press some years ago to the fact that the substance of the Kansas motto is contained in the heraldic device of an ancient Scandinavian family. This brought an answer from John James Ingalls to the effect that the Scandinavian family did not have a monopoly of the motto; that it was borne by perhaps a hundred noble families in Europe.

Something of like nature has come under my own notice. "*Nec aspera terrent*," meaning, practically, "No difficulties terrify us," is the watchword of the Welsh fusiliers; and the same motto is borne by some of the Hanoverian Guelphs.

Some of Milton's brightest paragraphs can be traced back through Spenser, Dante and Virgil to the Homeric fountain of literature; and it is nothing remarkable to say that the phraseology and sentiment of the Kansas motto are easily as old as the Christian era. Yours respectfully, JOHN S. DAWSON.*

HIAWATHA, May 7, 1903.

DEAR MARTIN: When the motto was adopted it already seemed familiar to persons somewhat acquainted with Latin. Virgil's words, "*Sic itur ad astra*," are a familiar quotation. There *astra* means heaven, immortality (if the Romans believed it). Virgil also has *ad astra* of a tower erected high. Seneca has: "*Non est ad astra mollis terris via*"—there is no easy way from the earth to the stars. Tacitus has "*per aspera et devia*"—by rough and circuitous (roads); and Suetonius has the same, "*per aspera ac devia*," using *ac* for *et*.

Our United States words are better, but those who say *aspera* are fond of the unknown. On the whole, our pioneers did very well.

Yours truly, D. W. WILDER.

OTTAWA, KAN., August 31, 1903.

When I was a schoolboy studying Latin, more than fifty years ago, my teacher gave me as copy such classic phrases as "*per aspera ad astra*," "*sic itur ad astra*," "*astra castra*," "*numen lumen*," etc. The phrases "*ad astra*" and "*per aspera*" were used by the Romans in common conversation, and occur in many Latin poets.

Whoever suggested the motto probably remembered his old copy *incorrectly*; for the motto is nonsense as it stands, as much so as "*Sic semper tyrannis*."

Hastily, but truly, etc., J. W. DEFORD.

Hon. John Speer:

LAWRENCE, KAN., September 7, 1897.

DEAR SIR—Your letter was received just as I returned from my summer trip in Washington.

My authority for the statement in regard to the motto on the state seal was

*JOHN S. DAWSON was born June 10, 1869, at Speybridge, Morayshire, Scotland. He came to America in 1884, and lived in Illinois until March 4, 1887, when he came to Kansas. He went to Scotland in 1888, and returned to the United States. He was educated in various private and high schools in Scotland, and at the normal school at Salina, Kan. He took a homestead in Graham county in 1892. He was principal of the Hill City schools in 1895 and 1896, and of the Wa Keeney high school in 1897. Instructed and lectured before normal institutes and teachers' associations, and campaigned the state for the Republicans in 1900 and 1902. He served four years as bond clerk in the state treasurer's office, and in January, 1903, was appointed second assistant attorney-general of Kansas.

Mrs. Judge Josiah Miller.* It was some years ago, and I forget where. We were talking of the judge and his public services, when she said, among other things, that he first suggested the motto. As the motto always seemed to me to be almost an inspiration, I was interested to know all about it. She told me how it came to him and how it affected him. He was a member of the committee on seal. He was in his room when the idea came to him; he was studying on the motto. At last he brightened up and said: "I have it—*Ad astra per aspera*." They talked it over, and agreed that it could not be improved. He suggested it to the committee and it was adopted without question.

When I wrote my book I had never heard any other story. I supposed there was no dispute about it. I have lately read that John J. Ingalls claims the honor. But I have no doubt that the honor belongs to Judge Miller. As you know very well, Judge Miller was a fine classical scholar and a man of wide reading. He was a man of rare mind. Mrs. Miller is fully his peer in everything—a woman of clear judgment and great independence. She was able to enter into all his studies and to understand most completely all his affairs.

Truly yours,

RICHARD CORDLEY.†

Senator John J. Ingalls says further:

"I was secretary of the senate, not clerk of Miller's committee. The motto is as old as Josephus; it may be found in every Latin phrase-book and the appendix to all dictionaries. It is one of the commonest mottoes in heraldry, and is borne, I suppose, by a hundred families in England on their coats of arms. The first time I ever saw it was on an old brass seal in the office of the gentleman with whom I read law in Haverhill, Mass., in 1857. The same thought is expressed in many different ways, but "*Ad astra per aspera*" seemed the most melodious, and so I selected it for my sketch.

"With a motto, as with a proverb, the question is not whether it is original, but whether it is appropriate."

* JOSIAH MILLER was born in Chester district, South Carolina, November 12, 1828. He died at Lawrence, July 7, 1870, after having a leg amputated. His father was waylaid and mobbed because of his anti-slavery views. Josiah Miller was educated at the University of Indiana in 1851, and graduated from the law school at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He came to Kansas in August, 1854, and January 5, 1855, established a newspaper at Lawrence, called the *Kansas Free State*. May 21, 1856, it was destroyed by order of the territorial government, having previously been indicted by a pro-slavery jury as a nuisance. He was tried for treason against South Carolina by Buford's band. He canvassed several states in 1856 for John C. Fremont. In 1857 he was elected probate judge of Douglas county. In 1861 he was a member of the first state senate, from which he resigned to be postmaster of Lawrence. In 1863 he was made a paymaster in the army, with the rank of major. He was a member of the legislature of 1866. He was early interested in railroad and bridge organizations. His biography, no doubt written by John Speer, and published in the United States Biographical Dictionary in 1879, contained the following sentence: "In the state senate he was the chairman of the judiciary committee, and was the author of the motto upon the seal of the state, "*Ad astra per aspera*," and the monument now erected to his memory in Oak Hill cemetery bears this inscription."

† RICHARD CORDLEY, D. D., was born September 6, 1829, at Nottingham, England. His parents came to America in 1833 and took up government land in Livingston county, Michigan. In 1850 he entered Michigan University, and graduated in four years, paying his way by his own exertions. He graduated at Andover Theological Seminary and came to Kansas in 1857. January 27, 1858, he was ordained at Quindaro. He preached his first sermon in Plymouth Church, Lawrence, December 2, 1857. He was one of the men marked for death by Quantrill's men in their raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863. In 1871 he was elected president of Washburn College, but declined. He has been a trustee of Washburn since 1858, and served also as a regent of the Agricultural College. In 1875 he resigned his pastorate at Lawrence and removed to Flint, Mich. In a few years he returned to Kansas, and for six years was pastor at Emporia. In 1884 he returned to the Lawrence church. For a number of years he was president of the Lawrence board of education.

A STATE FLOWER.

The legislature of 1903 passed the following law (chapter 479):

AN ACT designating and declaring the *helianthus* or sunflower to be the state flower and floral emblem of the state of Kansas.

WHEREAS, Kansas has a native wild flower common throughout her borders, hardy and conspicuous, of definite, unvarying and striking shape, easily sketched, molded, and carved, having armorial capacities, ideally adapted for artistic reproduction, with its strong, distinct disk and its golden circle of clear glowing rays—a flower that a child can draw on a slate, a woman can work in silk, or a man can carve on stone or fashion in clay; and

WHEREAS, This flower has to all Kansans a historic symbolism which speaks of frontier days, winding trails, pathless prairies, and is full of the life and glory of the past, the pride of the present, and richly emblematic of the majesty of a golden future, and is a flower which has given Kansas the world-wide name, “the Sunflower State”: therefore,

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas :

SECTION 1. That the *helianthus* or wild native sunflower is hereby made, designated and declared to be the state flower and floral emblem of the state of Kansas.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in full force from and after its publication in the statute book.

Published June 1, 1903.

Senator George P. Morehouse, the author of the law, says:

“About two years ago, at Colorado Springs, our Missouri neighbors had a ‘Missouri day,’ and hundreds of tourists from that state assembled, and each wore as a badge, ‘YOU WILL HAVE TO SHOW ME.’ The Kansas contingent in that vicinity announced a reunion of Kansans for the following week. The day came, and also several thousand people, most of them from Kansas, and, as they marched and mingled in happy throngs and engaged in appropriate exercises, every one wore the large blossom with the golden rays. It presented a pleasing scene, unique and attractive to all, but especially thrilling and home-like to every citizen of the Sunflower state. None of us will ever forget that day or the emblem we wore. Our hearts swelled with pride and our thoughts and words fondly dwelt upon the resources, traditions and triumphs of the state we all love so well. That occasion suggested the formal legal adoption of the sunflower as our state flower.

“It was only a tardy recognition of the noted flower so intimately woven with the name of Kansas,” continues Senator Morehouse. “This native wild flower is common throughout our borders, and is always hardy and conspicuous. It lifts its head in triumph along our most beautiful and classic valleys, and mingles its cheerful light with the verdure of expanding prairies. The seasons have little effect on its coming, for it flourishes in time of flood, and the drought of arid summer adds to the multitude of its blossoms. It is of definite, unvarying and striking shape, ever faithful, whether gracing the beautiful gardens of the rich or lingering near the humble habitations of the poor. Wherever reproduced, whether in color or canvas, worked in iron or chiseled in stone or marble, its identity is ever present. I am pleased to see it has been wrought in bronze,

and, as a badge, decorates the new uniforms of the Kansas National Guard.* It has marked the position of Kansas in many an imposing pageant. This flower has to every Kansan a historic symbolism. It speaks eloquently of frontier days, when buds and blossoms of civilization were not numerous, and when we were deprived of many of the refinements we now enjoy. The sunflower recalls paths and winding trails, and we are reminded of its golden lines of beauty, at times making their graceful turns over hill and vale, and breaking the dull monotony of many a prairie scene. It is not a blossom lingering a few brief hours, but lasts for a season. It gracefully nods to the caresses of the earliest morning zephyrs. Its bright face greets the rising orb of day, and faithfully follows him in his onward course through the blazing noontime, till the pink-tinted afterglow of sunset decorates the western sky and marks the quiet hour of eventide. Few can recall all the state favorites, but the entire nation knows that Kansas has the sunflower, and is the 'Sunflower State.'"

THE WILD SUNFLOWER.

At early dawn, like soldiers in their places,
 Rank upon rank the golden sunflowers stand,
 Gazing toward the east with eager faces,
 Waiting until their god shall touch the land
 To life and glory; longingly they wait,
 Those voiceless watchers at the morning's gate.

Dawn's portals tremble silently apart;
 Far to the east, across the dewy plain,
 A glory kindles that in every heart
 Finds answering warmth and kindles there again;
 And rapture beams in every radiant face,
 Now softly glowing with supernal grace.

And all day long that silent worship lasts,
 And as their god moves grandly down the west,
 And every stem a lengthening shadow casts
 Toward the east, ah! then they love him best,
 And watch till every lingering ray is gone,
 Then slowly turn to greet another dawn.

—*Albert Bigelow Paine.*

*The following is from General Orders, No. 9, dated July 8, 1903, and signed "S. H. KELSEY, Adjutant General, by command of Governor BAILEY":

"VII. The collar device of the full-dress, dress and service coats of the officers and enlisted men of the Kansas National Guard shall be the *Sunflower*, according to pattern in the office of the Adjutant General. Aside from this departure, the uniform prescribed for the Kansas National Guard will conform to that of the United States Army, as published in General Orders, No. 132, Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C., series 1902."

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS IN 1856.

Address by ROBERT MORROW,* before the Old Settlers' Association, at Lawrence, in September, 1902.

WE ought to be thankful that it was our privilege to come to Kansas at a early day, and that we have had something to do in the making and building up of this great state. These wild prairies, as we found them, are now covered with towns and cities, churches and schoolhouses, and farmhouses everywhere in view, with a million and a half of people, and nearly 10,000 miles of railroad, and the people living in peace and security, surrounded with good homes and all the comforts that make life desirable. How different it was with us! The present generation ought to be grateful to the old settlers of Kansas for what they suffered and did for them. I have no desire to talk about myself, and I hope you will excuse me for doing so.

I moved to Kansas from Wisconsin with my family and settled in Lawrence in 1855. Lawrence was only a little cluster of small one-story buildings, built mostly with native lumber, without plastering; some were still living in tents and sod houses. Paul R. Brooks was keeping store in a little seven-by-nine building near the river bank. The post-office was kept in his store, and Carmi W. Babcock was the postmaster. We had a semiweekly mail from Kansas City.

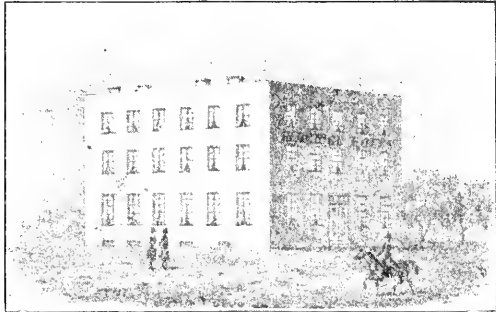
We had what was known as the "Wakarusa war" that fall; you all know the origin and cause of it, and the settlement that was made. Governor Shannon had called out the militia, and that was only another name for calling on the Missourians; they had responded, and 2000 of them had gathered within a few miles of Lawrence, on the east, all armed and equipped with guns and cannon. In the meantime the free-state settlers from all over the country around had come in to Lawrence, and were being drilled by General Lane, and breastworks were thrown up. Among the settlers who had come in for the defense of Lawrence was a man named John Brown. We did not know much about him then; we were all strangers thrown in here together, and he had not done anything to distinguish himself at that time especially, and no more attention was paid him than any other man. We sent a committee to wait on Governor Shannon and ask him to come to Lawrence, which he did. We told him if he persisted in bringing those Missourians into Lawrence there would be a battle that would set the nation on fire. He became alarmed, and entered into an agreement or treaty, signed by Governor Robinson and General Lane on our part and by himself as governor. This was in the rooms of the committee of safety. I was present when it was signed. J. M. Winchell drew up the agreement. He was the correspondent of the *New York Times*; was a very pleasant gentleman and ready writer. Governor Shannon dismissed the militia, and they returned to Missouri, and no blood was shed; only one man murdered—Thomas Barber.

An exceedingly cold winter soon followed, and the Missourians did not return

* ROBERT MORROW was born at Sparta, Sussex county, New Jersey, September 20, 1825. He was married April 13, 1850, to Martha Cory, a native of the same place. They moved to Wisconsin in 1850, and settled at Appleton, where he was engaged in merchandising for five years. He was county treasurer of Outagamie county for two years. He settled at Lawrence, Kan., in 1855. He engaged in the hotel business, and was burned out by Quantrill in 1863. He was a member of the territorial legislature of 1858, and was also a member of the first state senate, in 1861 and 1862. He has served as president of the city council of Lawrence and treasurer of Douglas county. He engaged in the hotel business at Lawrence and Emporia, and is again at Lawrence, where he resided continuously from his first settlement for twenty-seven years.

until spring. In the spring things opened pretty lively. The year 1856 was the most exciting year in Kansas. The congressional committee was holding sessions in Lawrence, taking testimony. John Sherman was a member of that committee. He was then a young man, just entering public life. He remained in Congress from that time until he died—the most of the time in the senate. He was a valuable man and statesman. He left his imprint on more legislation than any man in our time—much more than Blaine did.

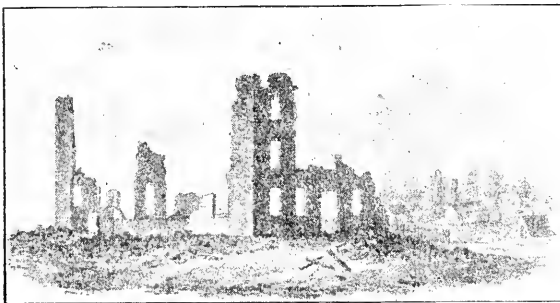
In May, 1856, the United States marshal brought into Lawrence a posse of 500 or 600 armed men and burned the Free State hotel and destroyed the printing-presses. Among that drunken crowd was a United States senator and acting vice-president, David R. Atchison, of Missouri. He said that was the happiest day of his life. His life could not have been a very happy one, if burning hotels and destroying printing-presses made him so happy.



Eldridge House, or Free State Hotel, Lawrence, 1856.

I went to Topeka on the 4th of July, 1856; the legislature under the Topeka constitution was to meet there on that day. They were driven out and dispersed by Colonel Sumner. There was a large attendance of free-state men at Topeka that day and great excitement prevailed. Governor Robinson was a prisoner at LeCompton and General Lane was in the states. There had been brought into Kansas that spring a lot of men from the South who did not come here to make homes. They were stationed around different places, committing depredations

and robbing the settlers. Our people decided not to submit to it any longer, but to attack them and drive them out. On the night of the 13th of August an attack was made by the free-state men on Franklin, where a lot of these Georgians were stationed, and they were driven out. Four or five of our men here were wounded, but none killed on our side.



Ruins of the Eldridge House, or Free State Hotel, destroyed May 21, 1856.

The next day after the battle of Franklin, the committee of public safety, who had supervision and charge of matters, wanted I should go to Chicago and communicate with the national committee that had headquarters there. This Chicago committee had been appointed at a large convention held at Buffalo, N. Y., early that summer, of prominent free-soilers from all over the North and East, to devise ways and means to help the free-state men of Kansas and prevent

their being driven out, and the committee had an office in Chicago.* Our Kansas committee wanted to inform them of the situation here, what was being done, and what help was needed and so forth. They dared not communicate by mail, as the mails and post-office were all under border-ruffian control. I started for Leavenworth August 14, 1856, to get a boat down the river, as there were no railroads. Leavenworth at that time was an intensely pro-slavery town and full of drunken border ruffians. A free-state man did not dare to let his sentiments be known. To be in favor of a free state was to be an abolitionist, and an abolitionist was a person to be shot on sight. That was the way the Missourians sized the matter up. I had never been to Leavenworth, and at the place where I stopped a lot of these men were drinking and carousing. I was afraid they would suspect me and search me, and I got up in the night and hid my papers in a lumber-yard under some boards. The next day a boat came down and I got aboard. Senator Atchison was on the boat, and a lot of South Carolinians; they got off at Kansas City. I made my way to Chicago, got the committee together, and delivered my papers, and spent the day with them informing them of the condition of things in Kansas and what help was needed. I told the committee that I would go back through Iowa, as the Missouri river was not a very pleasant road to travel that summer, and take back a load of powder and lead, as they were wanted more than anything else.

The committee gave me a letter of credit on Fitz Henry Warren, a banker of Burlington, Iowa, to fit me out with a team and wagon and load. I started for Burlington, Iowa, got my load, and drove the same to Tabor, a free-state rendezvous in the southwestern part of Iowa. Fitz Henry Warren was afterwards a general in the Union army during the rebellion. Several parties had gone into Kansas that summer by that route through Iowa, and made a trail down to Topeka.

I had just got to Tabor, August 26, 1856, when Col. Shaler W. Eldridge † came in. He rode horseback from Topeka, and said it was not safe for me to go down with my load without some company, and wanted me to return with him to Chicago, and see if the committee would pay the bills if we would raise a large party. We started that day for Chicago; we had to stage it across Iowa. We saw the committee and outlined our scheme. They told us they had no money.

*The Buffalo convention met July 9, 1856. It was presided over by Ex-gov. A. H. Reeder, of Kansas. It was composed mainly of delegates from various Kansas relief committees, eleven free states being represented. The following were appointed as the Kansas National Committee: J. D. Webster, chairman; H. B. Hurd, secretary; George W. Dole, treasurer; J. Y. Scammon, and J. N. Arnold, all of Chicago; G. R. Russell, Boston; W. H. Russell, New Haven; Thaddeus Hyatt, New York city; Neville B. Craig, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John W. Wright, Logansport, Ind.; Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.; Eber B. Ward, Detroit, Mich.; J. H. Tweedy, Milwaukee, Wis.; Governor Hopkins, Providence, R. I.; W. H. Stanley, Cleveland, Ohio; F. A. Hunt, St. Louis, Mo.; Shaler W. Eldridge, Lawrence, Kan. A few changes were made in this committee a month or so later. At this convention it was resolved to call for \$100,000 per month, beginning with July, and Gerrit Smith led off with a pledge of \$1500 per month during the war. Headquarters were established at Chicago, and five members were selected from that city, so as to have a quorum convenient for business.

†SHALER W. ELDRIDGE was born in West Springfield, Mass., August 29, 1816. His grandfather, Elisha Winchell, was an officer in the revolutionary war, and his uncle, Shaler Winchell, died in the service in the war of 1812. Shaler W. Eldridge was a contractor in building the Connecticut River railroad, and had important contracts on nearly all the New England roads, in all for about twelve years. He arrived in Kansas City, Mo., January 3, 1855. He purchased the American House from Samuel C. Pomeroy, who had previously obtained it from the Emigrant Aid Company. It was the headquarters of the free-state men. In May, 1856, when Governor Reeder escaped from Kansas, he was hid in this house for twelve days. In the early part of 1856 he leased the Free State hotel, in Lawrence. Colonel Eldridge witnessed

We told them they could borrow it and the people of the North would soon pay them back. They told us to call the next day and they would give us an answer. We called next morning, and they told us to go ahead and they would pay the bills. We bought wagons and harness, tents and camp fixtures, and started for Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and staked a camp. In three weeks we had about twenty-five wagons loaded with provisions and arms and tents, and about 300 men had come in, mostly young men.

While Colonel Eldridge was getting up the camp and wagons I went to Iowa City to see Governor Grimes about getting some state arms. He said if I could get them without compromising him I could do so. I had letters to some good friends of Kansas; they got the keys to the arsenal, and in the night we loaded up three wagons with 200 stands of arms, and they were put into Colonel Eldridge's train and brought into Kansas. Before starting for Kansas, Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy, J. M. Winchell and Professor Daniels joined our party, and we held a consultation. We had been out of Kansas over a month, and in that time things had changed. Governor Shannon had left and Governor Geary had been appointed in his place, and he was doing his best to restore peace and quiet in the territory. He was sending the Missourians home and disarming the free-state men. The governor was using United States soldiers instead of militia. It was thought best that some one should return to Kansas in advance of the train we had raised and see the governor, and explain to him the reason we had raised such a party, and they would have me go.

I started for Kansas by the Missouri river. On the boat one day, at the table, a man sitting opposite me said to a man at his side that there was an abolitionist on the boat, and when they got to Lexington they were going to take him off. The man asked him how he could tell an abolitionist. He said he could tell them by their diet. I was eating some bread and syrup. I could not eat all the greasy meats and pastries they served on the boat. I did not say anything, but I got a little red in the face. I was not molested. On getting to Lawrence, Col. James Blood and William Hutchinson, members of the committee of safety, went with me to Leocompton, and we had an audience with Governor Geary. He was excited. Large stories were started about the army that was being raised in Iowa, and the governor had sent Colonel Cooke with 500 dragoons up on the Kansas border to intercept us. We told him as good a story as we could; that our party were all peaceable settlers, and that they were coming through Iowa because the Missouri river route had been practically closed to Northern immigration that summer. The governor gave me a letter to Colonel Eldridge, welcoming all peaceable settlers, and I started for Nebraska City. Colonel Eldridge had gotten to Nebraska City and crossed the Missouri river, and was in camp waiting for me.

We started next morning, October 2, for Kansas. The first night we camped, upon getting into Kansas, before meeting Colonel Cooke, we had a funeral and

the destruction of this house on May 21, 1856, by Sheriff Jones, it having been declared a nuisance by a pro-slavery grand jury. He was immediately sent to Washington with a memorial from the free-state men, and attended the convention at Philadelphia which nominated Fremont. He was also a member of the Buffalo convention of July 9, 1856. He was mainly instrumental in inducing Secretary Stanton to issue the proclamation calling the first free-state legislature, to submit the Leocompton constitution to the people. In 1857 he and his brothers, Ed. S., Thomas B., and James M., erected the Eldridge House, in Lawrence, at a cost of \$80,000. It was destroyed a second time, by Quantrill, August 21, 1863. He started a daily stage line in different directions over Kansas. He enlisted as a private in the Second Kansas regiment, was made lieutenant, and in 1863 appointed paymaster. He was married to Sarah B. Norton, by whom he had seven children. She died March 5, 1869. He married Miss Caroline Toby, of Dundee, N. Y., January 25, 1871.

buried a cannon. We thought that was a piece of furniture that did not look well with peaceable settlers, as we claimed to be. We met Colonel Cooke that day and were made prisoners. We made no war on United States soldiers; they had a United States marshal with them. They searched our wagons and took our arms. They did not get them all; we had some under some loads of corn that they did not find; so that when we marched into Lawrence every man carried a gun. We were conducted down to Topeka, where we met Governor Geary, and, after some speeches and explanations, we were released.* The governor kept our arms, with a promise that they would soon be restored, but he left Kansas that winter in such a hurry that he did not keep his promise.

The party we brought in was quite an acquisition to the free-state forces. They all became settlers and citizens of Kansas. Col. Salmon S. Prouty, who afterwards became famous as an editor, was one of the number. Richard Realf, John Walton, a prominent farmer and for many years county commissioner of Douglas county, and Andrew Stark were also of this party. General Lane has generally had the credit of bringing in these parties. They have been spoken of as Lane's army, but the credit of raising this company and bringing it into Kansas belongs to Colonel Eldridge, with what assistance I rendered him, and to no one else.

Governor Geary succeeded in restoring peace and order that fall in Kansas, and the people began to think about making improvements and building homes. Quite a boom seized the people about laying out towns. Most every one soon owned a town or an interest in one. A little company was formed in Lawrence and laid out the town of Emporia. P. B. Plumb, then a young man getting a precarious living about the printing-offices in Lawrence, went to Emporia and remained. He studied law, edited a newspaper, and as time passed became wealthy; was a man of great energy and industry; was elected United States senator, and died while in the senate. About the time Emporia was laid out, I went with Colonel Learnard, taking a surveyor with us, further down the Neosho, and laid out the town of Burlington, now the county-seat of Coffey county.

*See Doctor Gihon's "Geary and Kansas," for Governor Geary's report to the secretary of state concerning this party. The following statement was received by Governor Geary:

"TOPEKA, KANSAS TERRITORY, October 14, 1856.

"His Excellency John W. Geary, Governor of Kansas Territory:

"DEAR SIR—We, the undersigned, conductors of an emigrant train, who entered the territory on the 10th inst., beg leave to make the following statement of facts, which, if required, we will attest upon our oaths:

"1st. Our party numbered from 200 to 300 persons, in two separate companies; the rear company, which has not yet arrived, being principally composed of families, with children, who left Mount Pleasant, Iowa, three days after this train which has arrived to day.

"2d. We are all actual, *bona fide* settlers, intending, so far as we know, to become permanent inhabitants.

"3d. The blockading of the Missouri river to free-state emigrants, and the reports which reached us in the early part of September, to the effect that armed men were infesting and marauding the northern portions of Kansas, were the sole reasons why we came in a company and were armed.

"4th. We were stopped near the northern line of the territory by the United States troops, acting, as we understood, under the orders of one Preston, deputy United States marshal, and after stating to the officers who we were and what we had, they commenced searching our wagons (in some instances breaking open trunks and throwing bedding and wearing apparel upon the ground in the rain), taking arms from the wagons, wresting some private arms from the hands of men, carrying away a lot of sabers belonging to a gentleman in the territory, as also one and a half kegs of powder, percussion caps, and some cartridges; in consequence of which we were detained about two-thirds of a day, taken prisoners, and are now presented to you.

"All we have to say is, that our mission to this territory is entirely peaceful. We have no organization, save a police organization for our own regulation and defense on the way. And coming in that spirit to the territory, we claim the rights of American citizens to bear arms, and to be exempt from unlawful search and seizure.

"Trusting to your integrity and impartiality, we have confidence to believe that our property will be restored to us, and that all that has been wrong will be righted.

"We here subscribe ourselves, cordially and truly, your friends and fellow citizens.

S. W. ELDRIDGE, Conductor.

ROBERT MORROW.

SAMUEL C. POMEROY.

EDWARD DANIELS.

JOHN A. PERRY.

RICHARD REALF.

That winter the towns of Wyandotte, Quindaro, Delaware, Sumner and Doniphan were laid out. They were all Chicagos in embryo. I had an interest in Wyandotte. I built a building for a hotel in Lawrence that winter on the lot where the National Bank now stands, and opened it in the spring. It was the best hotel in Lawrence, until the Eldridge House was built. It was burned down in the Quantrill raid.

The border-ruffian* legislature was in session at Lecompton that winter. This was the second session. We had no free-state men in the legislature. Governor Geary got into difficulty with some of the members. They insulted him, some shooting resulted, and he left in the night. He came to Lawrence and got Colonel Walker to take him to Kansas City, and that was the exit of Governor Geary. He never returned.

I entertained a good many distinguished guests that spring of 1857 in my hotel. There was a large emigration to Kansas that spring. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, was out here, and was a guest at my hotel. Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton came that spring, and were often guests at my house. These men were both from the South, and we had a great distrust of them. I regret that our people did not treat Governor Walker with more respect and attention. They proved to be good men and gave us good advice, and strictly observed their promises. Governor Walker was a man of national reputation; he had been senator from Mississippi, and was secretary of the treasury under President Polk, during the Mexican war. They advised us to vote in the fall and get control of the legislature, and get out from under our trouble, promising us that we should have a fair election. We were in a terrible condition, and had been for two or three years. The first legislature was elected by an invasion from Missouri. Governor Reeder gave them certificates, and that they claimed made them a legal legislature. They enacted a code of laws recognizing slavery, and made it a criminal offense to speak or write anything against it. They laid out the counties and appointed all the officers for four years—the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and county commissioners.

They claimed to be the law-and-order party, and we were the rebels. We did not acknowledge them or their laws. We had as little to do with them as possible. We lived without any law; we were a law unto ourselves; we paid no taxes. These laws were acknowledged by the government at Washington to be legal and binding on us, and Governor Walker was sent here to enforce them, with the army at his command.

This was our condition when Governor Walker came. We had either to obey the laws or fight the United States, which would have been suicidal on our part. Governor Walker advised us to vote that fall and get control of the legislature, and repeal these laws, as the only way out of our trouble, and he would restrain the collection of taxes, if we would vote. Our people were divided on the question

* From the *Herald of Freedom*, August 8, 1857:

"Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, with his friends, called on Governor Reeder at the Shawnee Mission soon after his return [Reeder's return from Washington, June 25, 1855], and demanded an explanation of some remarks reported to have been made by him at Easton, Pa., and demanded to know whether he had said that the conduct of the border Missourians was ruffianly, etc., and whether he [General Stringfellow] was included in that expression.

"The governor repeated what he had said, that the territory of Kansas, at her late election, had been invaded by a regularly organized company of armed men—ruffians, if you please—who took possession of the ballot-boxes, and made a legislature to suit the purposes of the pro-slavery party; and gave it as his opinion that General Stringfellow was responsible for the excitement along the border, and that it would never have existed had it not been for the course pursued by him in agitating the public mind.

"Stringfellow, on hearing this, immediately sprang up, seized his chair, and, striking the governor over the head, felled him to the floor, and kicked him when down. He also attempted to draw a revolver, but Mr. A. J. Isacks, district attorney, and John A. Halderman, private secretary, interfered, and led the general into the street. This was the origin of the phrase 'border ruffians.'"

of voting. It was bitterly opposed by some, and a convention was called by the free-state party at Grasshopper Falls, in August, 1857, and the voting policy was adopted. Most of the newspaper correspondents were opposed to voting. They were of the John Brown school. They did not want any peaceable settlement of our troubles—they wanted to bring on a war; but the voting policy prevailed, after a very heated and excited convention. We elected our legislative ticket. The Missourians did not come over and vote that fall, but false returns were made and sworn to of thousand of votes placed where there were scarcely any inhabitants. But all honor to Governor Walker! He investigated these returns and threw them out, and gave our men the certificates. That gave us the majority in the legislature. For acting honorably in keeping his promises and dealing fairly by the people of Kansas he was removed. When the legislature met the bogus laws were repealed, and we got rid of the Missouri officers who had been arresting and annoying us. We headed off the Lecompton constitution, and soon got out of our trouble and had the other fellows on the run. I say, again, all honor to Gov. Robert J. Walker!

Colonel Eldridge was never satisfied that our arms taken by Governor Geary should remain in Lecompton, and wanted I should go with him and make a demand on Governor Denver for them. We went to Lecompton and saw the governor. It soon got noised around what we came for, and a lot of pro slavery men began to come into his office to stiffen him up. We had taken the precaution to take the "Stubbs" company up with us and left them in the brush just outside of the town. They began to come in out of the brush, all well armed with Sharp's rifles. Colonel Eldridge told the governor that we had come to get the guns, and we were going to take them. The governor made a virtue out of a necessity and gave them up, and we brought them to Lawrence.* These guns were gathered up by Mayor George W. Collamore and kept in an arsenal, and were burned up in the Quantrill raid.

The old settlers of Kansas are passing away; one by one their numbers are growing less. Doctor Cordley has lived to preach the funeral sermons of most of the old settlers of Lawrence. We have had our quarter-centennial silver celebration, and in two years more we will have reached the half-century limit, and then it will be our golden celebration. Let us keep up these reunions as long as any of us are living.

Now, I have only spoken of a few matters that I was personally connected with. I could talk to you all the afternoon on what occurred in Kansas during these early years, but I do not want to tire you all out. Perhaps at some other time and some other occasion, if we should live, it may be my privilege to talk to you again. It is like some of the stories in the magazines, to be continued.

OTHER COMPANIES EMIGRATING TO KANSAS THROUGH IOWA.†

Reported by Samuel G. Howe and Thaddeus Hyatt, under date of August 11, 1856, through the New York *Tribune*, August 13, 1856.

In order that the character of this emigration may be understood we subjoin the following memoranda, taken on the spot:

*From the *Herald of Freedom*, December 26, 1857: "A party of our townsmen, under the command of Colonel Eldridge and Captain Cracklin, visited Lecompton on Tuesday (the 22d) and demanded of Governor Denver the carbines, muskets and sabers which were taken from Colonel Eldridge's train, better than a year ago, while he was *en route* over the plains from Nebraska to Kansas. The governor at first declined to give them up; but when he saw that a difficulty was inevitable unless he complied with the demand, he finally consented, and required an unimportant pledge in regard to their use during the next ten days."

†Often referred to as "Lane's expedition" or "Lane's army of the north." Samuel G. Howe and Thaddeus Hyatt, a committee, made another report to the National Committee for

NEBRASKA TERRITORY, July 30.—Encampment twenty miles southeast of Nebraska City. The following companies are on the ground, viz.: Milwaukee company, from Wisconsin; Edmund G. Ross,* conductor. Fremont independent company, organized at Iowa City; — Dean, conductor. Illinois company, organized at Iowa City; — Hankins, conductor. Davenport company, organized at Davenport; — Maxhan, conductor. Wisconsin pioneer company, organized at Janesville, reinforced at Iowa City; George Hildreth, conductor. Bloomington company, from Bloomington, Ill.; — Weed, conductor. Ohio company, from Eaton, Preble county, Ohio; Samuel Walker, conductor. Fremont company, organized at Iowa City, branch of the Independent company; — Eberhart, conductor. Richmond company, from Richmond, Ind.; Henry J. Shombre, conductor. Massachusetts company, from Worcester, Mass.; Martin Stowell, conductor. Moline company, from Moline, Ill.: — Bell, conductor. This made 271 individuals in all.

To the above must be added three companies in the rear, whom we met on the following day at the ferry crossing at Nebraska City, viz.: The Massachusetts company of Doctor Cutter, and the Chicago company, together numbering 110, and, with the Rockford company, from Illinois, fifteen in number, making 125, which, added to the above 271, gives a total of 396 souls.

Aid of Kansas, August 11, 1856, to be found in Webb's Scrap-books, volume 16, concerning the "Lane expedition," from which is quoted:

"The undersigned have visited and sojourned with this party of emigrants, and they can confidently testify as to its character.

"Many are pious people, and observe the rites of religion, and keep the Sabbath reverently. Besides preaching, they have Bible classes, and Sunday-schools for the young. This is especially the case with the Wisconsin emigrants, who have their wives and children with them. They are temperance men; intelligent, moral, industrious and earnest men, who would make good citizens anywhere. They form the most numerous party, and, from their numbers and their earnest character, naturally give a tone to the whole emigration. In their sojourn in the camp, the undersigned did not witness, by night or by day, any dram drinking or carousing, or disorder of any kind; and they fully believe that the great majority of the emigrants are earnest and honest men, fully impressed with the importance of their position, and determined to do nothing which will dishonor it. Some wild young men have left, and some may still remain; but the natural exuberance of their age is repressed or healthfully modified by the solemnity of those in mature life, who feel the great importance of their position and the critical nature of the expedition."

"It may be regarded as unfortunate that the party was joined in Iowa by the men raised by Colonel Lane: for, though his immediate followers were only a fourth of the whole number, yet as he was a man of some notoriety — as he had made his preparations with considerable flourish — as he was, moreover, very active and zealous, and is considered a brave and skillful military leader — he naturally obtained considerable influence over the whole, and the congregated party came to be known to the country as 'Lane's expedition.' This placed it in a false position before the North, where men were not prepared for armed and organized emigrations, and gave to its enemies a pretext for calling it a military or filibustering expedition.

"There was the further disadvantage that bands of armed Missourians might come up as a marshal's posse and arrest Lane on the charge of treason, and disperse the company under pretext of law; for, though the most of the men are fearless of open enemies, they are also superstitious in their dread of anything in the shape of law.

"These things were seen by the principal men some time ago, and were admitted by Colonel Lane, who, though naturally very desirous of thrashing the border ruffians, and believing he could thrash them if they were not more than five to one, yet has the cause of Kansas at heart. He was earnestly solicited to remain behind in the states, and finally consented, most reluctantly, to do so; and the emigrants crossed into Nebraska under the guidance of Mr. M. C. Dickey, of Topeka, who had been chosen leader by general consent.

"Colonel Lane, however, extorted a pledge that if the Missourians should attack the expedition while yet near the frontier of Iowa, a message should be sent instantly to him, that he might join in the fray, if it were only as a common soldier.

"The undersigned used what influence they could to make sure of the continuance of this arrangement by inducing Colonel Lane to go so far into the states that it would be manifestly impossible for him to have anything to do with the expedition under any circumstances, and they can testify to his reluctance to go where he could not have a hand in the fight, if one should be forced upon the emigrants. He took rather a soldier's view, and feared some imputation upon his bravery, forgetful that true courage should make a man brave any opinions for the sake of a righteous cause."

*EDMUND G. ROSS was appointed, July 20, 1856, United States senator from Kansas, by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the suicide of Senator James H. Lane. The legislature of 1857 elected him for the remainder of the term. It was his vote saved Andrew Johnson from impeachment. Ross was afterward governor of New Mexico. He is still a resident of that territory.

We likewise met *en route* for Kansas several other companies, so that they were probably together on Nebraska soil, during the first week in August, over 500 emigrants. Of these, the Chicago company and Cutter's company, it is well known, had been forcibly driven back from the Missouri river, after having been publicly plundered of their arms and privately picked in their pockets by the unchecked ruffians of the border; and now, after a weary journey of over 500 miles, they found themselves upon the northern boundaries of that territory which they had solemnly determined to enter.

We found among the emigrants encamped on the 30th, thirty-eight women and children, a part of the latter being babies at the breast; most of the rest being less than eight years of age, and none over thirteen. Of the men and women, there were grandfathers and grandmothers journeying with their children and children's children to the promised land. The little encampment above described, which was composed of twenty-five tents and twenty-three covered wagons, we found pitched on the prairies of Nebraska, by the banks of a winding stream, furnishing water for the cattle and cool groves for their shelter. Some twenty-five or thirty yoke of oxen, with a few horses and cows, make up the sum of their live stock. The fare of almost the entire company has been of the plainest description—such as only soldiers are accustomed to. Yet, throughout the whole encampment, no discontent at their privations manifested itself. All were cheerful and hopeful. But one complaint seemed universal, and that was the *want of arms*. The reports of hostile parties on the border, brought in by the scouts, caused the men to feel keenly the absence of proper means of self-defense. "We are willing," said they, "to endure privations; we are not afraid to meet enemies; we are not afraid to meet death; but we would like, for our lives, an even chance, at least. We ought to be provided with arms. We ought not to go in with our naked hands to meet foes armed to the teeth, and then, if overpowered and driven back, be charged with cowardice by men at the North, who do all their fighting while sitting in cushioned chairs within the happy shadows of their own comfortable homes."

The following particulars will be read with interest by the friends of the emigration. They show the material and moral condition of the men who have been so unjustly stigmatized as "armed adventurers." They also demonstrate the necessity of immediate action on the part of the North lest what has so far been happily begun should fail for lack of adequate support.

MILWAUKEE COMPANY: * This company started from Wisconsin on the 20th of May, and at the time of our investigation had been consequently in transit some ten weeks. Anticipating a journey of less than thirty days' duration, means and stores which in starting they had supposed ample were now found to be wholly inadequate. "We had expected," said they, "to find the land journey a safe one; but after getting on our way, we feared to venture in alone on ac-

* JOHN E. RASTALL was a member of the Milwaukee company. He was sixteen years old, and drove the ox team for Edmund G. Ross, conductor. He was born in England, July 23, 1840, and settled in Milwaukee in 1852. He took an active part in the territorial troubles and was taken prisoner by the United States troops, but soon escaped from Lecompton. E. G. Ross had been foreman of a printing-office, and Rastall worked for him. Rastall says the party led to Kansas by Ross consisted of six wagons, drawn by double ox teams, and in each wagon was a family. The outfit was fitted out by the citizens. They were three months on the road to Kansas, and they made 100 miles of their own road. On the trip they had nothing to eat but flour and sugar. Rastall returned East, studied law, and at the beginning of the war enlisted in company B, Fifth Wisconsin infantry. He returned to Kansas upon his discharge, and edited the *Burlingame Chronicle*, and induced that town to prospect for coal. He edited the *Junction City Union*, and was afterwards in the newspaper business at Argentine. He was a member of the legislature of 1881 from Osage county. He is now in business in Chicago.

count of the reports which reached us of the mustering of ruffians on the border. We delayed at Iowa City three weeks, and at other places along the road, from time to time, so that others whom we heard were on their way in the rear might join us. This great loss of time has well-nigh exhausted our ready means; our provisions can scarcely last a fortnight longer; in fact, we are on our last breeches and boots."

Here were a company of noble, intelligent, stalwart men, with their wives and little ones—their household goods, their all—amply provided for ordinary exigencies, but impoverished by the cruel delays necessitated by the present monstrous state of affairs.

The conductor of the Fremont independent company answered as follows: "Our means are exhausted; the last of our provisions were used up yesterday. The men are not afraid of danger; they can endure privations; but they are sick of the delay, and they complain only of this and the *want of arms*. Give us these and enough to keep us from starving, and let us go in, and we will take care of the rest."

The conductor of these fine fellows had already learned something of the tender mercies of border ruffianism. About eighteen months ago he became a citizen of Kansas, with \$350, being all his worldly means. This became exhausted in various ways in the struggles of the times. He was beset in the territory on one occasion, robbed of a double-barreled gun and all the money about his person, beaten, bathed in his own blood, and left senseless by the roadside to perish. He revived, sought redress at the courts, was informed that the territorial courts provided no redress for such "d—d blue-bellied abolitionists" as he was. He left, impoverished and with impaired health. He left, but only that he might return again with added strength. We found this brave fellow with one checked shirt and pants comprising his entire wardrobe, and rather loose at that, yet cheerful and determined. We will add that he hails originally from "down East."

ILLINOIS COMPANY: A band of fine fellows, whose ages range from nineteen to twenty five; in excellent health and spirits. Some have no money; others are well supplied; tolerably well provided with clothing. Complain only of the delay and want of arms.

DAVENPORT COMPANY: The youngest man in this company is twenty-one, the oldest twenty-seven years of age. Started on their journey with an average of fourteen dollars to the man, a small allowance; have now an average of \$1.50 apiece. Expected to have been in by the 4th of July. Complain of delay and the want of arms.

WISCONSIN PIONEER COMPANY: * Complain of having lost the best part of the summer by the unexampled tediousness of the journey; their means sensibly diminished in consequence thereof. Complain likewise of want of arms.

BLOOMINGTON COMPANY: This company is well provided for. A brave band of men, under a determined leader. When asked his intentions in case their

* We, whose names are hereto subscribed, having determined to emigrate to the territory of Kansas with the intention of making that territory our future permanent homes, and being anxious that freedom should be established and slavery prohibited therein, and, moreover, believing that Kansas ought at once to be admitted into the Union as one of the United States of America, with the constitution lately adopted by the people of the said territory of Kansas; and in view of the trouble now existing in Kansas, do hereby pledge ourselves to each other to, and do covenant and agree each with the other that we will, go together to Kansas as emigrants and settlers; that after our arrival there we will remain together for mutual protection and defense so long as shall be necessary, and until such time as we or any of us shall have selected permanent homes or places of settlement, and that we will at all times, when necessary, aid and assist each other in maintaining his rights and in defending our lives and property; and further, that we will in all lawful ways use our best efforts and all our influence to make Kansas a free state; and that we will at all times defend our own lives, liberty, and property, and our

arms should be demanded by United States troops, he replied, "Our arms are private property; let them take them if they can." This company numbers one civil engineer and one physician; the rest are mechanics, with one exception: have with them both agricultural and mechanical implements; intend to make claims and lay out a town. They pay one of the other companies for transporting their luggage, and have made the journey thus far on foot. All wear a healthy appearance.

OHIO COMPANY:* Started with an average of about forty dollars to the man; reduced to about five; have side-arms, but no Sharp's rifles. All are mechanics, but going to make claims and work their farms. Ages from twenty to twenty-eight.

FREMONT COMPANY: Branch of the independent company; ages from seventeen to forty; determined and cheerful. Complain only of loss of time and want of arms.

RICHMOND COMPANY: Means getting low. Provisioned for two days longer. A brave and intellectual conductor. Accompanied by Doctor Avery, a wise, discreet and accomplished physician. There are three lawyers in this company. Anxious to go in.

MOLINE COMPANY: Young mechanics. While passing through Nebraska City, three dollars per day was freely offered them to remain and engage in employment there. The fact that such inducements failed to tempt them from the path of duty shows of what material they are made. All in good spirits, but impatient of the delay.

MASSACHUSETTS COMPANY: † Among the thirty-two comprising this company,

neighbors, when called upon; and that while we thus act we will in all things demean ourselves as good citizens, and will not interfere with nor invade any man's right or property further than may be rendered necessary for self-defense, protection against wrong, cruelty, oppression, and outrage. Dated at Jaunesville, June 9, 1856.

GEO. HILDRETH, Conductor.	F. A. BAKER.
GEO. R. LOVELAND.	J. M. KIMBALL.
THEODORE JACKSON.	E. M. HAMILTON.
CHESTER LANE.	W. A. HINMAN.
THOMAS B. SCHERMERHORN.	CHAS. E. HOYT.
S. R. WITT.	F. A. HANEY."

*Samuel Walker, conductor. See Charles S. Glead's sketch of Samuel Walker, pages 249-276, sixth volume Collections Kansas State Historical Society. Walker says (page 266) that Charles Robinson told him, in the United States camp, at Lecompton, that Lane was coming from the states with 400 men, and that Gen. Wm. P. Richardson had passed over from Missouri with 500 men to intercept him, and for Walker to take fifteen men and ascertain Richardson's position and find a route to Nebraska City. Walker says:

"Riding all night, we reached our friends about daybreak. We found a splendid body of men, well armed and equipped. Many of them are now the foremost men in the state. Lane was away in Iowa, keeping out of the hands of the United States marshal, who was after him for bringing armed men into the territory. It was decided that Lane must not accompany the party, as his name might cause trouble with Richardson. A letter was prepared and directed to Lane, stating the decision, and I, as a well-known friend of Lane, was appointed to deliver it. We found him at Doctor Blanchard's, and gave him the letter. After reading it he sat for a long time with his head bowed and the tears running down his cheeks. Finally he looked up and said: 'Walker, if you say the people of Kansas don't want me, it's all right, and I'll blow my brains out. I can never go back to the states and look the people in the face and tell them that as soon as I got those Kansas friends of mine fairly in danger I had to abandon them. I can't do it. No matter what I say in my own defense no one will believe it. I'll blow my brains out and end the thing right here!' Walker concluded Lane had to go back to Lawrence with them. He was disguised, and went under the name of Joe Cook. They were to meet at Nebraska City. Walker received word to get back to Lawrence as quick as possible. Lane made the ride, 150 miles, in thirty hours; the others had to stop on the way."

†EDWARD P. HARRIS, the most-noted practical printer of Kansas, was a member of the Massachusetts (or Stowell) party. Mr. Harris was born at Hudson, N. H., June 11, 1834. He served his apprenticeship in the *American* office, Lowell, Mass., and until the age of twenty-two worked on the *Herald* and *News* of that city. Upon his arrival in Kansas he settled in Lawrence, working at different times on the *Republican*, *Tribune*, and *Journal*. In 1873 he

there are seven printers. Well provided for at starting, but now needing aid. A brave and intelligent set of men, under a resolute leader. All anxious to go in.

We will add, in conclusion, that the emigration represents almost all the mechanical branches; also, that the encampment has been remarkably healthy.

S. G. HOWE.
T. HYATT.

KANSAS—HELP! HELP!

The following is a copy of a letter to the National Kansas Committee, signed by several of the principal men of Kansas, and is followed by an appeal from that committee:

“LAWRENCE, KAN., August 13, 1856.

“*To the National Kansas Committee:*

“GENTLEMEN—The emigrant train which left Iowa a few weeks since has, we understand, arrived in safety at Topeka. The presence of so large a body of men, and the prospect of still more following in their footsteps, is highly encouraging to our people. In other respects our cause in the states and at Washington seems to brighten. We would gladly await the complete organization and operation of your scheme and the sure operation of other causes for our preservation, but a pressing emergency compels us to anticipate them, and we appeal by a special messenger to you for more prompt and efficient aid in men, arms, ammunition, and provisions.

“The contest is upon us, and instant action alone can save our people from destruction. It may seem to you a premature movement, but we are forced to it. The details will have to be explained to you by the bearer, ——, Esq., who is fully acquainted with all the facts and upon whose statements you may fully rely.

“The leading facts of the case we will briefly state. We have three statements upon the most reliable authority and on no hearsay reports. Since the

came to Topeka, and took charge of the state printing, in which capacity he served during the terms of Geo. W. Martin, T. Dwight Thacher, and C. C. Baker—eighteen years in all. He spent the year 1896 in Chicago reading proof on an edition of “Encyclopedia Britannica,” and the year 1897 at Akron, Ohio, reading proof on the “Library of the World’s Best Literature.” He returned to Kansas, and has since been with George W. Crane & Co. as proof-reader. He became interested in farming in 1866, and is to-day largely interested in farm land in Douglas and Anderson counties. Mr. Harris furnishes the following statement of his entree into the territory and of the party of which he was a member:

“The party conducted by Martin Stowell was organized in Worcester, Mass. They started from there for Kansas the last week in June, 1856. Three or four joined the company when it reached New York city. The company as finally organized contained thirty-one members—seven of whom were printers. On reaching Chicago we learned that the pro-slavery men were turning free-state companies back down the river (the Missouri river was the only route to Kansas at that time), after robbing them, and would not allow them to land in Kansas. The Stowell company then decided to pursue their journey to Kansas by a more circuitous but safer route. Accordingly they went by rail to Iowa City, then the capital of Iowa, and the westernmost point reached by a railroad. Here horses and wagons were bought to haul the luggage, the company for the most part traveling on foot. The little party crossed the state of Iowa, and were ferried over the Missouri river to Nebraska City, Neb. After staying at this point a few days, they moved south of Nebraska City some fifteen miles and went into camp.

“This at once became a gathering place for parties emigrating to Kansas territory. These came mostly from Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Many of them were farmers, with their families, bringing with them their farming tools, and were thus prepared to take up land and settle at once. Additions to their encampment kept coming until nearly 600 people (men, women, and children) had assembled there. Meantime A. C. Soley, a member of a Worcester, Mass., company, had been sent to confer with Gen. Persifer F. Smith, then commandant at Fort Leavenworth. Soley was empowered by the emigrants to make two propositions to General Smith in their behalf: One, that he would give them safe-conduct into the territory with a company of soldiers—the emigrants to take with them no arms of any description; the other, that he agree not to interfere with these home-seekers, but allow them to make their way into the territory as best they could. But the courier’s mission was a failure, for General Smith not only refused to have anything to do with either proposition, but was reported to have said to Soley: ‘I would hang every one of you d—d abolitionists as high as Haman if I had the say-so in this business.’ Soley then went to Lawrence and Topeka and reported to some of the leading free-state men the result of his visit to General Smith.

“It was finally decided to send up three or four Kansas citizens to the Nebraska encampment to pilot the parties down into the territory. On their way up these men marked out a

attack upon Lawrence of May 21 last, with the exception of a few skirmishes, matters in the territory have remained in comparative quiet. The presence of the government troops, which it secured to impose a check upon the designs of our enemies, has served them with an opportunity to make more extensive preparations. Provisions, arms (both guns and cannon) and ammunition have been severally introduced into and stored in different parts of the territory; bands of from 50 to 200 men each, from Missouri and the South, are fortifying themselves in a continuous line through the settled portions of the territory, in readiness for a simultaneous descent by night upon our scattered and defenseless people.

"Fully satisfied that this extreme danger impended over us, we appealed to the military to afford us protection by the dispersion of these armed bands. This has been refused to us in the case of a band of upwards of 100 men encamped about six miles from this place on Washington creek. We must have immediate help. The hordes from Missouri and other parts of the South will be in upon us. We shall stand by our homes to the last.

"To the neighboring free states and to the national committee we look for relief. Shall we not have it? The battle, as you are already aware, is not for Kansas alone, but for freedom of the entire North. Suffer us not, then, we entreat you, to be overwhelmed for want of timely aid. We will do our duty. If the reports our friends bring to us be true, the North is alive to its danger and duty and will stand by us.

"Commending our cause to your immediate attention and to the Almighty, we remain,
Yours, etc., _____."

APPEAL OF NATIONAL KANSAS COMMITTEE.

"The above letter comes to us from the most reliable source. We have for some time been aware of the steady and determined preparations of the South for a decisive stroke, such as is indicated above. The opening of the contest has happened sooner than it was planned by the South, but we are convinced it will be a severe one. In the border towns of Missouri large companies are preparing to enter Kansas under Atchison, Stringfellow, and Buford, for the purpose of

road through the great sea of prairie-grass by erecting tall poles on the tops of the divides or ridges, blazing trees through the timber skirting the creeks, erecting cairns of stones at high places on the prairies, etc. This was the route afterwards known as the 'Jim Lane trail.' Under the lead of these men the emigrants proceeded south toward the 'land of promise,' and on the 7th day of August crossed the line into Kansas. Here they were met by a delegation of men prominent in the territory, among their number being old John Brown. On crossing the line great enthusiasm prevailed. The multitude broke out with boisterous shouting and cheers; patriotic songs were sung, congratulations exchanged, and everybody was happy.

"The pro-slavery General Smith had been checkmated. He had intended to intercept the incoming settlers on what was then known as the Brownville road, over which they were expected to pass. He had a company of dragoons patrolling that road for some time for that purpose. But the route marked out by the free-state men lay many miles to the west of the Brownville road, and was made through the unbroken prairie. Thus the party was able to avoid falling into the hands of the ferocious pro-slavery general.

"The party crossed from Nebraska into Brown county. Two miles south of the territorial line a company of some seventy-five or eighty men left the main body and surveyed a site for a town. The town was named Plymouth. A dozen miles further south another company of about seventy-five dropped out and laid off a town, naming it Lexington. This town site, though in Brown county, was not far from where Sabetha, Nemaha county, now stands. In the Lexington crowd was the Martin Stowell company. Still farther on, in what was then Calhoun (now Jackson) county, a third detachment went into camp. They, too, had the town-making spirit, and chose Holton as its name. The latter is now the county-seat of Jackson, and is the only one of the three towns founded by that band of pioneers which still exists.

"The remainder of the great party which on that August morning rolled out of its encampment in Nebraska pursued its way still farther south, to Topeka, and here scattered out over the territory.

"Among the members of the Stowell party were Richard J. Hinton, afterwards known as an author and newspaper writer, James H. Hart, M. F. Hart, Jacob Chase, — Stewart, and E. P. Harris. Stowell, the conductor of the party, was killed in battle at Paris, Ky., in 1862; Hinton died a year or so ago in London; M. F. Hart died in 1902, in New York city; Chase died in 1858, in Butler county, Kansas; and James H. Hart was living in New York city a few years ago. Harris, the only one of the party who has continuously resided in Kansas since arriving here in 1856, lives in Topeka."

whipping out the entire free-state force. There can be no doubt the same will be the case from other parts of the South. Kansas is now in a state of open war. It is not a war in which the interests of Kansas are alone at stake, but the cause of freedom in the whole country. Shall slavery or freedom rule our beloved country? Shall those who have emigrated to that territory from the North with their families be driven out or assassinated because they are opposed to extending the curse of slavery over that beautiful country? are questions which are now forced upon us. The country must answer them by action—immediate action; by money and by men. Let every man who can go to Kansas go immediately, and let every neighborhood that can send one, two or more men send them now.* Let them come with means sufficient to carry them into the territory, and such arms as can be procured. Emigrants will need them for their own protection. What neighbor that has a gun will not lend it for the cause of liberty? But let no man go to Kansas except as *bona fide* emigrant. We hire no man to go there to drive out peaceable citizens; we only ask those who are desirous of making that beautiful land their home to go there. But we ask, Are the free men of the North to go prepared to defend their rights and the rights of those noble men whose homes are in peril? We want men who love liberty and will defend it. Let such go to Kansas now!

“We would earnestly entreat all committees to send their funds to us immediately, and put forth every effort in their power to raise large monthly contributions. If the North is ever to do anything for the cause of freedom, we expect it to be done now!

“By order of the committee.

H. B. HURD, *Secretary.*”

JOHN A. ANDERSON—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

Written for *The Push*, November, 1902, by GEO. W. MARTIN, and published in the collections of the State Historical Society by order of the board of directors.

YOU ask me to write a sketch of John Alexander Anderson. He was a man of tremendous physical and mental force, who left his mark upon every feature of the development of Kansas; a man of great power and earnestness, alike as a minister of the gospel and as a political stumper, with impulses so strong that he could not sham or dissemble; a jolly, good-natured man, but a terror when aroused; an interested and sincere mixer with the godly and ungodly upon equal terms; educated and a student, with an inclination to be always investigating something; a clean, all-around good fellow, and popular with all classes. I do not wonder at a call for more information about John A. Anderson. When the first crop of old fellows is all gone, a second and entirely distinct generation of Kansans—when they come to the task of filling niches with eminent Kansans—will see the clear and distinct figure of John A. Anderson out against the sky like the noonday sun, unsullied and unstained by boodle or

*JAMES HUMPHREY, of Junction City, came the overland route, and, in response to an inquiry as to his company, he writes: “I came alone. In the part of Massachusetts where I lived prior to coming to Kansas the people were not inclined to emigrate to Kansas, and no party was formed. The general impression that prevailed in that locality was that Kansas was bound to be a slave state and that it was a mistake for a Northern man to go there. My friends tried to persuade me not to go to Kansas for that reason. I told them that if everybody thought as they did Kansas certainly would be a slave state. But, as I had faith in the triumph of the principle of liberty I would go to Kansas, and add my mite in support of it. I started alone, and never met any one in Kansas whom I had known in the East. But, nevertheless, I have felt very much at home in Kansas for forty-seven years.”

other investigations, his record absolutely free from all charges or explanations of any or all sorts of dirt, whose work for his people was good and only good, with monuments as enduring as the hills, made with his own brain and hands, and from whose life flowed a stream of love wide and far-reaching. Instead of wading through columns and volumes of bitterness, boodle charges, and other dirt to find our greatest man, they will readily see one whose account was kept clean day by day, and closed at the grave with an endless list of credits, and not a dirty charge there, and who has no superior in our history as a useful man, in private or public life, or as a constructive statesman.

What is a character sketch? I have only lately noticed that it is something different from the ordinary biography. I have given much thought, and reached my own definition that a character sketch comprises the little things which go to make a man's life agreeable or disagreeable to his every-day associates; the events which shape his course in life; the good things his right hand is doing of which the left hand knows nothing.

Every man has some mental or physical peculiarity in his make-up which is recognized and always tolerated. Recently several newspaper men were chasing around for material for character sketches, but they could not find much suitable for print, and their efforts when published appeared but little different from the ordinary biography or obituary. Often, after wading through a newspaper biography, the question still remains, What kind of a fellow was he?



John A. Anderson liked push, go, enthusiasm, do things. The way he happened to stop in Junction City—then (March, 1868) the thinnest, most uninviting place for a preacher of his caliber—illustrated this. He preached a rattling sermon on the "Actuality and Reality of Christ's Kingdom," and the boys interested in getting him there were delighted, and determined he should stay regardless of cost. The next morning they met in a hardware store. Anderson talked pretty stiff as to what he wanted, which all interpreted to mean that he did not intend to stay, and that it was a bluff to get out. One man was appointed to see what could be done and report at two o'clock in the afternoon. There were eight present, and the com-

mitteeman said: "I find a vacant business room on the main street we can get at two dollars per Sunday, but I want \$200 for chairs and lights." Each man went down in his pocket and laid out twenty-five dollars. Anderson jumped up, slapped the counter, and said: "You are my crowd; I will stay with you!" There never was a religious job with more strenuousness in the history of the state than he gave for three or four years. If Teddy had been there he would have been an elder in John A.'s church. Indeed, Teddy was not the original in the strenuous business. True, there was some controversy as to the degree and amount of piety, but the results are there yet, in as happy and clean a church congregation now for thirty-four years as has existed anywhere. Meetings of the session were held on the curbstone and street corner. Frequently Anderson said he would like to take the session back East and exhibit it. As the sole survivor of that session, I have oftentimes since been afflicted with a suspicion that we were not up to the Eastern standard. All the same, there she stands, with a Sabbath-school annex, a parsonage, and an organ from Carnegie, added since. Strange enough, the last sermon he preached in the town was on "The Power and Authority of Jesus of Nazareth." It was severely criticized, by those who had not heard him before, as not being a sermon, but a stump speech. He had changed to a political orator.

Anderson first met Noble L. Prentis at the Hammond revival in Lawrence, in 1871. He took a great fancy to Noble, which lasted until the end. He brought Noble to Junction City to talk to his congregation. It was Sunday morning, and Prentis appeared in the pulpit in an old linen duster, which looked as though he had slept in it for a week. Prentis was not then the accomplished talker that he was later, but his talk was good. His appearance somehow was so grotesque and absurd that half the congregation was mad and the other half tickled immensely. Anderson was wholly unconscious of all this—he was interested in Prentis. He bluffed the entire board of regents and faculty a few years later into accepting Prentis for a commencement address at the Agricultural College. There has been nothing in this line in the history of all the schools in Kansas to match that address. In his first campaign for Congress he invited Prentis to travel with him. Anderson was a stayer—with Prentis and others he was interested in. He did not know what it was to quit on any proposition he started in with. Somebody write a character sketch of Noble L. Prentis. The fads and fun of the early-day men and women may have had more to do with our social and political condition than their political scrapping.

Anderson remained with the church for five years. The first two years he did not get all the salary promised him, but after the rush and confusion of church building he preached three years at a salary of \$1500 per year. The weekly proportion of his salary was in the basket every Monday morning—no begging, no collecting, and no trouble. He never received a dollar from the Home Mission Board. As a preacher he was orthodox—gave the straight, old-fashioned gospel. Christ was his theme eight times out of ten; he never indulged in philosophy, alleged science, or patent-right fads, and he was a very touching prayer-meeting talker. One year he gave the Knights Templar Commandery of Kansas a sermon on "Christ, the Wisdom of God." Again, he preached before the Kansas Editorial Association at Manitou on "The Difference between the Functions and Domain of Human Reason and the Functions and Domain of Christian Faith." It was a plea for trust in Christ's statement and pledge. He was sometimes eccentric in talk and actions, and occasionally startled his hearers, and while a few would get mad, they were back promptly the next time to hear him again.

In 1872 Benjamin Harrison secured him a call from a church then organized on the outskirts of Indianapolis. It has since erected an \$80,000 building. He wanted to go, but his wife and the neighbors prevailed upon him to remain in Kansas. The next summer the Agricultural College presidency opened to him. He preached once a Sabbath for three months after he had entered upon his new duties. He told the people to hunt a new man, but they hated to move. At last he announced, "This church will be closed next Sabbath." And that was his farewell sermon.

As a citizen he was mixed up with everybody and everything. He was on the school board most of the time he was in Junction City. Every forenoon of his life, nearly, he walked about town and dropped into every store and shop and talked with everybody he met. Then was the day of bond voting and railroad building. He was great on railroad speeches. He told the boys he would go anywhere and make any sort of a speech they wanted, except politics. There was too much physical energy in him for an ordinary pastorate. He spent the afternoon in reading and study. He was a thinker, and moved entirely out of the ruts. He never wrote his sermons, but he made notes in the most abominable handwriting, shorthand, and characters of his own, combined. He always had a crowded house to hear him. He had the strangest assortment of associates. Any old bum could approach Anderson and talk with him. Many a time

he would be seen on the street corner with a crowd of such about him, and without the slightest clerical air in dress or manner, oftentimes with a cigar in his mouth. Strangers never would suspect him, but if they were to eavesdrop they would frequently hear, in the gentlest and most unaffected manner, a good word along the minister's line in parting with them.

Anderson was an extraordinary mixture of clerical dignity and offhand—perhaps roughness. He was a natural man. My first sight of him was across the street, and I involuntarily exclaimed: "Holy Moses, that is not the preacher I left back East!" The apology some one made in the convention which first nominated him for Congress, that he was not preacher enough to hurt, was not true. He was a great preacher. But the joke that tickled Anderson the most was perpetrated by Al. Cheeney, a famous conductor in those days on the Union Pacific. Anderson reached Junction City on Cheeney's train, and as he alighted Cheeney remarked: "There goes another gambler for Junction."

One Sabbath morning he led, as he frequently did, congregational singing. For some weeks previous the crowd had been dragging, out of harmony, and Anderson's face and temper assumed an inharmonious relation to the time and occasion. This particular Sabbath it was awful. In the middle of a verse, down came Anderson's foot on the platform. Everybody thought a gun had gone off. He yelled: "Oh, stop! that is not worshipping God. We will not have such a noise. Now begin again!" I never knew a crowd so rattled and taken off their feet; but they had good singing ever after. At one period he talked ten or twelve Sunday nights in succession on "The Travels of Paul." The boys in the engineer's office of the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, made him a map of Paul's travels, on muslin, as large as the end of a house, and, with a billiard cue, he would talk from the map. Some of the hearers suggested a change: that they were a trifle fatigued with Paul. Anderson always told it that he continued the subject indefinitely, and that the congregation did not know the difference.

If ever a preacher had a "call" to go to a particular place, Anderson unmistakably had it to go to Junction City. No other town would have suited, and not in a thousand times could he have found such a crowd gathered about him. The religious tramp or fakir, the self-constituted reformer, the unlicensed, unauthorized evangelist, lecturer, or beggar, received a wide berth from Anderson. He had to be quite a fellow, well known or vouched for, to get into that pulpit. Once a solemn-looking man came along and wanted to organize a peace society. He endeavored to enlist Anderson. "No," said Anderson, "I believe in war—more men ought to be killed." If Eugene Ware had been there he would have been a deacon, or, anyhow, a heavy contributor. A stranger came to town and asked for Anderson's church in which to hold a revival. He was refused. He opened out in a public hall and preached for six weeks. Every night he prayed for the preacher who drove fast horses and had a billiard-table—the property of Anderson's uncle. More strange, unique, original and funny things, without meanness or malice, happened in that town than could be counted for any other frontier place. It was the terminus of the railroad for six or eight months, and during all that time not a single man was killed. Recall other frontier points and then think how wonderful! And in and about that church there were many incidents, not necessary in this paper, which would make a horse laugh. There was no melancholy, no solemncholy, no croaking or griping, but a constant exuberance of happiness and good cheer.

In those days the political and business boss of the town did not like Anderson. When the church building was finished, the council was asked to build certain sidewalks, that connection might be had with the business street and the

residence section. Another church asked at the same time and promptly secured all it wanted. But Anderson's congregation had to be content with the prairie. One city election and a year and four months passed, during which time repeated requests were made for the sidewalk. Anderson searched for days for such candidates for councilmen in one ward, and mayor, as any church ought to have, but without success. No one could be had, for fear of trouble. He finally settled on a couple who were a long way from having wings, the town was turned upside down for four or five days, and the boss and another beaten. It struck the boys of the town as exceedingly funny, and as soon as the result was known the band gathered, and a hooting mob, filling up at every joint, spent the evening in serenading everybody. About midnight they woke Anderson, and in the robe customary at that time of night he had to appear and make them a speech. In thirty days a good stone sidewalk was constructed, connecting the church building with all parts of town, and the question: "Does the Presbyterian church want any more sidewalk?" was a part of the order of business of the city council for that year at least. For five years following, that sidewalk trouble bobbed up at each election in that county.

One of the funny things in a country town is the bossing and yelling of everybody at a fire. Doubtless some of the older ones among your readers will remember the old hand fire-engine. Anderson was great at a fire. He was among the most active and loudest. A fire was raging, Anderson was on top of the building, and the boys had succeeded in starting "Old Harmony" to squirting water, when one of them yelled, "Give her hell, boys!" "No," shouted Anderson, "give her water, boys."

The morning after his mother was buried, in 1870, on the open prairie, where all the dead were then placed, he came down town, and joined a crowd at the foot of a stairway leading to a lawyer's office. He remarked, "This town must have a cemetery." Four instantly went with him up to the lawyer's office, had articles of incorporation drawn, agreed to certain things, and ordered Anderson to do as he pleased and they would back him. He bought forty acres, the finest hilltop in the neighborhood, built a stone wall about it, sent to Chicago for a landscape-gardener, and had the party stuck for \$3000. He had an auction sale of lots on the street corner, and in one afternoon gathered in \$3200. It is to-day the handsomest thing of its kind in Kansas. Eight of his family came with him to Kansas, and seven of them, including himself and wife and father and mother, now rest on the highest knoll in beautiful Highland.

In 1870 and 1871 there was much interest throughout the country in narrow-gauge railroads. It was argued that there was great economy in them, and that soon all the roads in the country would be changed to a three-foot gauge. The narrow-gauge from Leavenworth west was among the first results of the craze. Bonds were asked for in Clay county. Anderson was strong in mathematics, and he began to figure. He concluded the idea was a fraud, and that he would go up there and make speeches against the proposition. He engaged livery and invited three to go with him. He started early Monday morning, made an afternoon and evening speech each day, except Saturday, in different schoolhouses. Upon the close of his Saturday afternoon meeting, he drove twenty-five miles to Junction City, and everything with him was as bright and fresh Sunday morning as usual. He did all that simply because he had figured that those people were being swindled. But the job prevailed, and then it all had to be done over again—the track relaid to standard gauge.

He began work as pastor of a church in Stockton, Cal., in 1857. He was lively enough when he struck Junction, and ten years before that he must have led the old folks and the too good a lively dance. His prevailing weakness, next

to beefsteak, was a boat. At Stockton he owned a boat. An old wreck of a sailor took care of his boat, was probably a pensioner on Anderson, and frequently the two would go out together, the sailor fearing that Anderson would get too far at sea to handle the thing. One day Anderson received a note from some of the congregation saying that they did not think that old fellow was a proper associate for their pastor. He returned the note indorsed on the back: "That man has more soul than half of the congregation; if you do not like it, this is my resignation." From my twenty-four years of intimacy with him, I can imagine nothing more natural to him than that. The last thing he did in California was to get the old sailor a job as fireman or engineer in a state insane asylum. He was asked to conduct a funeral service of a noted woman of the town who had died. It was an important, or at least notorious occasion in the town, and some objections were made. He said that was his duty and he would go. He met a large crowd of her class, and he told me several times that he never preached Christ more earnestly than he did to those women. The men were so few that he had to act as pall-bearer, and he walked with that body through the town and helped put her in the grave.

Once he come within a scratch of butting up against a heresy trial. At Stockton he was invited to preach on the subject of amusements. He gave some slight thought, and concluded he knew nothing about it. He spent six nights in a theater—three with the audience, and three behind the scenes. Between the close of the theater Saturday night and the hour of service Sunday morning he wrote his sermon. It was off color some way, caused a row, and some of the brethren threatened him with action by presbytery. His father, then pastor of the First Church in San Francisco, become alarmed—feared the boy was going off wrong. He told me his mother was the only friend he had in that scrape. Perhaps that was the only time he was scared, because I never heard that he had any views on amusements after he reached Junction City. However, while he lived there, every time he went to New York he hunted up the San Francisco minstrels.

But there is one story he never told me. He preached the first Union sermon on the Pacific coast. His church was about half Southern and half Northern. At noon the following Monday one of his deacons, a Southern man, met him at a restaurant, where they were accustomed to take their meals. The deacon said to Anderson that the man who would preach such a sermon could not tell the truth. My authority is Dr. C. C. Furley, who died in Wichita in 1901. The doctor came from California, settled at Abilene, but soon removed to Wichita. He told me the story twice. Anderson and the deacon went at it. It was the most terrific pugilistic encounter up to that time that had ever been known in the town. They smashed chairs and tables, made a wreck of things, no one interfered, and finally Anderson wore the deacon out. He continued with the church a couple of months, until things quieted down, when he joined the Third California regiment. He told me once about thrashing a sutler who interfered with a Good Templar tent he was putting up. John A. was not only a powerful man, but he was "science," strong in the "manly art."

His next row was at Salt Lake, where Porter Rockwell, the "destroying angel" of the Mormon church, got after him for his denunciations of the disloyal sentiments of Brigham Young and the church. The "destroying angel" took water—he was up against a buzz saw.

I never knew Anderson to have or express malice. He never held any but the kindest feelings toward those who opposed his political aspirations. But in his Agricultural College fight it was shown that he could do some tantalizing things. He had a proper regard for everything in its place, but the thing which

amused him the most was the science and bird tracks in the rocks which he found at that institution. His life at the college was hard and bitter, and although he succeeded in establishing the school and making a great reputation, I think he tired of it, and his first idea in going to Congress was to get out of it. He was grieved and hurt by the bitterness and maliciousness with which he was hounded by half the population of Manhattan, because—the devil only knows why. He had an idea that a man's avocation or location should be changed every five years, and, with the exception of his twelve years in Congress, his life was very nearly divided that way. He was five years in California, five with the army and the sanitary commission, five at Junction City, five at the Agricultural College, and about three with a citizens' reform association in Pennsylvania. During the war he wrote for the San Francisco papers over the signature of "Hackatone," and received ten dollars a column for all he sent in.

His election to the presidency of the Agricultural College, or, rather, a speech he made in the house of representatives, saved that school to Manhattan. He was invited to address the legislature on the subject of industrial education, and they listened to him for thirty minutes. The bill had been prepared to make the school a branch of the State University, but Anderson's vigorous revolution caused an abandonment of the project. This was at the session of 1874*.

He had an affectionate and religious nature. He gave no thought to money. He was clever in all things, and watchful for a chance to do something for a friend or neighbor. There was much of the boy about him—easily affected, and wept oftener than any man I ever knew. He was a man of all around culture—up in music, knew a good painting, was interested in trees, flowers, and landscape work. He was something of a mechanic. He had boundless nerve, and a backbone, physical and moral, like the latest steel railroad rail. He possessed singular versatility. He was pugnacious, and at the same time very considerate of the opinions of others. No amount of persuasion could get him into a pulpit while engaged in a political campaign. He preached frequently while connected with the college, but ceased entirely when he became a congressman. It was impossible for him to be a demagogue. He had a most lovely wife, red headed, handsome, smart, well educated, and very popular. He lost much of himself when she died, in 1885. The wife was known to friends and neighbors as "Nannie," and he was known to all as "John A." They quit this world twenty-five years too soon.

Since you set me to thinking and recalling I might continue indefinitely. He was introduced to public life by Governor Osborn, who made him a regent of the University. In politics he had but one idea, and that was to take a stand and fight. He was too frank and impulsive to be slick, cute, or tricky. He was the victim of some uncalled-for meanness because of a suspicion that he might be a formidable man for United States senator. He never used a railroad pass, and always paid his own bills. It is unauthorized gossip, but I have heard that his twelve years in Congress cost \$20,000 more than his salary †—I heard his

* See volume 7, Kansas State Historical Collections, pages 179-188.

† WILLIAM A. HARRIS, who served as a congressman at large one term, and also United States senator from Kansas from 1897 to 1903, in declining to consider a nomination for governor, in January, 1904, was quoted by the newspapers as saying: "My experience in public life, while gratifying in its results so far as good feeling and approbation of the people generally is concerned, has been very disastrous from a financial point of view. My expenses as a United States senator every year have been from at least \$2000 to \$2500 more than my salary, and as I had very little means, nothing but a farm with a mortgage on it, I have practically been compelled to sacrifice everything, and I must now go to work, if I can find some steady employment that will make me a living."

uncle say that he hoped they would beat him; that they were out money on the job, and they would rather have him at home. He had friends in every county who kept things ironed out for him, without his knowledge or suggestion.

The bolting campaign of 1886 was not his doing. When he learned of his defeat in the convention he went to bed and had the first night's sleep in a week. But with his breakfast the next morning he had a dozen telegrams from different parts of the district saying they were going to run him anyway. He was advised to keep quiet for a few days, and then informed that he had to make the race. The people were crazy mad at the action of the convention. There was 10,000 Republican majority in the district. He made seventy-two speeches in forty days, each two hours and a half long, gained fifteen pounds, received 2254 majority over the Democratic and Republican candidates combined, and two years later was nominated unanimously by all factions, receiving at the polls for his sixth term 7378 majority. He was a man of girth—had great boiler capacity.

The committee on apportionment in 1882 gave Kansas six members, with a very large margin unrepresented. Anderson said it was unfair and he would n't stand it. In the committee of the whole he beat the report of the committee on apportionment and the orders of the Republican caucus, and obtained for Kansas the seventh congressman. He made the railroads close up their land grants, restoring to market 100,000,000 acres of unearned land. It was his bill raising the agricultural bureau at Washington to cabinet proportions and it was his bill which gave the country two-cent postage. He was prominent in establishing the Bureau of Animal Industry. He passed a bill abrogating the lease of the Pacific railroad telegraph lines to the Western Union. By filibustering he beat some Union Pacific funding bill. From a committee appointed to investigate a Reading railroad strike he made a minority report in favor of investigation, while the majority favored a reference of the matter to the Interstate Commerce Commission. He won out on the floor of the house, the minority report was adopted, and the leading papers then said that in securing for the subject preference over all other business he achieved an unparalleled parliamentary success. He labored hard to create a commission to arbitrate labor troubles, for a postal telegraph, to reduce the life of patents to seven years, and to prevent discrimination by railroads. These practical subjects show that he was not an ostrich statesman. When Harrison was made president, Anderson announced that under no circumstances would he use his intimacy with him to secure appointments for any one. This was denounced as poor politics, but I think it will stand out in history as evidence that he was away above the jack-leg politician. Such jobs as he undertook gave him a holy hatred for the lobby. The Agricultural College is distinctively his creation, while twenty miles further up the valley are that handsome church and cemetery. He left a correspondingly good mark in California. As was written at the time of his death, his monuments "can be seen of all men, erect in the very heart of the state—not dead marble alone a tribute to him, but living, active forces, of use to others, symbols of the heart and soul and brain of John A. Anderson."

The strike experience we have had this season recalls the fact that it was Anderson's resolution ordering an investigation of the railroad and anthracite strike of 1887-'88. By request of the chairman, Anderson wrote seventy-two pages of the report relative to "the causes, extent and effect" of the strike. The committee recommended state remedies as follows: Exercise of the taxing power, exercise of eminent domain, exercise of the police power; or national remedies as follows: Prohibit interstate carriers from engaging in mining or manufacturing, prohibit strikes and lockouts on railroads, prohibit the consoli

dation of parallel or competing lines, abolish or temporarily suspend the duty on bituminous coal. In four days after the committee began work the strike was declared off, concessions were made by both sides, the miners obtained a good reduction in the price of powder, and the railroad president and the Knights of Labor got together and the most cordial relations were established. The report skinned the railroad managers and mine operators to a frazzle. There are abundant earmarks showing that Anderson wrote the whole of it. The question then was whether the Reading did or did not cause the strike for speculative purposes.

When we discuss the question, "Who was our greatest man?" and talk about statues and niches, what is the matter with this showing? Here was a man of conception and performance, and not a tin-horn statesman. All his life he succeeded at everything he touched. When he first appeared in politics the boys thought they had a gentle, mild-mannered country preacher; but gracious goodness, what a jolt they got!

About the best ever written on Kansas was an address by Anderson made before normal institutes, while he was president of the Agricultural College. It was a description of the physical geography of the state—its relation to the Mississippi valley and the Rocky Mountains—wholly new, and different from anything else ever said. It was wonderfully eloquent, and about an hour long. It opened thus: "Kansas—four hundred miles long, two hundred miles wide, eight thousand miles deep, and reaches to the stars."

He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1834. He graduated from Miami University in 1853. At school, Benjamin Harrison was his roommate. His father and his grandfather also were ministers. He died in a hospital at Liverpool, England, May 18, 1892. His last service was as consul to Cairo, Egypt. While in Washington, nearly every Sunday morning Mrs. Harrison sent for "John" to come and have breakfast with them at the White House. He kissed me good-by at the union depot in Kansas City. I never saw him again. He made a heroic effort to get home. The last heard from him was at Malta, in the Mediterranean, and his letter closed thus: "It is all in God's hands, and He will direct." He began to fail about or before 1890. In the campaign of that year two or three letters or telegrams would have secured him the nomination for a seventh term, but no one could get response from him. For some time previous he began to neglect his correspondence. He became indifferent. He lost his hearing, preventing him from conversing, and he became something of a recluse. The end had set in. His funeral was a most remarkable demonstration. The faculty and cadets of the Agricultural College conveyed his remains from the depot to his home; the next day the Grand Army delivered the body to the people of Junction City, and, after services in his vine-clad church, the Masonic fraternity closed the ceremonies at the cemetery. He loved the old days in Junction City, always saying that they were the happiest of all his life.

He is at rest. I thank God for my companionship with him. I hope to associate with him again, and I further hope there may be but little change in him. I would prefer the same "John A." How I love to give this tribute! To think that he has been dead ten years emphasizes the flight of time, and how rapidly we are all nearing, I hope, the same rest.

QUANTRILL AND THE MORGAN WALKER TRAGEDY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Rev. JOHN J. LUTZ,* pastor of Methodist church, Stauton, Minn.

OF the first tragedy in which the notorious guerrilla, William Clark Quantrill, was the leading actor—the Morgan Walker tragedy, enacted in the fall of 1860, in Jackson county, Missouri †—a number of conflicting accounts have from time to time appeared. These accounts differ as to the number composing the raiding party led by Quantrill, the number and fate of the victims, the location of the scene of the tragedy, the date, and other details. From relatives of the young men living in the state of Iowa and from other sources, I have endeavored to obtain as nearly as possible the true facts connected with this incident.

The young men who were led to their death by the perfidy of Quantrill were Charles Ball, Chalkley T. Lipsey, and Edwin S. Morrison.

Albert Southwick was left a mile from the plantation, guarding the team which brought the liberating party from Kansas. A young man by the name of Ransom L. Harris was left at Pardee, Atchison county, Kansas, in charge of a deserted log cabin, 12 x 14, which was to be the first station of the underground railroad leading from Missouri to Canada.

All of the young men were of Quaker parentage. Benjamin Ball, the father of Charles, was a Gurney Quaker, who emigrated from Salem, Ohio, to Springdale, Iowa, in the year 1850. Springdale was one of the principal stopping-places of John Brown in his journeys to and from Kansas, and the place where he drilled his men for the raid on Harper's Ferry. In 1857 Benjamin Ball emi-

*JOHN J. LUTZ was born in Smithville, Wayne county, Ohio, January 28, 1855. His father, Jacob Lutz, and his mother, Ann (Musser) Lutz are both natives of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. His great-grandfather Andrew Lutz was a soldier in the war of the revolution, serving in the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment. His maternal grandfather, Joseph Musser, and his great-grandfather Benjamin Mosser (the original way of spelling the name), were both physicians in eastern Pennsylvania, and descendants of Benjamin Mosser, who emigrated from Switzerland to America in 1714, and bought land of William Penn. John J. Lutz, after attending the public schools and the academy in his native town, entered the University of Wooster (Ohio), where he spent three years, and later one year at the Ohio Wesleyan University. After spending ten years in teaching in Ohio, he came to Kansas in 1885, where he taught till 1890—the last two years as principal of the Hamlin public schools. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1891, supplying charges at Springside, Pottawatomie county, and one year on the Manhattan circuit. In 1894 he removed to Minnesota to take charge of the church at Fairfax. In the same year he was married to Shella V. Wheeler, to whom were born four children. Since 1901 he has been pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church at Stanton, Minn.

†JOHN N. EDWARDS, in his book, "Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border," says: "Charles William Quantrill was to the guerrillas their voice in tumult, their beacon in a crisis, and their hand in action. From him sprang all the other guerrilla leaders and bands which belong largely to Missouri and the part Missouri took in the civil war. . . . His was the central figure, and it towered aloft amid all the wrecks and overthrow and massacre that went on continually around and about him. There are those who will denounce him for his treachery, and seek to blacken his name, because of the merciless manner in which he fought. . . . For Quantrill, the war commenced in 1856. Fate ordered it so, and transformed the ambitious yet innocent boy into a guerrilla without a rival and without a peer." Then we are given the cause which produced the guerrilla. We are told that for some time preceding 1855 Quantrill's only brother had been living in Kansas. The two planned a trip to California, and "camped one night on the Little Cottonwood river, *en route* to California, thirty armed men [a company of abolitionists owing allegiance to Jim Lane] rode deliberately up to the wagons where the Quantrills were and opened fire at point-blank range upon the occupants. The elder Quantrill was killed instantly, while the younger, wounded badly in the left leg and right breast, was left upon

grated to Kansas, settling a short distance south of Pardee. Mr. Ball was followed in 1859 by his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Negus, who settled one mile south of Pardee. They were accompanied from Springdale by Edwin Morrison and Albert Southwick, both of whom were carpenters by trade. Morrison and Southwick were first cousins. While building a house for Mr. Negus they became acquainted with Charles Ball and Chalkley Lipsey—the latter reaching Kansas in 1859. Lipsey made his home with a brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Taylor, now of Indianola, Iowa. Harris reached the neighborhood in 1860. It was in the log cabin, in the summer of 1860, that plans were formed for making incursions into Missouri to liberate slaves. Members of the party made trips to Atchison, Paola and other places for the purpose of looking up favorable points for invasion. While the plans were maturing, Quantrill learned of their purpose and gained the confidence of Ball.

The movements of the party during the summer are somewhat shrouded in mystery. Just when they left the Pardee neighborhood is unknown. Mrs. Taylor, the sister of Lipsey, says Southwick and Lipsey left her place with their guns and provisions, but does not remember the date. As near as we can learn, they made the trip to Missouri in a two-horse wagon, armed with Sharpe rifles, revolvers, and shotguns. After crossing the Kansas line, about twenty miles of the route lay through the slave territory of Missouri. Camping one night in the timber on the banks of Indian creek, near the ford, they pushed on the next day to the vicinity of Walker's place, hiding in the heavy timber one mile west of the house. This does not accord with the narrative of Southwick, that he stopped with the team at the Kansas line. It is, however, given on the authority of Maj. John N. Edwards, the Southern writer, and who, we admit, is

the bank of the stream to die." A wonderful story of suffering by Quantrill until he reached Leavenworth after three days is given. This is all pure fiction. Quantrill never had a brother killed, and he himself was not in Kansas until March, 1857. (See vol. 7, p. 234.) We are told by the veracious Mr. Edwards that Quantrill then became intimate with Jim Lane, and was soon enrolled in a company to which belonged all but two of the men who killed his brother on the Cottonwood, and that he (Quantrill) told Jesse and Frank James that, of the thirty-two men engaged in that murder, he had killed thirty. But still he was not satisfied. Edwards says again: "The raid upon Morgan Walker was the work of Quantrill's contriving. Understanding in a moment that only through their fanaticism could three of the original thirty-two who murdered his brother and who belonged to the liberator club be made to get far enough away from Lawrence for an ambuscade, he set the Jackson county trap for them, baited it with the rescue of a negro family, and they fell into it." Telling of Morgan Walker, Edwards concludes: "This man Morgan Walker was the man Quantrill had proposed to rob. . . . It was the evening of the second day when they arrived. Before daylight the next morning the entire party were hidden in some heavy timber two miles to the west of Walker's house. From this safe retreat none of them stirred except Quantrill. Several times during the day, however, he went backwards and forwards, ostensibly to the fields where the negroes were at work. . . . A little later three neighbors, likewise carrying double barreled shotguns, rode up to the house, dismounted, and entered in. Quantrill, who brought note of many other things to his comrades, brought no note of this. . . . Fifty yards from the main gate the eight men dismounted and fastened their horses. Arms were looked to and the stealthy march to the house began. Quantrill led. . . . None heeded the surroundings, however, and Quantrill knocked loudly and boldly at the oaken panels of Morgan Walker's door. No answer. He knocked again and stood perceptibly to one side. Suddenly, and as though it had neither bolts nor bars, locks nor hinges, the door flared open, and Quantrill leaped into the hall with a bound like a red deer. 'T was best so. A livid sheet of flame burst out from the darkness where he had disappeared, as though an explosion had happened there, followed by another, as the second barrels of the guns were discharged, and the tragedy was over. Six fell where they stood, riddled with buckshot. One staggered to the garden, bleeding fearfully, and died there. The seventh, hard hit and unable to mount his horse, dragged his crippled limbs to a patch of timber and waited for the dawn. They tracked him by his blood upon the leaves, and found him early. Would he surrender? No! Another volley, and the last liberator was liberated. Walker and his two sons, assisted by three of his stalwart and obliging neighbors, had done a clever night's work and a righteous one."

not always reliable authority—not when he says that six fell where they stood, riddled with buckshot, a seventh dragging himself away to die.

The Morgan Walker plantation was three miles northeast of Blue Springs and six miles southeast of Independence. Mr. Walker settled there in 1834, and died in 1867. His plantation consisted of 1900 acres, cultivated by the labor of twenty-six negro slaves.

The exact date of the raid is not positively known. As near as we are able to determine, it was in December, 1860. Andrew J. Walker, son of Morgan Walker, says it was in the latter part of November, and that he was in the field husking corn the day Quantrill visited his father to notify him of the intended raid. Walker's pro-slavery neighbors were invited to bring their guns and assist in repelling the attack. They were John Tatum, Lee Coger, and D. C. Williams.

It was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening when Ball, Morrison and Lipsey, led by Quantrill advanced upon the house. It was arranged that as the party approached the door a lighted candle was to be placed in one of the windows. Quantrill, Ball, Morrison and Lipsey came upon the porch. Quantrill withdrew to a safe place when Walker and his party opened fire. Morrison fell dead near the door. Lipsey was severely wounded in the hip, but, assisted by Ball, was taken some distance in the timber that night, where he cared for his wounded comrade two or three days, extracting a number of shot and cooking some herbs as a poultice for Lipsey's wounds. While hiding in the timber they were discovered by a negro servant of Walker while hunting hogs. He gave the alarm. Walker summoned his neighbors, who turned out with rifles and shotguns in considerable numbers. They were led to the place by the negro. The final encounter is thus described by John M. Dean, of Lawrence: "When they arrived at the place they spread out in a semicircle and advanced to rifle range, under Quantrill's caution to keep away from Ball's revolver. When Ball saw them, and then knew that the negro had betrayed him, he stood over his wounded comrade and, shaking his revolver at Quantrill, dared him to come out in fair sight and range, and as he thus stood Walker with his rifle shot him square in the forehead. The instant Ball fell, Quantrill ran up to him and, putting his revolver into the mouth of Lipsey, who lay helpless, fired and killed him."* Andrew Walker denies the statement that Quantrill did any shooting. The bodies of the three victims are supposed to have fallen into the hands of

* John Marshall Dean's full statement, made to W. W. Scott, of Canal Dover, Ohio, the manuscript of which is with the State Historical Society, is as follows:

"In Lawrence, Kan., in the early spring of 1860, Quantrill was introduced to me by one Ingersoll, a lawyer. My interview with him in Ingersoll's office was about two hours' duration. He showed me many recommends, etc.; said he had been teaching school all the past winter in Lykins county; said he had often heard of me as a strong anti-slavery man that was running off slaves from Missouri, and wanted to unite himself with me in that business, and do all he could to help along the cause. My first impression of Quantrill under those conditions was not favorable, and I so said to him at the time; still he insisted upon proving himself by work true to the anti-slavery cause. He made Lawrence his headquarters from early spring of 1860 until November of same year, having no particular legitimate business, and doing nothing but mixing and meddling with the slavery question, upon both sides. When asked why he associated so much with the other side, his reply was, to learn their secrets. He was continually trying to complete some plot that would work all right. His doings for the whole time of his residence in Lawrence were so questionable that the grand jury of the county of Douglas found a true bill against Quantrill, *alias* Charles Hart, and others, in the month of November, 1860, for an attempt to kidnap colored people and sell them into slavery. In some way he had an early notice of the action of the grand jury, and secreted himself, avoiding arrest. He left Lawrence for Lykins county, and did not again visit Lawrence until he commanded the raid against it, in the month of August, 1863.

"While in Lawrence he was a very frequent visitor to my workshop, and was persistent in his efforts to gain my confidence and knowledge of my plans and doings. While I saw very much of Quantrill during the year 1860, yet I was not intimate with him, for the reason above given. The seeking acquaintance was all upon his part, and I soon learned positively that at that time he was to me wearing a mask, and acting the part of a spy for the pro-slavery party of the border, and their hiring, working for promised reward and plunder—motive, avarice, bad. Quantrill never belonged to the Kansas 'Red Legs.' They were not organized until October, 1862. I was one of the originators of that order at that time. He did get initiated into an order called 'Sons of Liberty,' in November, 1860, at Osawatimic, by James Montgomery, the famous chief of

Independence doctors, but the negroes claimed they buried Ball and Lipsey where they fell.

In a communication from Mrs. Negus, after describing their settling near Pardee, she tells of a raid by the young men into Missouri, and the liberation of some negroes, who were taken to Iowa. Following is her narrative:

"After a short time they (the young men) left Pardee and went to Lawrence, in furtherance and perfection of these plans. As a result of these plans, they safely landed in Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa, in September, 1860, a family from the bonds of servitude, parents and children, seven in number, and five others—in all, twelve in number. We at the time knew comparatively nothing of the doings of Charles and his companions during this first raid, nor until several weeks after the attempted Walker raid. We had heard of the same, and that three men had been shot in the attempt to rescue Walker's slaves, some thirty in number. But several weeks had elapsed when rumor reported that the three men killed were Charles and his two companions, E. S. Morrison and Chalkley Lipsey. Hearing about this time that Albert Southwick was at a neighbor's near by, we called on him and told him of what we had heard, and asked him to

southern Kansas. Quantrill was never on but one slave-running raid, to my knowledge, and that was to Morgan Walker's, in Jackson county, Missouri, in December, 1860.

"The party that made that attempt left Osawatimie about the middle of December, 1860, numbering four persons—three Iowa young men and Quantrill. The three Iowa young men were sons of Quakers, and loved the cause of liberty; not the combat that must ever exist between the despotism that demands servitude without just reward and the spirit of freedom, but they loved liberty, and their lives were devoted to the attempt to make it universal. The oldest of the three, and acknowledged leader, was Charley Ball, the next Ed. [Morrison], and Harry [Edsin], while Quantrill went along as helper. [Chalkley T. Lipsey was known as Harry Edsin; nearest kin, Abner Allen, of St. George, Pottawatomie county.] Before starting, Charley Ball and myself had a long and serious talk about the trustworthiness of Quantrill. I did not indorse or recommend, but left everything to Ball, he promising to be very watchful and guarded and not too confiding in him.

"The party started on foot, well armed with revolvers, and well supplied with blankets and provisions. They arrived safely, and camped very near Walker's, in the timber, waiting for the dusk of evening. Quantrill left the camp upon some excuse, and notified Walker of the intended raid, and how he would dispose of himself by stepping on one side when the party advanced, so as not to be shot. Walker called in the neighbors, and when the party was advancing Quantrill moved away from them to the left rear, and they were about to shoot him, fearing his movement spoke treachery, when the volley came from the house into them, and Quantrill and Ball exchanged shots. The volley killed Ed. and badly wounded Harry, but when Walker reached the ground he could only find the dead Ed. Quantrill was made one of the family and hailed as a benefactor.

"The body of Ed. was given to the doctors as a magnificent specimen and subject. Quantrill was rewarded by Walker with the best horse of his stable, with new and costly trappings, and \$150 in money. He told them a story to suit himself and please them, and also proved himself to be a member of a pro-slavery secret society of Missouri western border notoriety, and also a secret agent of said society. The second day after the attack one of Walker's negroes reported at the house that in hunting up stray stock he had found in the woods the other two men; that the small one, Harry, was badly wounded in the hip and helpless, while Ball had obtained a horse and cooked up some herbs, made a poultice for Harry's wounds, and was getting ready to carry the wounded man away. Walker loaded up his rifle and all the guns in the place as quick as possible, and, with many neighbors that was there seeking the wonderful, they all started, led to the place by the negro who made the discovery. Quantrill and Walker walking together. When they arrived at the place they spread out in a semicircle and advanced to rifle range, under Quantrill's caution to keep away from Ball's revolver. When Ball saw them, and then knew that the negro had betrayed him, he stood over his wounded comrade and, shaking his revolver at Quantrill, dared him to come out in fair sight and range, and, as he thus stood, Walker with his rifle shot him square in the center of the forehead. The instant Ball fell, Quantrill ran up and, putting his revolver into the mouth of Harry, who lay helpless, fired, killing him.

"The bodies of Ball and Harry were given also to the doctors as specimens of defunct abolitionists, and Quantrill's stories after that taken with a measure of doubt. Even Walker expressed himself as shocked that a helpless, dying man should be murdered in that way, when he so much desired to hear him talk and tell all the facts of the raid."

JOHN MARSHALL DEAN was born January 18, 1831, at South Glastonbury, Conn., from whence he moved to Hartford. In March, 1857, he left Hartford for Kansas. He died April 6, 1882, at Waukon, Iowa. He was a wheelwright. He denied having been in the raid on Morgan Walker; says the foregoing account cost him much time, money and labor to get. But he returned to Lawrence about that time with a bullet wound in his ankle or leg, and because of this he was believed to be a participant. The old neighbors say he was an honest, conscientious abolitionist. He had a brother, Sidney Dean, who served two terms in Congress from Connecticut, first elected in 1854 as a Know Nothing. J. M. Dean's widow is still living. The adjutant general's report, state of Kansas, shows that John M. Dean enlisted in company F, First Kansas regiment, Samuel Walker's company; made first sergeant, and dismissed for disability July 10, 1861.

tell us all he knew in regard to it. After some hesitation on his part and earnest pleading on ours, he finally yielded, and the following is his account of the dreadful tragedy, as nearly as I can remember :

ALBERT SOUTHWICK'S NARRATIVE.

"After our return to Lawrence from Iowa, where we had safely conducted our twelve fugitive slaves and placed them in homes in Springdale and vicinity, we began to prepare for our second raid.

"Here in Lawrence we made the acquaintance of a man named Quantrill, a name that needs but to be heard to be hated by many. This man Quantrill is represented to have been a man of many physical attractions, and possessed of a pleasant and winning address. He came to Kansas in company with free-state men, and for a time seemed heartily in sympathy with them, but finally went over to the enemy, becoming in time the most cruel, bloodthirsty and despicable guerrilla of his day ; a man so thoroughly hated by so many that it is not to be wondered at that he is reputed to have died a hundred violent deaths at different places, and yet we know not whether he is dead or living.

"This man Quantrill became one of their party, entering into their plans and confidence only, Judas-like, for a price, to betray them ; his price for the betrayal of his comrades being a horse and gun.

"It was finally agreed upon that this raid should be made on Walker, a man owning about thirty slaves, he having the reputation of being a hard taskmaster and cruel. On the day appointed we started for the Walker plantation. When we reached the state line, in accordance with our previous plans, I was left behind there, it being considered a dangerous place, my duty being to see that all was clear and no danger lurking near at their expected approach, some time between midnight and morning. But they came not.

"I soon learned of the miscarriage of our enterprise and the death of my three friends. I remained in hiding until the frenzy of excitement had passed away, then, disguising myself as well as I could, called on Mr. Walker, determined to learn the fate of my companions.

"I represented to Mr. Walker that I was hunting some stray horses and colts, and, as it was about dinner-time, by his invitation, took dinner with him. After dinner, I called up the subject of the late attempted raid, it being still the common topic of the day in all that section round. With much evident pleasure, he gave me the following account of it :

"How first a strange young man, Quantrill, came to him in the afternoon before the evening of the occurrence and told him that on a certain time a band of men from Kansas would make a raid on him and run off with his slaves ; that he had knowledge of their plans, and that for a price he would give him information which would enable him to frustrate them. This he affected to disbelieve, but finally agreed that, on proof of the truth of his representations, he, the stranger, should have a certain horse and gun as the price of his information.

"They then prepared themselves by gathering in several of his neighbors, and white men on his own place, armed them, and placed them in a room adjoining the one in which they were then sitting and a door between. As this man Quantrill knew the plans of his companions, they made theirs accordingly.

"The plan of the raiders was that when they had reached a given point they were to halt and remain in concealment until after nightfall, and that Quantrill, it being conceded that he, being the most agreeable and entertaining conversationalist among them, should go forward, visit the house, hold converse with Mr. Walker, and learn all he could that night.

"Quantrill, near nightfall, returned, and reported that all was right, the coast clear, and no fear of a miscarriage.*

"Then these four men—E. S. Morrison, Charles Ball, Chalkley Lipsey, and Quantrill—went to the house in the fore part of the evening, and, on knocking, were admitted to this room. It had been previously arranged that E. S. Morrison should be spokesman.

"Edwin then informed Mr. Walker of the nature of their call; that they believed slavery to be a great evil; that all men were entitled to certain privileges, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that they were there to liberate his slaves, peaceably and quietly, if possible, but they were to be liberated and taken to a place of safety; that if he offered no resistance, he would not be otherwise harmed and no other property would be disturbed; that they were actuated by no other motive than that of doing their duty as they were enabled to see it; that there was neither money nor glory in it for them, only risk and hazard of their lives, which they freely periled in the line of their duty, etc.

"Here Mr. Walker paused to punctuate what he had said by pointing to a coat hanging on the wall, saying: 'There hangs the coat that young man wore that made that notable speech,' and I readily identified it as the coat of E. S. Morrison. He then resumed by saying that the three men then started out, but Quantrill retired in another direction; that he then threw open the door between the two rooms, and the concealed men fired on the three departing ones. E. S. Morrison was shot down with his hand on the door, and died on the spot. The other two escaped outside; but in the yard they heard one call to Charley for help—that he was shot. They supposed that Charley returned and carried his wounded comrade on his back to a thicket of brush and weeds about eighty rods distant. This was only surmise, as none of them ventured out that night; but the next morning they tracked them by the blood to the thicket surrounding it, and called on them to surrender. Charlie arose from his place of concealment, and answered them by saying he was there to protect a wounded companion, and that as for him he never surrendered. Then and there he was shot down, and they were both literally shot to pieces."

Albert Southwick entered the army and served in Colonel Montgomery's Tenth Kansas regiment with Harris, who informed me that Southwick's mind, after the tragedy, seemed to be in a dazed condition, and that no one was able fully to extract from him the exact details. Southwick was born in 1837. After

* In addition to the foregoing statement, the Kansas Historical Society has among its manuscripts seven different letters, in all about forty-eight pages, from John M. Dean to Joseph Savage, dated Waukon, Allamakee county, Iowa, written during the year 1879. Under date of June 8, 1879, in a four-page letter to Savage, is the following: "About that time, August, 1860, Ridenour & Baker's powder-house, that stood on the bank of the river, was robbed by some one who lifted one corner of the roof. [Samuel A. Riggs, page 234, 7th volume, says he prosecuted Quantrill, *alias* Hart, for this.] In talking the thing over, Quantrill said he knew where that powder was stored under a haystack down at Jake McGee's, and the intention was to use it when the collision came, and use it for the Southern interest, and that he (Quantrill) would be only too glad to see the stack burned and the powder destroyed, and would go with us any night and do the job. Without telling him, we went down there one night and inspected every stack, by taking steel ramrods to muskets and probing through every stack, but found nothing. The next day Quantrill was in my shop talking about it, and I asked him many questions, and finally told him he was mistaken, for I had been there, searched well, and found nothing. He said he was not mistaken, had seen the powder in its place of deposit, and would be only too glad to take me and the boys there and prove the thing. To end the controversy, I agreed to go with him that night, and eight of us did get ready but did not go. After Walker's raid, I learned the fact that, if we had gone, few, if any, of us would have escaped, for there was a heavy ambushing party waiting to receive us, of which Quantrill was one."

the war he remained in Kansas, was a coal-dealer in Salina, and died in Kansas City some ten years ago.*

Charles Ball was born in Salem, Ohio, in the year 1837. He was first cousin of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, who were with John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Edwin was captured and hung. Barclay was one of the four who escaped. Col. Richard J. Hinton, in "John Brown and his Men," makes the statement that Barclay Coppoc was one of the party who made the raid on the Walker place, which is an error. He was in Kansas a short time in 1856, but was in no way connected with the Morgan Walker raid.

Chakley T. Lipsey was born in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1838. Mount Pleasant was for a time the home of Benjamin Lunday, the original abolitionist. Like Quantrill, he taught school in Kansas. Lipsey went to Pike's Peak when the gold fever broke out there, only to be disappointed—walking back the entire distance to Kansas with a single companion, suffering incredible hardships on their long journey.

Edwin S. Morrison was born in 1839. Three of his brothers served in the civil war. A few years ago his father was still living at Casey, Guthrie county, Iowa, in his eighty-eighth year.

Ransom L. Harris was born in Vermont in 1842. He served in the Tenth Kansas and as first lieutenant in the First Kansas colored regiment. In 1897 he was still practicing medicine and examining surgeon for pensions at Audubon, Iowa.

Andrew Walker followed Quantrill and the black flag, and after the war moved to Texas.

William Clark Quantrill was born July 19, 1837, in Canal Dover, Ohio, the same section of the state as were his first victims. He was a school-teacher in 1853, at the age of sixteen, in one of the lower grades of the public schools of Canal Dover, of which his father was the principal. Later he became a student of some institution at Fort Wayne, Ind., where he pursued some of the higher branches. A few years ago I had an autograph letter in my possession, written by Quantrill to a schoolmate in Canal Dover. It was written from La Salle, Ill., in the year 1855, where he spent a short time teaching and working in a lumber-yard. Early in 1856 he returned to Canal Dover. February 25, 1857, he started for Kansas to take a claim. He settled on a squatter's claim in Stanton township, Miami county, March 22, 1857. In the winter of 1857-'58 he taught school at Stauton. In the spring of 1858 he went to Salt Lake City as driver of a government wagon with the expedition sent to quell the Mormons. Early in 1860 he was again in Kansas, and taught another term of school at Stanton. A letter to his mother, in which he expresses some aspirations for a good and useful life, was written at this schoolhouse, bearing date of February 8, 1860. This letter is published in Andreas's History of Kansas. His last letter written home was written to his mother and sent from Lawrence. It bears date of June 23, 1860. In a postscript he says: "I will here say that I will be home anyhow as soon as the 1st of September, and probably sooner; by that time I will be done with Kansas."

Then followed the Walker tragedy, in December, 1860. In the winter of

*The adjutant general's report, state of Kansas, shows that Albert Southwick, of Springdale, Iowa, enlisted in company C, Tenth Kansas regiment, October 28, 1861, and was mustered out August 20, 1864. The State Historical Society has a life-size picture of Southwick hanging on the wall, a gift from Eli H. Gregg, first sergeant company C, Tenth Kansas. Gregg was recruited by Barclay Coppoc, and on the way to Kansas when Coppoc was killed by the burning of the Platte river bridge. At least twice in John M. Dean's correspondence, Dean inquires, "Who is Southwick?"

1860-'61, he taught school near Independence, Mo. In the spring of 1861 he returned to Kansas to visit some friends at Stanton, where he was arrested and lodged in the Paola jail. April 2, 1861, he was released on writ of *habeas corpus*, and escaped to Missouri.

Then follow his four years of guerrilla warfare, including the Lawrence and Baxter Springs massacres, his operations in Kentucky, his wounding and capture at Wakefield's barn, in Spencer county, Kentucky, on the 10th of May, 1865, and his removal to the military prison hospital in Louisville, where he died early in June. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Louisville, June 7, 1865.

THE CAPITALS OF KANSAS.

Written by FRANKLIN G. ADAMS, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society from 1876 to 1899, for the *Mail and Breeze*, Topeka, May 26, 1896.

THE act of Congress of May 30, 1854, opening Kansas territory to settlement and providing for a territorial government, located the seat of government temporarily at Fort Leavenworth, and provided that the public buildings of the fort might be occupied for the public offices. The first governor, Andrew H. Reeder, arrived in the territory October 4, 1854, and established his executive office at the fort.

At the time Fort Leavenworth thus became for a brief period the capital of Kansas territory the post was twenty-seven years old. For that period it had been a frontier military station, a rendezvous for the troops employed in regulating the Indians and in caring for the government supplies sent across the plains and Oregon routes to the Pacific. Here too, in 1846, had rendezvoused General Kearney's army of the north for the conquest of northern Mexico.

There were at the fort in 1854 two companies of troops—13 officers and 158 men—with perhaps 70 other persons, families, servants, etc. The fort at this time, though a small establishment compared with what it has grown to be since, contained quite a number of substantial buildings, bordering three sides of an open plaza, besides a number of buildings distributed over the adjacent grounds, now so thickly studded with substantial structures.

Governor Reeder had assigned him, for his residence, rooms in a brick building on the west side of the plaza. For his executive office he had a room in the old stone building at the northeast corner of the plaza, or parade-ground, known and occupied as the quartermaster's department. The governor's room was a large room near the entrance steps, on the side near the traveled road. Gen. John A. Halderman,* in describing the belongings to this room during this occur-

*GEN. JOHN ADAMS HALDERMAN, LL. D., was born and reared in Kentucky, and came to Kansas in 1854, at the age of twenty-one. During his minority he spent his time at farming, clerking and teaching school for the funds to prosecute his studies at McKendree College, Illinois, and St. Xavier, Ohio. He read law in Lexington, Ky., and the law department of the university at Louisville, and was admitted to the bar in that city. He became private secretary to Gov. Andrew H. Reeder, the first territorial governor, and in 1855 served as secretary to the first territorial council; appointed first probate judge of Leavenworth county; major of the First Kansas volunteers in the war, and major-general of the northern division of the state militia. He served two terms as mayor of Leavenworth, was a regent of the University, in 1870 he was a member of the state house of representatives, and in 1874 was elected a member of the state senate. In 1872 and 1873 he spent fifteen months in foreign travel. When Gov. Robert J. Walker came to the territory he turned against the pro-slavery Leecompton movement. In 1880 he was appointed consul at Bangkok, and soon promoted to consul-general by President Garfield. In 1883 he was made America's first minister to the court of Siam. He resigned his position in 1885 and returned to Leavenworth. General Grant said: "His career in southern Asia is one of the highest successes in American diplomacy." The king of Siam hon-

pancy, says the furniture consisted of a few chairs, a writing-table, boxes of books covered with newspapers for seating visitors, a letter-press, stove, and other rude contrivances for comfort. The governor had his meals and lodgings with the sutler, Mr. Hiram Rich. Mr. G. P. Lowery for a time acted as executive clerk, but soon Mr. Halderman himself was appointed private secretary to the governor. He had come from Kentucky armed with commendatory letters from John C. Breckinridge, James Guthrie, Chief Justice Robinson, and others. With these and other evidences of capacity, he received this appointment, at a salary of fifty dollars per month.

At his executive office at Fort Leavenworth, Governor Reeder was soon visited by Rush Elmore and Saunders W. Johnston, who had been appointed associate justices of the supreme court for the territory. To these the governor administered the oath of office. Andrew J. Isacks, United States attorney, and Israel B. Donalson, United States marshal, also came and qualified for their offices.

From the fort, on the 13th of October, the governor, with Judges Johnston and Elmore and Marshal Donalson, set out on a tour of the territory, to gather information for forming election districts, judicial districts, etc., returning to the fort November 7. November 10, he issued a proclamation for an election, to be held on the 29th for a delegate to Congress.*

While at the fort the governor issued a number of commissions to justices of the peace and constables whom he appointed, the first commission, as justice of the peace, having been issued to James S. Emery,† of Lawrence, and dated November 8, about a month after the arrival of the governor.

One of the first official acts of the governor in his executive office at Fort Leavenworth was in the capacity of a justice of the peace, in issuing, October 10, an executive warrant for the arrest of three persons who had been charged, under information filed with him, with an assault with intent to kill. The parties,

ored him with the decoration of Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant, and King Norodom and the French government gazetted him Commander of the Royal Order of Cambodia, in appreciation of his efforts to introduce posts and telegraphs into Cambodia and Cochiu Chiua. For some years past General Halderman has made his home at the Metropolitan club, Washington, D. C. He is a life member of the Kansas State Historical Society, and a frequent contributor.

*In John Maloy's "History of Morris County" it is said: "Governor Reeder, with other officials, visited Council Grove in that month (October, 1854), with the view of making it the capital of the territory, but learned while here that no treaty could be made with the Indians for their land, and the party went from here to a town called Pawnee, on the Kansas river, near Fort Riley." Referring to this, Gen. John A. Halderman, Washington, D. C., who was Governor Reeder's private secretary, writes the Historical Society a letter, which shows that the day of big expectations came to Kansas with the first fellow who started a ferry, or it was in the soil and ozone away back in the days of Coronado, when cities paved with gold were looked for. General Halderman's letter is as follows:

"METROPOLITAN CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 8, 1903.

"*Friend Martin:* Governor Reeder, shortly after his arrival at Fort Leavenworth, in 1854, made a trip into the interior, and was reported to have spoken words of commendation at sundry places and times to the effect, 'this would be a magnificent site for the capitol building,' etc. I remember that old Squire Dyer, at the 'crossing of the Blue,' had hopes for his place. So they did at Tecumseh, Lawrence, Leavenworth, and other places. Council Grove was a beautiful site, and there was no reason why it should be 'without hope.' My frequent questionings, 'Where will go the capital?' were unanswered in pleasant evasion. Later, in confidence, the governor advised me to 'buy in Pawnee.' This I did, purchasing from him 100 shares. I know he intended to befriend me, though the purchase ended in a total loss. From that day I felt sure that Pawnee would be selected, though the public was not advised until a later period. I send greeting to the 'dear old fellows' associated with you, most of whom, if not all, I bear in loving memory, and shall on to the end of the chapter. Faithfully yours,

JOHN A. HALDERMAN."

†JAMES STANLEY EMERY was born July 3, 1826, at Industry, Franklin county, Maine. He died at Lawrence, Kan., June 8, 1899. He graduated from Waterville College in 1851, defraying his college expenses by manual labor, read law, and was admitted to the bar in New York city in January, 1854. He came to Kansas with the second party, arriving at Lawrence September

Wesley S. and John A. Davidson and Samuel Burgess, were arrested by Special Marshal Malcolm Clark. The prisoners were brought before the governor, who conducted the examination and held them under bail to answer the charge. The recognizance was entered before Associate Justice S. W. Johnston.

These were the first judicial proceedings of the territory. The case grew out of a dispute among land claimants. As soon as the territory was opened to settlement, large numbers of people came over from western Missouri and made claim settlements on lands in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth. Col. John Doniphan, then a practicing attorney at Weston and for many years past a citizen of St. Joseph, was an attorney in this case, and has written an interesting account of the proceedings until the final discharge of the prisoners, after the lapse of several years.

SHAWNEE MISSION CAPITAL.

Though Fort Leavenworth has the distinction of having been the first capital of Kansas, it only remained such for about fifty days. November 24, the governor removed his office to the Shawnee Methodist Episcopal Indian mission. This Shawnee Indian mission was a little more than a mile from the state line of Missouri, about two and one-half miles southwest of the town of Westport in Missouri, and seven miles from Kansas City. The mission had been established about the year 1830 by Rev. Thomas Johnson, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church, and had been from that time until the opening of Kansas territory to settlement under Mr. Johnson's superintendency, except for a brief period during which he resided in the East on account of his health.

At the time of the arrival of Governor Reeder, in November, 1854, the mission was at its full strength. The accommodations at Fort Leavenworth had proven unsuitable for the offices of the territorial government. At this mission were large and roomy buildings; none such were elsewhere to be found. There were no white settlements except at Forts Leavenworth, Scott, and Riley, and at the Indian mission and agencies, and all of these latter were comparatively small establishments. Superintendent Johnson was very reluctant to consent to Governor Reeder's application, but from most obvious necessity he finally did so.

Much of this information here given concerning the Shawnee mission and its occupancy as the capital of Kansas territory has been extracted from a very interesting paper communicated to the Historical Society by Col. Alexander S. Johnson, son of the founder of the mission, and who was born at that place in 1832. Colonel Johnson has for many years past resided in Topeka, one of our most honored and respected citizens.

The governor was accompanied by his private secretary, John A. Halderman, and about the same time Chief Justice S. D. Lecompte, Justice Elmore, United States Attorney Isacks, Marshal Donalson, and Secretary Daniel Woodson arrived. Colonel Johnson thinks that none of these gentlemen had their families with them, though the families of Judge Elmore and Mr. Isacks afterwards came and remained a short time. All of these officers were given lodging and office rooms, and they took their meals at the boarding department of the mis-

15, 1854. He was a member of the Big Springs convention, and in September, 1855, made a speech in the stone capitol building, at Pawnee, in favor of a free state, in a campaign for the Topeka constitution. He was a member of the Topeka constitutional convention; was with John Brown in the Wakarusa war; and in January, 1856, he was one of the delegation sent East to plead for Kansas. He addressed the famous Bloomington convention, May 29, with Abraham Lincoln. He stumped Indiana for Fremont in 1856. He was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, and a member of the state legislature of 1862 and 1863. He was appointed by Lincoln United States district attorney in 1864. He was twice a regent of the State University. He was married November 4, 1856, to Mary Rice, of Brandon, Vt. He was president of the State Historical Society in 1891.

sion family. The residence of these officers at the mission necessarily brought many people there on territorial business, and consequently the establishment was continually crowded with transient comers, for many of whom accommodations could not be provided; they were obliged to go back and forth to and from Westport.

At that time there were between 200 and 300 Indian children at the mission, from a dozen different tribes located in Kansas territory. The mission consisted of three large brick buildings, besides workshops and outhouses. The three brick buildings were within 100 yards of each other, in a sort of triangle. At the north was the building for the girls' department; the superintendent and his family also lived in this building. The east building was for the boys and their teachers, and contained the mission schoolroom; the chapel for the school was also in this building. The southwest building was the boarding house, in which there were dining-room and tables capable of seating 200 or 300 people at a time.

There were about three sections of land connected with the school, 500 or 600 acres in cultivation and 1000 acres enclosed in pasture, besides other unoccupied land. There was a mill in connection with the mission for the grinding of wheat and corn, a sawmill for cutting lumber, a wagon shop, blacksmith shop, and a shoemaker shop. The Indian boys were employed and instructed in the mill, in the different shops, and in the general farm work. There was also a store of general merchandise for the benefit of the mission and of Indians living in the vicinity. Rev. Thomas Johnson was superintendent of the whole. He conducted the affairs of the mission with great devotion and ability and with much success.

There were many persons at different times connected with the mission. Allen T. Ward was for a time assistant superintendent. John Brown, now of Auburn, Shawnee county, was in charge of the blacksmith shop at one time, and at the same time Anthony Ward, who was one of the earliest settlers of Topeka, was in charge of the woodwork of the wagon shop. He was a cousin of Allen T. Ward.

During the winter of 1855 the executive duties of the governor at the Shawnee Mission capital seem to have been light. November 25 a commission was issued to Thomas W. Watterson as justice of the peace, and numerous other such commissions were issued during the winter; among others to Joel K. Goodin, John Speer, W. P. McClure, C. K. Holliday, E. S. Wilhite, and A. I. Baker. December 5 the governor examined and compiled the returns of the election of delegate to Congress. The results showed that J. W. Whitfield had received 2258 votes, J. A. Wakefield 248, and R. P. Flenniken 365. J. W. Whitfield was declared elected and a certificate was issued accordingly.

January 15 census-takers were appointed to take an enumeration of the inhabitants in the several districts of the territory. Among these census-takers were C. W. Babcock, Martin F. Conway, Albert Heed, Alexander S. Johnson, and J. R. McClure.

February 26 a proclamation was issued defining the boundaries of the three judicial districts of the territory.

March 3 the result of the census enumeration was announced, showing 8601 inhabitants in the territory. Of these, 5128 were males and 3383 were females; 2905 were voters. There were 151 free negroes and 192 slaves.

March 8 the governor issued his proclamation ordering an election for members of the territorial council and house of representatives, to be held on the 30th day of that month in the eighteen election districts which he had established—thirteen members of the council, twenty-six members of the house. This was the election upon which the administration of the affairs of the territory as well

as the shaping of its political future were greatly to depend. The pro-slavery element of the territory had importuned the governor to call this election in the fall or during the winter. It would then be easier for the pro-slavery party to carry the election. Eastern emigration thus far had been light. Perhaps the emigration from Missouri had been in excess of that from all other states. But Governor Reeder put off the election until the last of March. In view of the possible result of this postponement, the pro-slavery party, fearing there would be an early rush of people from the East, stimulated by the activity of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and other influences, became very active during the winter in the border counties of Missouri in secretly organizing voters and preparing them to come across the line and participate in the elections.

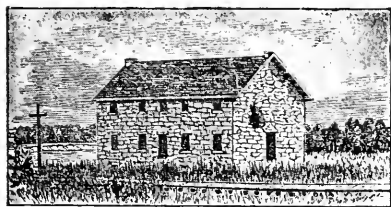
Those movements were effective. When the election came off, March 30, many hundred men, armed and equipped, marching as if to war, came over, took possession of the polls, and carried the election in every district except two. The frauds were apparent and above-board. Governor Reeder hesitated to issue certificates of election; but, owing to intimidation and neglect, the free-state candidates who had been defrauded out of their election failed, except in a few instances, to file contest papers. The governor, therefore, issued certificates in most cases according to the face of the returns. But on April 16 he issued a proclamation for a new election, April 22, for two members of the council and nine members of the house of representatives, whose election had been contested. The pro-slavery party, except at Leavenworth, did not vote at this election. The result was, certificates of election were issued to two free-state members of the council and six free-state and three pro-slavery members of the house.

April 16, 1855, the governor also issued a proclamation convening the legislature to meet at the town of Pawnee July 2. The following day he left the territory on a visit to his family in Pennsylvania, and Secretary Daniel Woodson, as acting governor, held the office until June 23.

THE CAPITAL AT PAWNEE.

June 27 the governor removed his office from the Shawnee mission to establish it at the town of Pawnee. It was opened at the latter place July 2. Pawnee was located on the north side of the Kansas river at the eastern line of the Fort Riley military reservation. A subsequent survey brought the town site within the limits of the reservation. The town had been projected by Pennsylvania

friends of Governor Reeder and others in 1854. The Kansas river was then supposed to be a good navigable stream as far as Fort Riley. River navigation, it was thought, would invite early and large settlements to that interior section of the territory. For these reasons the location of the territorial capital at Pawnee did not then seem so visionary as afterwards. A number of buildings were put up on the town site, some of them substantial stone structures. This writer, who, in March, 1855, made



First legislative session in this building at Pawnee. Roof gone; walls still standing. Union Pacific track in foreground.

a settlement in that neighborhood, so far assisted towards the erection of the capitol building as to transport several wagon-loads of lumber for that use from Kansas City, by way of Westport, Shawnee Mission, and "110," over the Santa Fe and Mormon trails, to Fort Riley and Pawnee. Hon. Robert Klotz, afterwards a member of the Topeka state legislature, and later a member of Congress

from the Mauch Chunk district of Pennsylvania, superintended the building of the town and the erection of that capitol building. The walls of this structure itself are still standing, close by the track of the Union Pacific railway, between Ogden and Fort Riley, on the military reserve. Col. A. S. Johnson says that when the legislature arrived at Pawnee, July 2, 1855, little was found there except a stone building which had been erected for the legislature; no accommodations for the board and lodging of the members. They were obliged to camp in tents.

The legislature held but a very brief session at Pawnee. It unseated all of the free-state members who had been elected at the two elections, except Martin F. Conway in the council and Samuel D. Houston in the house, and seated those who had been elected by the Missouri invasion. Conway declined to take his seat and Houston very soon resigned. July 6 the legislature adjourned, to meet at the Shawnee mission July 16, having passed an act to remove the seat of government temporarily to that place.*

Colonel Johnson says, in reference to this Pawnee legislative episode, that it necessitated a trip of three or four days overland, camping on the way. He remembers some of the camping incidents. Near Manhattan some settlers' cows strayed into camp. The wise men, reared as most of them had been on the fat of western Missouri land, having been then three days without milk in their coffee, here had offered them a temptation beyond resistance. The cows were corraled—that is, circumscribed by a circle of stalwart men. Others tried their hands at milking, with results sufficiently gratifying to render the incident worthy of being remembered.

Thomas Johnson was chosen president of the legislative council. He was not in favor of adjournment to the Shawnee mission. He had already had sufficient experience in the diversion of his missionary establishment to the uses and abuses incident to affairs of territorial government. But the Shawnee mission was the only place in the territory where a legislature could be accommodated.

SHAWNEE MISSION AGAIN.

Governor Reeder vetoed the bill for the transfer of the territorial capital from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, but the bill was passed by the legislature over the veto. The governor reestablished his executive office at the mission July 12. The legislature reassembled July 16, and the same day the governor informed the legislative assembly that his functions as governor of the territory were terminated by removal from office by the president. The removal was due, among other political reasons, to the fact that the governor had in many ways manifested his disapproval of the doings of the pro-slavery party, and especially of the act of the election of the legislative assembly for the territory by foreign invasion.

Governor Reeder remained at the mission for some time after his removal from office. During his residence there cordial relations had grown up between him and Superintendent Johnson and the members of his family. Years afterwards, during a visit of the governor to Kansas with his wife, they visited at the mission.

Most of the members of the legislature crowded into the mission building, but quite a number were forced to go to Westport. The two branches of the legislature held their sessions in the building which Colonel Johnson mentions as the

*Judge SAMUEL D. LECOMTE, chief justice of the supreme court of the territory, gave an opinion, nine printed pages, that the legislature had a right to move from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, and that its acts would be valid. Concurred in by Rush Elmore and A. J. Isacks.

east building of the mission, in which were the mission school and chapel. The chapel was on the first floor, and of sufficient capacity to seat 300 or 400 people. This was occupied by the house of representatives; the corresponding room next above by the legislative council. Some of the adjoining rooms on the two floors were used as committee rooms during the legislature.*

From the date of Governor Reeder's removal, July 16, Secretary Woodson was acting governor until the arrival of Gov. Wilson Shannon, September 7. The executive offices remained at Shawnee mission until the spring of 1856.

*July 5, 1855, H. D. McMeekin introduced a bill to establish the statutes of Kansas territory. Referred to a committee of five. After a recess, bill referred back with an amendment. Put on second reading by a vote 18 to 8. By roll-call, vote of 19 to 6, the bill was engrossed and put on third reading. An amendment to strike out "statutes of Missouri" and insert "Nicholson's Revised Statutes of Tennessee," was lost. The bill then passed by a vote of 20 to 5. Messaged to the council July 5. Legislature adjourned to Shawnee Manual Labor School, July 16.

Monday, July 16, at Shawnee Manual Labor School, Andrew McDonald, in the council (page 29), offered a resolution authorizing a joint committee of three members of the council and five members of the house to devise and report a plan for the immediate formation of a code of laws for said territory. This was agreed to by the house, July 17 (page 41). On part of council, Andrew McDonald, W. P. Richardson, and A. M. Coffey; on part of the house, J. C. Anderson, O. H. Browne, W. G. Mathias, H. D. McMeekin, W. H. Tebbs. W. G. Mathias introduced a bill to establish the statutes of the territory of Kansas. (Page 274, House Journal.) Read first and second times, and referred to joint committee on code. In the council (page 246), house bill No. 160, entitled "An act to establish the statutes of the territory of Kansas, and for other purposes," read the first, second and third times, amended, and passed.

August 29 (on page 362, House Journal), the joint committee report an amendment and recommend the bill be passed. An amendment offered to strike out the first section, by way of rider. Rejected. The bill then passed, by a vote of 16 to 5. No further trace of the bill in either house.

Referring to the action of the house at Pawnee on the 5th of July, a correspondent of the *Herald of Freedom*, July 11, says:

"On the 5th inst., a bill was introduced into the house and passed through its several readings in that body, entitled 'An act to establish the statutes of the territory of Kansas.' Not one hour was consumed in its consideration, though it extended the code of Missouri over the territory. One gentleman remarked: 'He was opposed to so much haste in passing so important a law; he had never seen the statutes of Missouri, and preferred doing so before voting for them.' To this another member replied: 'That he, too, was unacquainted with the statutes, but he knew that the people of Missouri were prosperous under their laws, and besides, that those laws tolerated slavery. That was enough for him to know.'

"A member moved to substitute the code of Tennessee, but the motion was summarily disposed of, and the bill was passed through and sent up to the council, where it was laid upon the table, but it is understood that it will be the first business in order when they reassemble at the mission. We give the 'act' in another column, and will endeavor to post our readers next week on the character of the laws to be extended over us."

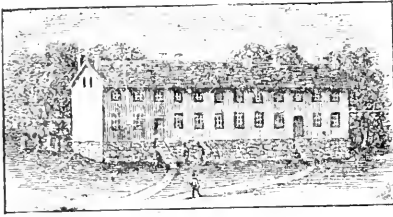
Both bodies adjourned at one o'clock p. m. of Friday for the mission. Following is the act:

"AN ACT to establish the statutes of the territory of Kansas. Passed the house of representatives July 5, 1855.

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:* That in the absence of law enacted by the present assembly, that the statutes of the state of Missouri, which were revised and enacted at the general assembly of that state during the years of 1844 and 1845, which are of a general nature, not local to that state, and which are not repugnant to the constitution of the United States nor to the provisions of an act of Congress entitled 'An act to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska,' approved May 30, A. D. 1854, shall have full force and effect in and extend over the said territory of Kansas.

"SEC 2. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage; provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to conflict with or make void any subsequent act of this legislative assembly."

The "bogus statutes of 1855" was the name given by the free-state partizans in hatred and opprobrium to the laws of Missouri, which, by an act of the territorial assembly of Kansas, presented July 5, 1855, above referred to, were adopted as the statutes of the territory of Kansas. There was nothing peculiarly "bogus" about these statutes, except the high-handed and hasty manner in which they were passed; but, in the bitterness of the time, no true partizan of freedom would concede that any possible good could come out of Missouri. The bogus statutes extended the slavery code of Missouri over Kansas, but such was the intention of the territorial assembly which adopted them. In other respects the statutes were probably as enlightened as those of any state; and we were obliged to borrow and adopt the statutes of some state, temporarily at least, from the necessities of the case. But whatever were the merits or demerits of



Building occupied at Shawnee Mission.



Foundations of capitol building at Lecompton, upon which Congress spent \$50,000 in 1856. Afterwards completed for Lane University; now a high school.

LECOMPTON THE CAPITAL.

August 8, 1855, the Shawnee Mission legislature, by vote in joint session, located the permanent capital at Lecompton. The candidates for the location were Leavenworth, Lawrence, St. Bernard, Tecumseh, White Head, Kickapoo, Lecompton, Douglass, and One Hundred and Ten. On the third ballot Lecompton received twenty-five votes, St. Bernard eleven, and Tecumseh two; the other candidates having dropped out. St. Bernard was located in the northern part of Franklin county, adjacent to the present town of Centropolis.

The legislature passed a law appointing F. J. Marshall, H. D. McMeekin and Thomas Johnson commissioners to select suitable grounds at Lecompton for the location and erection of public buildings for the accommodation of the governor and other executive offices and the legislature. The act required the governor to cause buildings to be erected out of the appropriation by Congress.*

Under a contract with William M. Nace, the latter put up a building on Elmore street, one door north of where the Lecompton post-office now stands. Later a foundation was put in for a substantial brick building and the erection of the walls was begun. Lane University now stands on a part of this foundation,

the "bogus statutes," they were destined to be short-lived. The partisans of freedom steadily increased in power and numbers until, in 1857, they dominated the territorial assembly. Early in the session of 1859 a commission was appointed to codify the laws of the territory, with instructions to take the laws of 1858 as a basis. This committee was comprised of William McKay, E. S. Lowman, and James McCahon, appointed January 12, 1859. (See Council Journal, page 50.) Their final report was made February 11, 1859, and may be found on page 323, Council Journal. The existence of the "bogus statutes" was ignored. The commission did its work faithfully, and reported bills for the consideration of the assembly from time to time until June 1, 1859, when the codes of civil and criminal proceedings were passed as submitted, and the "bogus statutes," and all other acts conflicting with the new codes, were repealed. The laws of 1859 formed a considerable part of the Compiled Statutes of 1862, and constitute in no small degree the pioneer groundwork of the statutory jurisprudence of Kansas to this day.

*Doctor Gihon's "Geary and Kansas," page 205:

"November 7, 1856.—A note having been received from Mr. Owen C. Stewart in regard to the capitol buildings, the governor [Geary] addressed him in reply, as follows: 'As your services as superintendent of the capitol buildings are no longer required, you are hereby notified that your appointment is revoked from this date.'

"Congress had appropriated \$50,000 to erect suitable public buildings for the territory, and Doctor Rodrigue, postmaster at Lecompton, was the principal contractor for their erection. He was connected in the enterprise, some way or another, with Sheriff Jones, Governor Shannon, and other officials. The money appropriated should have been sufficient for the object if properly expended. As it is, the walls of the building have only advanced a few feet above the foundation and the whole amount of the appropriation has been exhausted. Mr. Stewart was appointed by Governor Shannon superintendent, at a salary of \$1200 a year, which, although the work had been long suspended, was still running on. The same gentleman was a subcontractor under Rodrigue, and was therefore required to superintend his own work, which was a very convenient sort of an arrangement. William Rumbold was the architect, who had contracted to receive for his 'compensation four per cent. on the cost of the building,' and of course it would not be to his interest to oppose any amount of expenditure upon its construction. If it is completed upon the same liberal scale as it has been commenced, so far as the outlay of money is concerned, it may be ready for roofing in by the use of another appropriation of \$200,000 or \$300,000."

which was granted the institution by the state after Topeka become the permanent capital.*

April 20, 1856, is the first date in Gov. Wilson Shannon's executive minutes showing the executive office of the governor to be located at Lecompton, the last official date at Shawnee Mission having been December 11, 1855. Some time in the interval between the two dates the executive office was removed from Shawnee Mission to Lecompton. And from this time Lecompton continued to be the territorial capital, with diversions which will be here mentioned, until Kansas entered the Union as a state in 1861, when the capital came to Topeka.

The Shawnee Mission legislature had adopted a full code of laws, mainly copied from the Missouri statutes. They included the usual laws of slave-holding states for the protection of masters in their property right in slaves, and imposing the severest penalties on any who should meddle with slave property or seek to alienate slaves from their masters or try to run them off to a land of freedom. To speak or print any declaration against the right to hold slaves in Kansas was made a crime worthy of the severest penalty. Laws were also enacted placing the whole machinery of local government for the territory in the hands of sheriffs and other county officers appointed by the legislature and local magistrates appointed by the governor, all to hold their offices for a long term.

The free state settlers repudiated the entire code of laws, first, because they were passed by a legislature elected by the fraudulent votes of persons from a foreign state, and, second, because the laws themselves contained provisions intended to stifle free sentiment and to make life in Kansas intolerable to a large proportion of the inhabitants. As was expected, there soon came a clash between the free-state men and the men charged with the execution of the "bogus laws," as they were stigmatized. In December, 1855, the Wakarusa war came on, brought on by the attempted arrest of free-state men, the arrest being resisted by the parties charged and their neighbors. The most-noted official acts of Governor Shannon during his residence at Shawnee Mission were proclamations and orders pertaining to the fiasco known as the "Wakarusa war." This episode in Kansas affairs brought to a siege of Lawrence an army of nearly 2000 men, chiefly from Missouri, and to the defense three good regiments of free-state men, rallying from almost every settlement in the territory. Of one of these regiments our distinguished townsman, Cyrus K. Holliday, was the commander, winning in a just cause and in a time of peril an honorable military title most worthily bestowed. Many a Topeka man took an honorable part in that defense of Lawrence. The Missouri invaders had not counted on the mettle of the Kansas free state settlers. Their leaders halted and parleyed at the Franklin

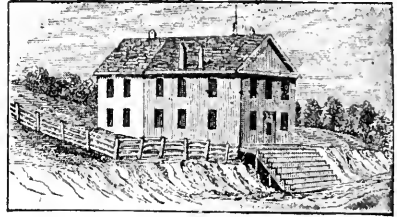
*"LECOMPTON, KAN., March 10, 1896.

"*F. G. Adams, Secretary Historical Society:* DEAR SIR—In reply to yours of the 17th would say, the first legislature convened here was in the house erected by W. M. Nace on Elmore street, one door north of the present post-office, and was afterwards removed. Governor Shannon's first office was in a building on Halderman street, near y opposite the American House, and now two blocks west of the present Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe depot. The first post-office was on Third street, and later removed to a building northeast of the Rowena hotel. The legislature also occupied the building known as Constitution hall, which was built about 1857 or 1858. Governor Shannon never had his office in Constitution hall, but later had his office south of the hall. The post-office referred to in 1883 was about two doors south of the present post-office. The legislature later on assembled in the two-story house opposite the Rowena hotel, and from that hall adjourned to Lawrence. Yours truly, WM. LEAMER."

The Santa Fe depot has since been removed west to the foot of Halderman street; so Governor Shannon's first office would be south of depot. The Rowena hotel is a large stone building on corner of Elmore and Woodson avenues, and will for all time be a landmark. Constitution hall is in the same block, north, facing east; Nace's building was in the same block, facing west; the post-office, except the first location, was always in the same block. The land-office was in Constitution hall in the spring of 1857.—SECRETARY.

camp, four miles away. Eventually a blizzard came as their excuse, and, entering into armistice, they marched back to their Missouri firesides, with imprecations upon Kansas climate and Kansas men, and with threats to return again when grass should grow in the spring.

Early in the spring of 1856, Lecompton, as the territorial capital, became a stirring place. Warrants for the arrest of the free-state men concerned in the acts which brought on the Wakarusa war, and for the arrest of many others who had been prominent in the defense of Lawrence, were put into the hands of United States marshals and sheriffs. Many of the intended victims either resisted or avoided arrest. But in May seven prominent free-state men, by distinction known as the "treason prisoners," arrested at different times and places, were brought to Lecompton, put under a guard of federal troops, and, thus guarded, were kept in a prisoners' camp until the following September. These persons were Gov. Charles Robinson, George W. Smith, George W. Deitzler, Gaius Jenkins, George W. Brown, John Brown, jr., and Henry H. Williams.



Constitution hall, at Lecompton. Legislature of 1857 met in this building; Lecompton constitution was made here; in this building Sherwood spit on Geary; still standing.

Early in May the Missouri army came again, to aid the sheriff and marshals in making arrests at Lawrence. Two camps were established, one again at Franklin and one at Lecompton. May 21 Lawrence was sacked. Three newspaper offices, Governor Robinson's house, the splendid new hotel and many other buildings were destroyed and pillaged, all under the form of law—bogus law. From that time on Lecompton was a military camp, troops in bivouac, marching and countermarching in expeditions to put down free-state settlers in their resistance of outrages of marauding bands of pro-slavery recruits, who had come in from the extreme Southern states, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and elsewhere, and had established camps at points convenient to enable them to harass free-state settlers and drive them from the territory.

About the middle of August, the free-state men, under the direction of General Lane, Col. Sam. Walker, and other free-state leaders, routed three bands of these Southerners, garrisoned at Franklin, Washington creek, and Fort Titus. Col. H. T. Titus, as he was called, was in command of a company quartered within two miles of Lecompton. On the morning of the 16th of August, a force of free-state men under Col. Samuel Walker attacked the place, wounded Titus and some others, took a number of prisoners and a quantity of arms and ammunition, and conveyed them to Lawrence. Capt. H. J. Shombre, a gallant free-state man, who had just come into Kansas with a company of Indiana free state recruits, was unfortunately killed in this engagement. The following day Governor Shannon, and Major Sedgwick of the regular army, visited Lawrence, held a consultation with the committee of safety there, and made an exchange of prisoners. Through this exchange the free-state men also recovered several pieces of cannon taken from Lawrence at the sacking of May 21.

September 5, a force of 1200 men from Lawrence under Lane appeared on the bluff overlooking Lecompton, with cannon and full equipments, apparently intending to attack the town. The pro-slavery officers and the entire populace were thrown into a great panic. Only 100 or 200 of the pro-slavery militia

so called gathered for defense among the walls of the foundation of the new capitol building. Col. P. St. George Cooke, in command of the federal troops, conducted Acting Governor Woodson and a United States deputy marshal to interview the commander of the free-state forces. The interview resulted in the agreement for the liberation of all free-state prisoners then in the hands of pro-slavery men. The main object of the expedition was thus accomplished, and the free-state forces then withdrew. The agreement was carried out, enforced by Colonel Cooke.

On the 15th of September, Capt. Thomas J. Wood, of the First United States cavalry, brought into Lecompton 101 free-state prisoners who had been concerned in the battle of Hickory Point, in Jefferson county, on the previous day. This was the largest instalment of free-state prisoners ever brought into Lecompton at one time. They were quartered in a rude building and put under guard. From time to time they succeeded in escaping, until, the following March, the thirteen remaining were pardoned by Governor Geary.

If all the incidents occurring in and about Lecompton in 1856 were put upon record, the place would be shown to have been, next to Lawrence, perhaps the focal center of the greatest activity of strife in arms among the settlers in Kansas during the territorial period.

The United States troops at Lecompton at this period were under the command of such officers as Philip St. George Cooke, John Sedgwick, E. V. Sumner, James McIntosh, T. J. Wood, Jos. E. Johnston, E. W. B. Newby, D. B. Sacket, H. H. Sibley, and others whose names became more prominent during the war of the rebellion. It should be remembered that President Pierce's administration at Washington approved the acts of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, assumed the acts of the Shawnee Mission legislature as valid, and employed the power of the army to aid the pro-slavery party in carrying out its policy of using the Shawnee Mission legislature as a means for suppressing the free-state element in Kansas.

The second territorial legislature convened at Lecompton January 12, 1857, and adjourned February 20, holding its session in the building erected by Mr. Nace. Like that of the first legislature, its legislation was ultra pro slavery. Governor Geary, as had Governor Reeder, soon had a falling-out with the leaders of the party. Stormy times, with some bloodshed, prevailed at Lecompton during the winter.

LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

February 19 the legislature passed an act providing for the election, June 15, of members of a convention to frame a state constitution. The provisions of the bill were of such an extraordinarily partizan character that Governor Geary vetoed it, and it was passed over his veto.

In March Governor Geary was removed from office, for, during the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan, if a governor of Kansas took the side of justice and the people, against the fraudulent doings of the slave party, he was promptly removed from office. Robert J. Walker was then appointed governor, with Frederick P. Stanton as secretary of the territory. April 15 Secretary Stanton reached Lecompton, and became for a time acting governor. Governor Walker arrived May 27.

The census taken under the Lecompton-constitutional-convention act was so one-sided that free-state voters refused to participate in the election under it. Hence the convention elected was a one-sided, pro-slavery affair. It met on the 7th of September, in the building still standing and known as Constitution hall. It soon adjourned, and met again in October and framed the noted Lecompton constitution.

During the spring of 1857 the emigration to Kansas was immense, almost wholly from the Northern states. The free-state party that fall elected a majority of the legislature. By unparalleled efforts of fraud the pro-slavery leaders sought to have a majority of their party counted in to seats in the legislature.

The administrations of Governor Walker and Acting Governor Stanton proved to be the turning-point between pro-slavery domination and fraud on the one side and the rule of the people of the territory in the interest of truth and justice on the other. Both these officers were deserving of great credit for their acts. In canvassing the vote of the legislative election in 1857, they purged the returns of fraud and gave certificates to the legally elected free-state candidates, who were in large majority. For this act both these officers were removed by President Buchanan, whose policy in Kansas affairs was dictated by the Southern slave power.

The third territorial legislature, now free state, met in Lecompton, December 7, 1857, in extra session. It had been convened by Secretary Stanton before his removal. The legislature passed an act submitting the Lecompton constitution to vote on its adoption, at an election to be held January 4, following. The legislature adjourned December 7, and met again in regular session January 4, 1858. On the 5th, by joint action of the two branches, an adjournment was had to Lawrence, where the legislature met January 8 and held a session, adjourning finally February 13.

Lawrence became now, practically, the capital of the territory. The place had before been in some measure the free-state capital. Free-state conventions of the territory had often met there. It was the largest town in Kansas away from the Missouri river. Here had been the focus of free-state agitation and sentiment. Upon Lawrence more than elsewhere had been directed the ire of the pro-slavery party. The place had been often threatened and once sacked. Now the power of the pro-slavery party was broken. The leaders were on the run. The now free-state legislature proceeded promptly to investigate the recent frauds and to annul the oppressive legislation enacted at the Shawnee Mission.

On the removal from office of Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, James W. Denver was appointed secretary of the territory and became acting governor. He assumed the duties of the office at Lecompton December 21, 1857. On the adjournment of the legislature to Lawrence, the governor removed his office to Lawrence during the sitting of the legislature.

THE MINNEOLA CAPITAL.

The relations of the new governor with the free-state legislature were, in the main, harmonious; but the legislature essayed to remove the territorial capital from Lecompton to Minneola, a town which had been projected in the northern part of Franklin county, east of Centropolis. A large number of the members of the legislature became interested in the town project. Railroad companies were chartered to conduct railroads to center at that point. The act for the capital removal to Minneola was passed, and was vetoed by the governor, on the ground that the legislature had not power to make the removal. But the bill was passed over the veto. Subsequently the question of the validity of the act was submitted to the attorney-general of the United States, and was by him declared to be in violation of the organic act.*

*"ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, November 20, 1858.

"SIR—Agreeable to your request, I have considered the subject referred to in the communication addressed to me by the governor of Kansas and the accompanying papers, and I now report to you the facts I gather from them, and the instructions which, in my opinion, ought to be based upon them.

"By the organic act it was provided that the seat of government for Kansas territory should be temporarily located at Leavenworth. The executive and the legislative assembly of

The legislature also sought to have a new constitution framed to take the place of the Lecompton constitution, which the people, at the election on the 4th of January, had repudiated. The constitutional-convention bill passed just at the close of the session of the legislature, but was not signed by the governor, and he refused to recognize the act as valid. But the election of delegates to the convention was held March 9. On the 23d of March the convention assembled at Minneola. On the 24th it adjourned, to meet at Leavenworth, where it re-assembled on the evening of the 25th, and held the session during which was framed the Leavenworth constitution. This constitution provided that Topeka should be the temporary capital. But the Leavenworth constitution, like the Topeka and Lecompton constitutions, failed to be ratified by Congress.

Governor Denver, first appointed secretary of the territory, was afterward appointed governor, and took the oath of office as such May 12, 1858. He resigned this office October 10, 1858. November 19 following, Samuel Medary was appointed. He assumed the duties of the office December 20.

The fourth regular session of the legislature convened at Lecompton January 3, 1859, and on the 5th adjourned, to meet at Lawrence on the 7th, where the remainder of the session was held, the adjournment taking place February 11. Governor Denver approved the resolution providing for the adjournment to Lawrence.

The fifth territorial legislature assembled at Lecompton January 2, 1860. January 4 it voted to adjourn to Lawrence on the following day. Governor Medary vetoed the resolution. It was passed over the governor's veto, and both bodies assembled at Lawrence on the 7th. The governor remained at Lecompton and refused to recognize the acts of the legislature. As legislation under such circumstances was impracticable, the legislature on the 18th adjourned

the territory were authorized to use the public buildings there which could be spared by the military authorities. That act contains nothing more on that subject, except a promise on the part of Congress to appropriate, afterwards, a sum equal to what had been given to other territories for the erection of public buildings at the seat of the territorial government. On the 5th of August, 1854, an appropriation was made of \$25,000 for public buildings in Kansas, to be paid in event that the secretary of war should decide it to be inconsistent with the interests of the military service to permit the use of the public buildings at Fort Leavenworth. So the subject stood until the 3d of March, 1855, when another appropriation of \$25,000 for public buildings in the territory of Kansas was made, coupled with this proviso, 'that said money, or any part thereof, or any portion of the money heretofore appropriated for this purpose, shall not be expended until the legislature of said territory shall have fixed, by law, the permanent seat of government.'

"In 1855, after the passage of the last-mentioned act of Congress, the territorial legislature, by law, fixed the permanent seat of government at the town of Lecompton, and thereupon \$50,000, the aggregate amount of the two appropriations made by Congress, was paid to the proper authorities of the territory, and was expended at Lecompton in the erection of public buildings. On the 9th of February last the territorial legislature undertook to pass another law, removing the seat of government from Lecompton to Minneola. Their bill, being vetoed by the governor, was passed by two-thirds majority. The question of law is, whether the legislature had the power which they attempted to exercise of removing the seat of government.

"The organic act of Congress is to a territory what the constitution is to a state. The acts of a territorial legislature are valid and binding when passed according to the proper forms, if they are within the powers conferred by the act, but anything there forbidden is void and unauthorized. If Congress passes a subsequent law on the same subject limiting or extending the power of the local territorial government, it operates like an amendment to the constitution. In the case of Kansas, Congress did not decide where the permanent seat of government should be, but located it temporarily at Leavenworth. The territorial legislature, then, had power to remove it as they saw proper, either for a short time or for all time. But Congress, when the appropriation of 1855 was made, required, as a condition precedent to the payment of the money, that the seat of government should be permanently located, and left the territory, through its legislature, to do that for itself. Making a permanent location certainly did not mean a designation of a place merely for the purpose of getting the money, and then making another change. The plain word of the law, as well as a decent respect for their own good faith, required that before they would ask for the money they should indicate by an irrevocable law the spot at which the seat of government should be and remain, at least during the whole existence of the territorial government. The legislature so understood it themselves, and when they decided upon Lecompton they expressly declared that to be the permanent seat of government. In my opinion, the territorial legislature had no right afterwards to repeal that law and take the seat of government away from Lecompton. Such a removal, if carried out, would defeat the manifest intention of Congress, violate the spirit of the act, and be a fraud upon the United States.

Very respectfully, etc., J. S. BLACK.

"To his Excellency, Hon. James Buchanan, President of the United States."

sine die, and informed the governor of the fact. The governor immediately reconvened the legislature to meet at Lecompton in special session on the 19th. The legislature obeyed the summons, met at Lecompton, and immediately adjourned again to Lawrence. The resolution of adjournment was immediately vetoed and again passed over the veto. The governor then gave up the contention, and a session was held at Lawrence, adjourning, finally, February 27.

The sixth territorial legislature met at Lecompton January 7, 1861, and adjourned on the following day to Lawrence, where the session was held, finally adjourning February 2. Governor Medary had resigned his office December 17, and Sec. George M. Beebe was acting as governor during the session, and continued to so act until Gov. Charles Robinson assumed the office of governor of the state.

THE CAPITAL AT TOPEKA.

The free-state party in Kansas named Topeka as the capital of the state as early as in 1855. It became the capital under the free-state constitutional movement. That was the movement through which the free-state party in Kansas in 1855 framed a constitution, organized a state government, and applied to Congress for admission into the Union. This movement began by reason of the Shawnee Mission legislative usurpation and the oppressive legislation enacted. It was an effort of the body of the actual settlers of Kansas to free the territory from the thralldom of that usurpation. At a mass convention held in Lawrence August 14 and 15, 1855, among other proceedings, a resolution was passed declaring that the people of the territory ought to select delegates to a convention to frame a constitution for the state of Kansas, with a view to an immediate admission into the American Union. This convention also indorsed a call which had been issued for holding a general delegate convention of the territory at Big Springs on the 5th of September. Another convention, held at Lawrence on the 15th, appointed a delegate convention to be held at Topeka on the 19th of September, to take action towards the formation of a state constitution and government. The Big Springs convention, on the 5th of September, approved the constitutional-convention movement, and adopted a resolution to respond to the call made for the Topeka convention on the 19th of September.

The convention at Topeka, September 19, adopted elaborate resolutions setting forth the reasons in favor of the constitutional movement. The convention appointed an executive committee, with instructions to issue an address to the people and to appoint an election to be held in the several districts of the territory on the 9th of October, for the election of delegates to convene at Topeka on the 23d of October to form a constitution for the state of Kansas. Thus was an executive committee, appointed by a spontaneous movement of the people and representing the dominant sentiment of the people, clothed with the power to organize the machinery of government in the prospective commonwealth. The force which inspired life and impelled and directed the movement for a state government lay in the executive committee. It continued to issue its proclamations, through its chairman, James H. Lane, and to do in the most efficient manner the work of a provisional and semi-revolutionary government through the darkest and most disordered and dangerous period of the territorial existence.

The constitutional convention elected in pursuance of the call of the executive committee met at Topeka October 23, 1855, continued in session until November 11, and framed the celebrated Topeka constitution. The constitution was sent by messengers to Washington and for years continued to engage the attention of Congress and to agitate the country on the question of its ratification.

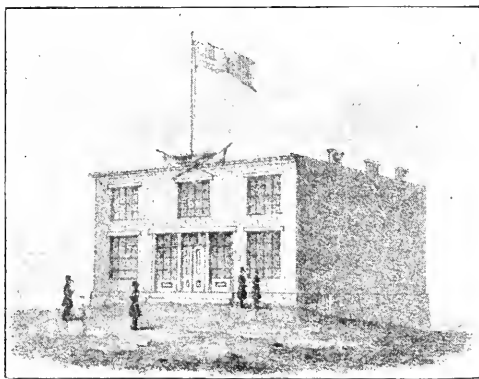
The location of the capital for the new state was an interesting subject in the

proceedings of the Topeka constitutional convention, for there were many towns or projected towns in Kansas at this period having capital aspirations. On the third day of the sitting of the convention, Colonel Holliday, of Topeka, moved that among the standing committees there should be a committee on the location of the capital. November 6 the convention voted on the temporary location of the capital, the final vote standing twenty for Topeka and sixteen for Lawrence. In the manuscript collections of the Historical Society are two rolls of the convention, contributed by Timothy McIntire, now of Arkansas City, who was at that time a resident of Topeka and an officer of the convention. The rolls show two votes on the capital location, as follows:

First vote: Council City, 3 votes; Cottonwood, 4; Bloomington, 4; Topeka, 9; Leavenworth, 4; Lawrence, 7; Blanton, 1; Prairie City, 1; Manhattan, 2; Wabaunsee, 1.

Second vote: For Lawrence—James M. Arthur, O. C. Brown, A. Curtiss, James S. Emery, Joel K. Goodin, William Graham, Morris Hunt, Almon Hunting, Richard Knight, James H. Lane, John Landis, Samuel Mewhinney, Charles Robinson, G. W. Smith, J. M. Tuton, J. A. Wakefield; total 16. For Topeka—Thomas Bell, H. Burson, R. H. Crosby, G. A. Cutler, M. W. Delahay, David Dodge, William R. Griffith, William Hicks, C. K. Holliday, George S. Hillyer, Robert Klotz, S. N. Latta, Caleb May, I. H. Nesbit, M. J. Parrott, W. Y. Roberts, James L. Sayle, P. C. Schuyler, C. W. Stewart, J. G. Thompson; total, 20.

Thus, within less than two years after the opening of Kansas territory to settlement, and in less than one year after Topeka town site had been located, was incipient action taken which, in the end, resulted in fixing Topeka as the capital of the state. At that time there were but a few scattered buildings here. The building which became known as Constitution hall was the most substantial. It was a stone building, erected by Mr. Loring Farnsworth on Nos. 425 and 427 Kansas avenue, and the walls still remain as part of the present building in the same place. The building was so far



Constitution hall, 425 and 427 Kansas avenue, Topeka, 1856; Topeka constitutional convention met in this building, and in this building Colonel Sumner dispersed the Topeka legislature.

completed as to be occupied by the mass convention of September 19, 1855, and by the constitutional convention which met October 23; also by the legislature in its session held under the constitution.

In the basement of this building, in 1856, says Mr. Giles, in his "Thirty Years in Topeka," were stored, and from it distributed to the needy, the provisions and other goods sequestered from the pro-slavery towns of Tecumseh, Ozawkie and Indianola by the Topeka free-state men under John Ritchie and Captain Whipple (A. D. Stevens), during the famine caused by the pro-slavery embargo of the Missouri river and the roads of travel in the territory that year. The writer is indebted no little for the information here compiled concerning

Topeka to the book referred to. In it is recorded the history of Topeka from the very beginning, by one who was a witness and a participant in it all.

Under the Topeka constitution, five meetings of the legislature were had in Constitution hall. Under the constitution three elections were held for the election of state officers or members of the legislature, or both. The constitution became the banner under which the free-state party rallied in its struggle to free the territory from the clutches of the pro-slavery despotism under which it was placed through the fraudulent election of March 30, 1855. The outrageous laws passed by the Shawnee Mission legislature made outlaws of the members of the free-state government. The Topeka constitutional movement became the special object of the hatred of the pro-slavery party. Their bogus laws contained provisions making it treason for the people thus to combine for the object of annulling them. Their packed grand juries indicted the Topeka state officers and members of the legislature. Marshals and sheriffs, supported by squads of so-called militia or by United States soldiers, hunted them down like wild beasts.

The first legislature under the constitution met March 4, 1856. It did little legislation. It memorialized Congress for the ratification of the Topeka constitution. It appointed committees to prepare a code of laws. It adjourned to meet again July 4. When that memorable 4th of July came, and the members of the legislature gathered for their second meeting, through orders from Acting Governor Woodson, backed by authority from Washington, Gen. E. V. Sumner* appeared with a force of United States troops and dispersed them. They met again, the third time, January 5, 1857. At this meeting a committee was appointed to prepare another memorial to Congress for admission into the Union. The second day of the session a large number of the members, including the president of the senate and speaker of the house, were arrested by a United States marshal and taken under guard to Tecumseh. Then the body took a recess to June 9. On that day the fourth meeting of the Topeka legislature convened. A census law was passed, an election ordered in August, a State University was located at Lawrence, the state capital was again established at Topeka, and

* COL. EDWIN VOSE SUMNER was born in Boston January 30, 1797, and died in Syracuse, N. Y., March 21, 1863. He entered the army in 1819 as a second lieutenant of infantry. He served in the Black Hawk war. He became a captain in the Second dragoons in 1833. He was placed on the frontier, and distinguished himself as an Indian fighter. In 1838 he was placed in charge of a school of cavalry practice at Carlisle, Pa. He led the cavalry charge at Cerro Gordo in April, 1847. He was governor of New Mexico in 1851-'53. In 1855 he was made colonel of the First cavalry, and led a successful expedition against the Cheyennes. In March, 1861, he was made a brigadier-general. He commanded the left wing at Yorktown, Fair Oaks, Chickahominy, Antietam, and Fredericksburg, being twice wounded in the seven days' battle and once at Antietam. His last words were, "God save my country, the United States of America." Colonel Sumner became an important character in Kansas history, because he was in command of the department of the West during the territorial troubles and the disperser of the Topeka legislature. On the 4th of July, 1856, Colonel Sumner, by order of President Pierce, ordered the legislature not to assemble or he would be compelled to use the force at his command. He had about 200 dragoons and three pieces of artillery. The colonel addressed the house of representatives as follows: "Gentlemen, I am called upon this day to do the most painful duty of my life. Under the authority of the president's proclamation, I am here to disperse this legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I therefore order you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will hold none so long as I occupy my present position. I have just returned from the border, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, and you must disperse. I now command you to disperse. I repeat that this is the most painful duty of my life." When this address reached the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, Sumner was superseded in his command. The building in which the legislature was to assemble was located the west side of Kansas avenue, a couple of lots north of Fifth street, and the site has been keyed by an iron slab in the sidewalk, suitably lettered, by the Daughters of th American olution.

Congress was again memorialized to admit Kansas into the Union under the Topeka constitution. January 5, 1858, the fifth and last meeting of the Topeka free-state legislature was held. Little was done except the reading of Gov. Charles Robinson's message, in which he advised the keeping up of the state organization.

But by this time little hope remained of the admission of the state into the Union under the Topeka constitution. The population of the territory had become so large and was so overwhelmingly free state, that the free-state voters had already seized the lawmaking power by the election of the territorial legislature, and that body was at this time in session. The Topeka constitutional movement had performed its mission. For Topeka it had surely paved the way for the permanent capital of Kansas.

Mention has been made of the Minneola capital and the Leavenworth constitution. The Leavenworth constitution served a purpose, that of a foil to the Leecompton constitution, steeped in fraud as that was. But there seemed no hope that Congress would ratify the Leavenworth constitution. The territorial legislature of 1859 therefore passed a law providing for a fourth constitutional convention. This became known as the Wyandotte convention, and it framed the present constitution of Kansas. This convention was held in Wyandotte, now Kansas City, Kan., in July, 1859. The constitution was adopted by vote of the people, October 4, but it was not until January 29, 1861, that the act of Congress ratifying it was approved by President Buchanan.

THE NEXT CAPITAL STEP.

The Wyandotte constitutional convention provided that Topeka should be the temporary capital, and that the legislature should submit the question of the permanent location to a vote of the people. In the convention two votes were had upon the temporary location. There were many candidates.

The first vote resulted as follows: For Mound City, 2 votes; Mapleton, 1; Minneola, 2; Topeka, 15; Olathe, 2; Lawrence, 6; Burlington, 1; Stanton, 1; Atchison, 5; Manhattan, 2; Le Roy, 1; Emporia, 2; Burlingame, 1; Louisville, 1; Kickapoo, 1; Troy, 1; Humboldt, 1; Palermo, 1; Paola, 1; Big Springs, 1; Pike's Peak, 1; Superior, 1.

The following was the second vote, twenty-five being necessary to a choice :

For Topeka : J. M. Arthur, F. Brown, J. T. Barton, W. P. Dutton, R. C. Foster, John W. Forman, John P. Greer, William R. Griffith, Samuel Hipple, E. M. Hubbard, S. D. Houston, J. Lamb, G. H. Lillie, E. Moore, W. C. McDowell, A. D. McCune, C. B. McClelland, W. McCullough, H. D. Preston, P. S. Parks, R. J. Porter, John Ritchie, E. G. Ross, J. A. Signor, John P. Slough, Samuel A. Stinson, J. Stairwalt, J. Wright, and B. Wrigley—29.

For Lawrence : J. G. Blunt, J. C. Burnett, John T. Burris, J. Blood, N. C. Blood, A. Crocker, William Hutchinson, James Hanway, S. E. Hoffman, Ed. Stokes, B. F. Simpson, S. O. Thacher, P. H. Townsend, and R. L. Williams—14.

For Atchison : Robert Graham, John J. Ingalls, Samuel A. Kingman, J. A. Middleton, L. R. Palmer, and T. S. Wright—6.

In pursuance of the call of Governor Robinson, the first state legislature under the Wyandotte constitution met in Topeka March 26, 1861.* There were scant accommodations in Topeka in the spring of 1861 for the sitting of the state legislature and for the offices of the state. Topeka was a town of not over 800 inhabitants. It had been drought-stricken and almost poverty-stricken. Governor Robinson rented rooms for the executive officers in the Ritchie block,

*See note on page 349.

which stood at the corner of Sixth and Kansas avenues, where Rowley's drug-store now is. In the third story of this building the senate met, and for three years it there held its sessions. The first house of representatives met in the Gale block, now Crawford's opera-house, and here the joint convention was held which elected James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy to the United States senate. Later in the session, owing to a leaking roof, the house went over and sat in the Congregational church, corner of Seventh and Harrison streets. The session of the house in 1862 was in the Gale block, and that of 1863 in the Methodist church on Quincy street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, where the Odd Fellows' hall now is. Under the act of the legislature of 1863, a contract was entered into with Messrs. W. L. Gordon, G. G. Gage, Theo. Mills, and Loring Farnsworth, by which the state agreed to rent for a term of years a building which should be erected for state uses. The building was put up on Kansas avenue, west side, north of Fifth street, occupying four lots, taking in part of the old Constitutional hall. In this building the legislature of 1864 sat, and it continued to be the home of the legislature and state officers until the east wing of the capitol came to be occupied, in 1869.

The Topeka Association, formed in 1855, in the liberal spirit which actuated it in laying out the broad streets and avenues which have made Topeka the pride of Kansas, set apart, in what is now the heart of the city, two broad parks, four whole blocks or twenty acres in each, one for the state capitol and one for an educational institution. In 1862 Cyrus K. Holliday, the president of the association, formally conveyed one of these tracts of land to the state, and the gift was accepted by act of the legislature. In 1866 the legislature provided for the erection of the east wing of the capitol building. On the 17th of October of that year the corner-stone was laid. The wing was so far completed that it was occupied by the state officers in December, 1869. The legislative halls were first occupied for the session of 1870. The legislature of 1879 provided for the erection of the west wing. The house of representatives occupied the unfinished new hall for the session of 1881, and the state offices in that wing became occupied during that year. The legislature of 1883 provided for commencing work on the foundation of the central portion of the building. The structure was so far completed as to admit of a temporary finishing of rooms in the basement of the south wing, and their occupancy in 1892. The legislatures of 1891 and 1893 made but very slight appropriations for the capitol building, and work became practically suspended, until it was resumed under the appropriations of the legislature of 1895.

Architect Holland gives the dimensions of the state capitol as follows: Extreme diameter or breadth of the building, including the porches, north and south, 399 feet; east and west, 386 feet; square of the dome at the base, 80 by 80 feet; height of dome to balcony at lantern, 258 feet; height of dome to extreme top, 304 feet.

COST OF THE STATE-HOUSE.

The following compilation made by State Architect Holland shows the entire cost of the state-house to May 1, 1896:

Expenditures to May 1.....		\$2,084,848 30
Derived from sale of lands donated by United States,.....	\$8,144 89	
Sale of state bonds.....	293,135 57	
Direct appropriations.....	252,600 00	
Tax levied.....	1,530,967 84	
Total.....	\$2,084,848 30	\$2,084,848 30
To which should be added discount on bonds.....		26,864 43
Interest on bonds, paid and to be paid.....		672,000 00
Total.....		\$2,783,712 73

The tax levies as noted above include the portion of the levy of 1895 collected to date.

The different portions of the state capitol, as nearly as the same can be apportioned, have cost as follows:

East wing, including the remodeling.....	\$481,000 00
West wing.....	314,237 00
Central portion, including dome.....	1,289 611 30
Total.....	\$2,084,848 30

Of the bonds above noted, \$100,000, drawing seven per cent., are due in 1897; \$150,000, drawing seven per cent., are due in 1898; \$70,000, drawing seven per cent., are due in 1899.

No sinking-fund has been provided for the payment of these bonds.

Hon. Seth G. Wells, auditor of state, furnishes the following statement of additional expenditures on the capitol building, from May 1, 1896, up to its completion in 1903:

May 1, 1896, to June 30, 1896.....	\$14,915 92
For year ending June 30, 1897.....	60,105 88
For year ending June 30, 1898.....	44,908 89
For year ending June 30, 1899.....	7,789 82
For year ending June 30, 1900.....	1,969 37
For year ending June 30, 1900.....	56,693 96
For year ending June 30, 1901.....	403 05
For year ending June 30, 1901.....	49,333 18
For year ending June 30, 1902.....	80,571 65
For year ending June 30, 1902.....	11,440 61
For year ending June 30, 1903.....	314 63
For year ending June 30, 1903.....	88,429 23
	\$416,876 19
Add expenditures to May 1, 1896.....	2,783,712 73
Total cost of building.....	\$3,200,588 92

NOTE.

The state capital having been located at Topeka temporarily by the Wyandotte convention, the first state legislature, in 1861, authorized a vote of the people on the subject. House bill No. 141, to locate definitely the state capital, passed the house May 20, and the senate May 23, 1861. At the November election following, the people voted as follows: Topeka, 7996; Lawrence, 5291; all others 1184. The legislature of 1862 adopted a joint resolution accepting from the Topeka Association land containing twenty acres, equal to four city blocks, for state-house purposes. (Gen. Laws 1862, p. 116.)

The first legislation with reference to the erection of a state-house for the state of Kansas was by the legislature of 1866, chapter 92 of the laws of that session. It was approved by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford February 14, 1866, and published in the Leavenworth *Conservative* of February 18, 1866. It was provided that the building should be erected in Topeka, and plans and specifications prepared by E. Townsend Mix. They were adopted. The following board of commissioners was authorized by the legislature: Governor Samuel J. Crawford, of Anderson county; Secretary of State R. A. Barker, of Atchison county; Auditor J. R. Swallow, of Lyon; Treasurer William Spriggs, of Anderson; and Superintendent of Public Instruction Isaac T. Goodnow, of Riley county. The act appropriated \$10,000 for a capitol, and ordered the sale of ten sections of land, the proceeds to be devoted to this work. The construction was limited to the east wing of the building. The appropriation and sale of lands amounted to \$42,492.65, of which \$39,490 was expended.

October 17, 1866, the corner-stone was laid by the grand lodge of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, assisted by Topeka Lodge No. 17.

An exciting fight occurred among those desiring to furnish material. It was concluded to use a brown sand-stone, obtained near Topeka, about Vinewood. January 23, 1867, it was discovered that this stone used in the foundation was rotten and crumbling, and by spring it was a mass of mud. Rumor at the time said it cost the state \$10,000 to put this foundation in and take it out. The report of the commission says it cost \$500 to take it out. In the governor's message, it is said that this stone was used on the judgment of two eminent scientists. By April 17 it was all out, and D. J. Silvers & Son, contractors, were engaged in putting in a new foundation. The names of all the state officers were chiseled on the corner-stone, and there were those who thought this was what caused the stone to crumble. It was resolved to use stone from Junction City.

July 24 Silvers & Son withdrew from the contract, and it was given to Bogert & Babcock. In August there was a large force at work on the basement.

The legislature of 1866 also provided for the election of a State-house Commission. The legislature of 1867, February 21, held a joint convention to elect this commission. The following were elected: William Bowman, of Atchison; John Hammond, of Lyon; and Daniel Killen, of Wyandotte. This commission elected John G. Haskell architect. The board made an estimate of \$300,000 for the east wing. Their report is printed in House Journal, 1867, pages 98 to 104.

March 4, 1869, the legislature authorized the issue of \$150,000 bonds for the capitol building. A joint committee of the senate and house, session of 1869, made a report (pages 359-363, Senate Journal) that there has already been expended on the east wing \$298,000, and that \$118,967 will be needed to complete the job.

March 4, 1869, \$70,000 in state bonds were issued.

December 25, 1869, the state officers leave the old building, 425 and 427 Kansas avenue, and occupy the east wing of the present state-house, on the state-house grounds.

The supreme court was assigned to the basement, on the ground floor, south side, in a room 25 by 50 feet; law office rooms 25 by 25; and the state library had 25 by 50 feet; and besides these there was one office 12 by 15 feet. The second story had seven offices each 25 by 25, and one office 25 by 12. These rooms were assigned to the state officers. The third floor was divided by a temporary partition, with the house of representatives on the south, in a room 43 by 73 feet, and the senate on the north side, 27 by 63 feet. The house had three rooms attached and the senate two rooms.

A joint committee of the senate and house, session of 1870, composed of M. V. Voss, M. M. Murdock, L. D. Bailey, Z. Jackson, and John McClenahan, report on the state-house that all together the work had been done as fair and reasonable as possible. (Senate Journal 1870, pages 173-177.) The State-house Commission reported, December 30, 1869, that \$147,588.29 had already been expended.

December 31, 1870, the State-house Commissioners report that \$30,506 had been expended on the east portico and asked for \$12,500 more.

March 10, 1874, the legislature repealed the act creating the State-house Commission.

On April 22, 1875, appointed Arbor Day by proclamation of Mayor T. J. Anderson, the people of Topeka planted about 800 trees in the state-house yard.

No appropriation for the capitol was made in 1870, except \$4707.16 in a miscellaneous bill. In 1871 there was \$5000 given, to be expended on the grounds. The legislature of 1872 expended \$5000 on the grounds and \$25,000 on the east portico, or a total for the year of \$25,559.16. In 1873 there was expended on the portico \$9500, and on the grounds \$350. In 1875 \$3000 was expended on a fire-proof vault for the state treasurer.

The legislature of 1879, chapter 168 of the Session Laws, authorized the construction of the west wing and the appointment of a State-house Commission. A direct appropriation of \$60,000 and a levy of one-half of a mill for 1879 and one-half of a mill for 1880 were made. The act provided that the west wing should be four feet wider and six feet longer than the east wing, and the several stories of the same height.

March 12, 1879, Gov. John P. St. John appointed as said State-house Commissioners John B. Anderson, of Geary county; H. H. Williams, of Miami; and John Hammond, of Lyon county. March 27, E. T. Carr was elected architect and George Ropes assistant. The commission adopted Cottonwood Falls stone.

June 2, a contract for building the west wing was awarded to William Tweeddale & Co., for \$134,883.

February 16, 1880, the basement story of the west wing was done.

January 17, 1881, the new hall of the house in the west wing was first used by the members. It was unplastered, and a temporary raised floor was provided.

By act of the legislature of 1881, approved February 11, the construction of the main building was authorized. A levy of one-half mill for 1881 and the same for 1882 were made, to pay for the work.

The legislature of 1881 granted the right to the Topeka Library Association to erect a building on the northeast corner of the state-house square (house bill No. 243). It was approved by Governor St. John March 5, 1881.

April 8 the second floor of the west wing was assigned to the auditor, treasurer, and superintendent of schools.

December 2, 1884, the foundation of the main building was completed. It was placed down to rock, twenty-two to twenty-four feet below the surface.

In 1884 J. M. Hood served on the commission in place of H. H. Williams. May 8, 1885, J. A. Butler was appointed commissioner, and John B. Anderson resigned, leaving the commission for 1885, E. T. Carr, John Hammond, and J. A. Butler.

The legislature of 1885 made a levy of one-half mill for 1885 and one-half mill for 1886.

May 17, 1885, the work of remodeling the second floor of the east wing for the senate chamber began, in charge of Haskell & Wood, architects, L. M. Wood, designer. The roof, stone cornice and balustrades had also to be remodeled, at a cost of \$17,444.

January 19, 1886, at 11 o'clock, the senate convened in their new senate chamber. This was a special session. Hon. A. P. Riddle, lieutenant-governor, made an interesting historical address before proceeding with the business.

The remodeling of the senate chamber caused an investigation and a caustic report by the committee on state affairs. (Pages 779-862, House Journal, special session, 1885.) The question at issue was whether the State-house Commission were limited to \$75,000. E. T. Carr, chairman of the board, filed his statement in manuscript with the State Historical Society.

August 31, 1886, George H. Evans has about one-half the outside walls of the main building up, and is commencing on the rotunda.

October 7, expenditures on the senate chamber to date, \$116,459.65.

October 9, 1886, contract let for the iron floor-beams for the first floor, main building.

November 11, 1886, the outside walls and partition walls of the basement completed, and four piers, which form the base of the dome, are up seventeen feet.

H. H. Williams, Alexander Love and N. A. Adams constituted the State-house Commission in 1886.

The legislature of 1887 levied one-half mill for 1887 and one-half mill for 1888, for state-house purposes.

On January 25 of this year a joint committee, composed of Senators H. B. Kelly and A. L. Redden and Representatives J. M. Simpson, S. W. Bard, and C. W. Benning, appointed to examine plans and estimates for the main building, reported as follows: "We find, in our judgment, that the plans and specifications presented by McDonald Bros., of Louisville, Ky., are preferable, and that their estimates were satisfactory, and so we advised the Board of State-house Commissioners, and respectfully recommend their adoption."

March 1, 1887, the board contracted with the McDonald Bros. for their plans, and Kenneth McDonald was employed as state-house architect.

April 28, 1887, Sol. Miller, in the *Troy Chief*, condemns the extravagant expenditures on the state-house; condemns the dismissal of Architect Ropes; asserts that the Topeka people seem to think the greater the amount of money sunk in the building the less chance for its removal, and that a large proportion of the money expended goes to the sharks of Topeka, who thus live off the state. He asserts that the state could save hundreds of thousands of dollars by abandoning the present building and erecting a new one in some other location, under different management from that now in control.

September 30, 1888, the interior walls and piers of the dome are up to a level with the attic story; fourth-floor beams now being placed in position; night force at work on iron work; saws on the stone never stop. N. A. Adams, Alex. Love, and William Bowman, State-house Commission for the years 1887 and 1888.

The legislature of 1889 made a levy of two-fifths of a mill for 1889 and the same for 1890.

December 21, 1888, work closed for the year. Carpenters building a covered passageway connecting the first and second stories of the east and west wings.

February 16, 1889, Alfred R. Arguet commences work building the stone steps on the north and south approaches.

May 1, 1889, Kenneth McDonald let out, and George Ropes made architect.

May 21, 1889, George H. Evans & Co. got a contract for roofing the main building and dome, the hollow tile and brick floors, arches and ceiling arches, and some iron and brass work, for \$197,194.

September 13, 1889, the main arch at the north entrance cracking because of the immense weight, nearly 200 tons. Commission selects two Kansas City architects, Messrs. Van Brunt and F. W. Setton, and two from Topeka, J. C. Holland, and Mr. Putnam from the Santa Fe, who pronounced it unsafe, but having been built according to plans.

December 18, 1889, the secretary of state says there has been expended to date on the capitol building \$1,465,577.63.

The legislature of 1891 appropriated \$59,000 for the state-house.

The legislature of 1891 created the Board of Public Works. J. S. Emery, Sol. Miller and John H. Smith were appointed. This board made John G. Haskell architect.

In 1893 S. M. Scott, William Wykes and R. B. Kepley were appointed Board of Public Works.

In 1893 Seymour Davis was made architect.

In 1895 Sol. Miller, John Seaton and Michael Heery were appointed Board of Public Works. They served also for the year 1896.

The legislature of 1895 appropriated \$50,000 and levied a tax of one-fourth of a mill for the years 1895 and 1896 for state-house. The work for this year amounted to \$143,185.37.

In 1895 and 1896 J. C. Holland was elected state architect and state-house architect.

May 1, 1896, the amount expended to this date, including discount and interest on bonds, was \$2,783,712.73; not counting interest and discount, the cost, \$2,084,848.30, apportioned as follows: East wing, including the remodeling, \$481,000; west wing, \$314,237; central portion, including the dome, \$1,289,611.30.

July 8, 1896, contract made with Kansas City Bank Gravel Company for walks and drives, for \$800.

November 7, 1896, J. C. Holland, architect, and John F. Stanton, assistant.

December 6, 1896, on motion of Secretary of State Bush, a committee composed of R. H. Semple, George H. Evans and W. E. Hopkins was appointed to work with and under the instruction of the state-house architect, to make a thorough investigation into the alleged frauds in the letting and execution of contracts on the state-house construction during the former administration.

Armory removed from state-house grounds March, 1897; was built during Governor Anthony's time.

February 3, 1897, W. C. Hills, assistant architect, discharged.

Legislature of 1897 appropriated \$16,600 for grounds, and the unexpended balance of the tax levied for 1895 and 1896.

June 26, 1897, T. H. Lescher elected state-house architect for the term of two years.

August 31, 1897, ordered that the architect prepare plans for completing dome.

September 7, 1897, several contracts let for work on state-house — small jobs.

November 6, 1897, contract made for completing iron, sheet-metal and copper work on dome to Louis Van Dorp, for \$13,800.

March 21, 1898, contract for frescoing the interior of the dome given to Jerome Fidelli, \$1546.72.

Electric-light plant placed in state-house and accepted December 9, 1898.

The Board of Public Works gradually went into a state of innocuous desuetude. The legislature of 1895 began to ignore it in the appropriation of money. The sessions of 1895, 1897 and 1899 ordered that all moneys for the state-house be spent under the direction of the Executive Council, and Governor Stanley declined to appoint a board.

May 23, 1899, walks on the grounds cost to date \$10,230.81.

July 1, 1899, the fourth floor was entirely unfinished; third, second and first floor halls and corridors unfinished; basement and south half and state library unfinished.

John F. Stanton elected architect of the state-house June 30, 1899.

October 20, 1899, it was ordered that estimates be made of cost of completing third and fourth floors.

The legislature of 1899 levied one and one-fourth mills tax for 1899 and the same for 1900.

November 28, 1900, State Historical Society given south wing, fourth floor; metal furnishing for library costing \$11,718 ordered.

The session of 1901 appropriated \$100,000 for the completion of the state house, and \$14,500 to purchase site and building heating plant separate. A location opposite the south and east corner of the ground, Tenth and Jackson, was purchased and the plant erected during that year.

Executive mansion purchased April 27, 1901.

January 21, 1902, contracts were let for completing the first floor.

James M. Harvey was the first governor to occupy the offices in the southeast corner of the east wing, and Edmund N. Morrill to occupy the elegant and commodious quarters assigned the governor in the main building.

The Flour City Ornamental Iron Company awarded a contract for the inside iron and marble stairways, \$26,650. Their last voucher for this work was paid March 24, 1903, which, excepting a small contract for frescoing halls on third and fourth floors, made January 28, 1903, was the last act in the completion of the Kansas state capitol.

THE ELEVENTH KANSAS REGIMENT AT PLATTE BRIDGE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by S. H. FAIRFIELD,* of Alma.

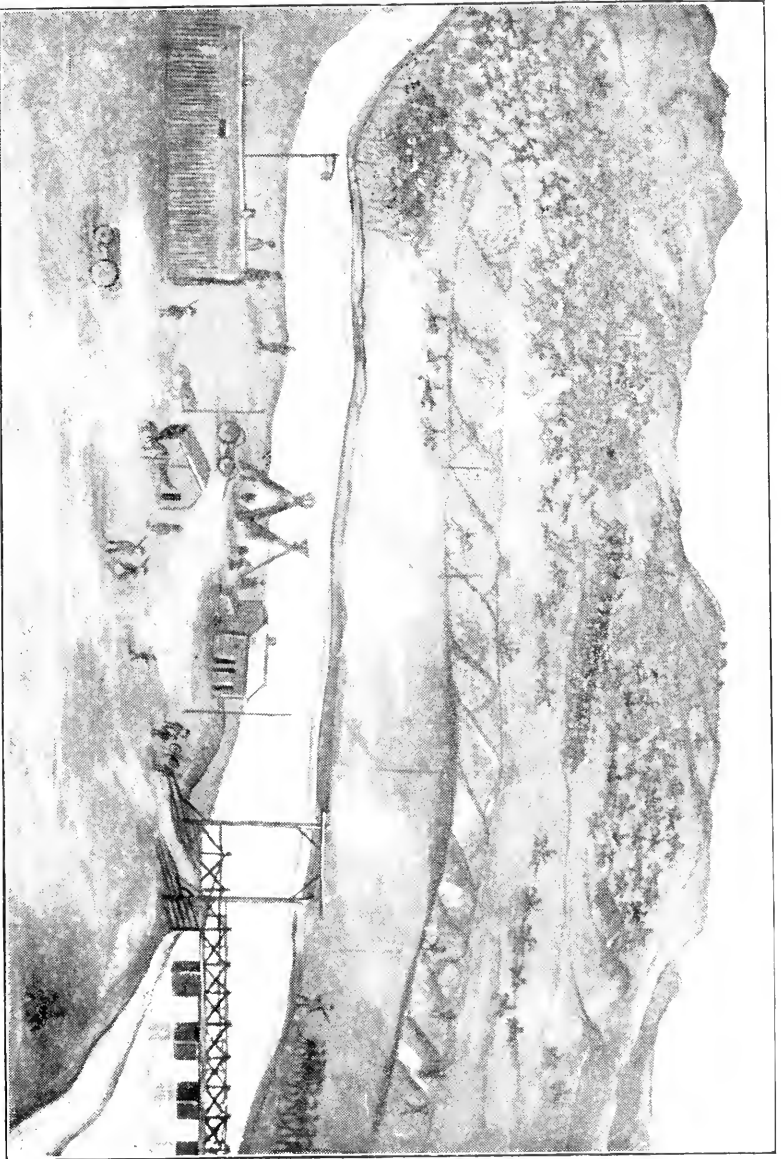
THAT mighty army of boys in blue that went forth at country's call to fight for freedom and native land is fast melting away. It is disappearing like the morning cloud and the early dew. In the passing away of Comrade Henry Grimm,† one of the victims of the Platte Bridge massacre, the campaign of the Eleventh Kansas regiment against the Indians at the close of the civil war is brought vividly to my mind.

Henry Grimm was wounded in a battle with hostile Indians at Platte Bridge, Wyoming territory, 120 miles west of Fort Laramie. The battle lasted during the three days of July 25, 26, and 27, 1865. It may be interesting to the present generation to learn something from those who were actual participants in those eventful, exciting times of forty years ago, the results of which meant so much for the future of Kansas, and tolled the death-knell for the "poor Indian."

Kansas was menaced on her eastern border by a large Confederate army and numerous bands of bushwhackers thirsting for Kansas blood, and on the south and west by nearly all the hostile tribes of Indians of the whole country, who had been driven westward and still westward for centuries, until at last, on the Western plains, they came to a halt, and said to the pale-faced brother, "Thus far we will go, and no further." They were willing, however, to make a treaty of peace, the terms of which were that the white man should not settle on any more of their lands; that their hunting-grounds should not be invaded nor their game destroyed (thus taking away their only means of subsistence), and that no inroads should be made through their territory. But the white man had discovered gold and rich minerals in the mountains beyond the plains, and thousands of seekers for the yellow metal rushed through the Indian country, killing and destroying their game. Long trains of wagons were winding their way over the plains; the mysterious telegraph wires were stretching across their hunting-grounds to the mountains; engineers were surveying a route for a track for the

* S. H. FAIRFIELD was born September 4, 1833, in Middleton, Essex county, Massachusetts. Came to Kansas September, 1856, in company with Northern immigrants, led by James Redpath. Settled at Wabaunsee. Was one of seven original members, with letters, who, in 1857, organized the Congregational church at Wabaunsee, sometimes called the "Beecher Bible and rifle church." In 1859 was married to Miss M. K. Burt, of Tabor, Iowa. Was doorkeeper of the state senate in 1861; also of the high court of impeachment. Enlisted in company K, Eleventh Kansas volunteers, September, 1861. Was assigned to duty as postmaster of his division and of the army of the border. In 1863 had the entire charge of the military mail in Kansas City for Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado. March, 1865, was detailed as clerk in the quartermaster's department, district of the plains. In June rejoined his company at Horse Shoe, Wyo. Ter. Was mustered out of the service at Fort Leavenworth September 15, 1865. While in the army, was in the battles of Maysville, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, Van Buren, Lexington, Big Blue, and Westport. Was elected county clerk of Wabaunsee county in 1866. Served as county treasurer four years and one-half, and eighteen years register of deeds. Was editor and proprietor of the *Alma Union* two years, and trustee of Washburn College twenty-five years.

† HENRY GRIMM died near Volland, Wabaunsee county, Sunday morning, January 3, 1904. He was born in Weinsberg, Wurtemberg, Germany, June 16, 1831. He came to America in 1852, settling at the old town of Westport, now a portion of Kansas City, where he remained until 1857, when he removed to Volland. In 1857 he married Miss Caroline Graff. He left a fine residence and 2000 acres of land. He suffered all his days from the arrow wounds received at the Platte river bridge. He was the father of fourteen children, eight boys and six girls.



PLATTE RIVER BRIDGE.

In Wyoming, 120 miles west of Fort Laramie. From a pencil sketch made by a member of the Eleventh Kansas who was there and participated in the fight, July 29-31, 1865.

iron horse, and all without saying as much as "By your leave" to the Indians. Too plainly their game would soon be gone, their hunting-grounds taken from them, and they themselves without a country.

The destruction, under Colonel Chivington, of a Cheyenne village, where all of their old men, women and children were massacred, terribly exasperated the tribes. In their desperation they started on the war-path, all the numerous tribes of Indians on the plains and in the mountains banding together in the death-struggle for their homes and hunting-grounds. One military commander declared that never in all the history of the tribes did they do such fighting. General Mitchell said that the tribes engaged in the Northwest were the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Brules, and Ogallala Sioux, a portion of the Blackfeet, and a large part of what were known as Missouri River Sioux. All were well supplied from some source, said to be the Mormons, with the best of modern firearms and ammunition.

In 1865, after gold was discovered in Colorado, that territory had more than 50,000 inhabitants, and all the supplies for this multitude, as well as for the numerous forts and posts on the plains and in the mountains, and New Mexico, had to be hauled from the Missouri river in wagons, distances of 500 to 1000 miles. There was no railroad nearer than St. Joseph, Mo. All of the lines of communication from the Missouri river to the mountains had to be guarded by soldiers, and all the trains passing over these routes were obliged to have a heavy escort. Major-general Dodge, in his report to the secretary of war, said that the Indians held the entire overland route from Julesburg to Junction station, near Denver; that they had destroyed the telegraph lines, captured trains, burned ranches, and murdered men, women and children indiscriminately, and that on the southern route a similar state of affairs existed; that every Indian tribe capable of mischief, from the British possessions on the north to the Red river on the south, was at war with us, and that not a train or coach of any kind could cross the plains in safety without being guarded. As soon as troops could be spared from the Eastern army they were hurriedly transported to the department of the West, some 25,000 troops being sent to the Western frontier.

Our regiment, the Eleventh Kansas cavalry, under Col. P. B. Plumb, on its return from the campaign against General Price, October 21 to 26, 1864, was ordered to Fort Riley, to be put in readiness for the campaign on the frontier. February 20, 1865, we took up the line of march for Fort Kearney, although one-third of the regiment were still dismounted, and fully one-half not properly clothed, owing to the lack of supplies at Fort Riley. Four days out the mercury dropped to thirty degrees below zero, yet the march was continued for days and weeks without fuel, except such as was made from buffalo-chips. At Fort Kearney the regiment was inspected, its unmounted men were supplied with horses, and it was again started on the march. We crossed the Platte river at Julesburg, where the river was half a mile wide, amidst floating ice, and camped on the north bank for several days, during a driving snow-storm. From this point we proceeded up the North Platte some 200 miles, to Fort Laramie. Here the regiment was distributed to various posts and stations throughout the northern subdistricts of the plains, commanded by Col. Thomas Moonlight.*

* THOMAS MOONLIGHT was born in Forfarshire, Scotland, November 10, 1833. He was a lad of wild, adventurous spirit, who had read much about America, and his mind was filled with a desire to see the country. At thirteen years of age he ran away from school, shipped for America as a fore-castle hand, and landed in Philadelphia without a penny. He crossed the river into New Jersey and obtained work in a glass factory, afterwards on a farm, and in various capacities, until May 17, 1853, when he enlisted in the regular army as an artilleryman, and in the following August was ordered to Texas. He served there until the fall of 1856. For a

Most of the posts had stockades, built of logs twenty feet long, set in the ground close together and pinned, and port-holes made through them. These stockades held a company or more of men, with their horses and transportation. A part of the regiment was stationed at the different posts for over 100 miles up the North Platte—Horse Shoe Creek, La Bonta, Deer Creek, and Platte Bridge. All these posts had stockades, and were from thirty to thirty-five miles apart. Troops from these posts guarded the overland telegraph, furnished escorts, and scouted the country for marauding parties of Indians.

On the 20th of May 200 Indians attacked the Deer Creek station, captured some thirty horses, and were repulsed by forces under Col. P. B. Plumb. On the 27th Colonel Moonlight captured Two Face and Black Foot, Sioux chiefs, with their bands. They had with them a Mrs. Eubanks and her little daughter.* She had been captured by the Cheyennes on the Little Blue, and was in a pitiable condition. Moonlight says that he "tied the two chiefs up by the neck with a trace-chain, suspended from a beam of wood, and left them there without any foothold." I remember seeing the cruel savages hanging by the neck on one of the hills north of the fort. Seven hundred Indians were fed for several weeks at Laramie by the government, but as it was costly to keep them there they

year he soldiered in Florida against the Seminoles. His command was then ordered North, and he was mustered out May 17, 1858, at Fort Leavenworth, having risen to the rank of orderly sergeant. He was immediately appointed chief clerk of the commissary department at Fort Leavenworth, remaining in this capacity until October, 1859, when he purchased a farm in Leavenworth county, which he occupied until the breaking out of the war, in 1861. June 19 of that year he raised a battery of light artillery, and he was immediately mustered in as a captain of artillery. He participated in battles of Drywood, Bollinger's Mills, Morristown, and Osceola. In May, 1862, he was appointed by President Lincoln assistant adjutant general, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. In September, 1862, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Eleventh Kansas infantry, and was chief of staff under General Blunt, participating in the battles of Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, and Van Buren. He engaged in all the battles of the Price raid in, 1864. He was mustered out August, 1865, a brevet brigadier-general. In 1864 he was a presidential elector for Lincoln. In 1867 he was appointed United States collector. In 1868 he was elected secretary of state of the state of Kansas. In 1872 he was elected state senator for Leavenworth county; then he had some surveying contracts, and in 1877 was city marshal of Leavenworth. He was a Republican until 1870, when he became a Democrat. In 1884 President Cleveland appointed him governor of Wyoming. In 1892 Cleveland made him minister to Bogota. He died at Leavenworth, February 7, 1899. He was a very forceful political orator.

*Coutant's History of Wyoming, pages 441, 442, publishes the report of Colonel Moonlight, giving an account of the capture and hanging of Two Face and Black Foot, and the recovery of Mrs. Eubanks and daughter. The History of Wyoming says the execution of these two Indian chiefs caused quite a sensation at Fort Laramie at the time. Colonel Bullock, the post trader, made a strong protest against the execution, and when he had finished Colonel Moonlight said: "Well, Colonel Bullock, you think there will be a massacre? Let me tell you there will be two Indians who will not take part in it. Good day, sir." And Moonlight bowed the post trader out of his quarters.

Another account, from a Denver newspaper, published in "The Overland Stage," by Frank A. Root, pages 353-356, says that Mrs. Eubanks's husband, Joseph Eubanks, was a stage-driver and station-keeper. On August 7, 1864, her husband and all her family, except a child one and a half years old, were killed, and her husband scalped before her eyes; ten settlers and nine stage men were also killed by the Cheyennes. Mrs. Eubanks was in captivity fourteen months. This account says that it was this outbreak of the Indians that caused the Sand Creek massacre by Colonel Chivington, November 29, 1864, about forty miles from Fort Lyon. Chivington in his report says he killed between 500 and 600 Indians, captured 550 ponies, mules, and horses, and destroyed all their lodges and other paraphernalia, himself losing ten killed and forty wounded. This account says that Colonel Baum was in command of Laramie, and that he reported to General Connor that he had the three chiefs, Two Face, Doc Billy, and Big Thunder, who had been specially brutal to Mrs. Eubanks. Connor telegraphed, "Where are those villains now?" and the answer clicked, "In chains." Connor responded, "Hang them in chains." Later Connor messaged: "I was a little hasty. Bring them to Julesburg and give the

were ordered to be sent to Julesburg. Captain Fouts, of the Seventh Iowa, with three troops of cavalry, left Fort Laramie as escort to these 700 Indians. He also had in charge 185 lodges of Sioux Indians, numbering about 2000.

On the second day out, near Fort Mitchell, on the North Platte, the Indians mutinied and made an attack on the escort, killing and mutilating Captain Fouts and several of the soldiers, and then the whole outfit fled across the river. A dispatch was sent to Colonel Moonlight at Fort Laramie, who immediately started in pursuit with a force of California, Ohio and Kansas troops. When 120 miles out, in the early morning at the camp on Dead Man's fork, he was attacked by a large force of Indians. After a sharp engagement they succeeded in stampeding his horses. This necessitated the abandonment of the pursuit. Moonlight burned his saddles and took up the weary march back to Fort Laramie on foot. On his arrival there he was relieved of his command by Gen. P. Edward Connor, commander of the district of the plains, and ordered to Fort Leavenworth, to be mustered out of the service. It was a cruel order and a great injustice to a brave soldier. Colonel Moonlight was the peer of any officer that ever drew sword west of the Missouri river.

The feeling among the soldiers was bitter against General Connor, and there were those among them who would have released him from his command on short notice and without requiring him to report to Fort Leavenworth for muster-out. He kept the Eleventh Kansas in the Indian country two months after they had been ordered home by the government to be mustered out, and then took their horses and transportation from them out on the desert, hundreds of miles away, letting them find their way to civilization.

General Connor gave the following order to the commanders of his expedition: "You will not receive overtures of peace or submission from Indians, but will attack and kill every male Indian over twelve years of age." How will this compare with General Weyler, the Spanish butcher, in Cuba? Some one has said that you only have to scratch the skin of a civilized man to find the savage.

On the 11th day of May five companies of the Eleventh Kansas, under Colonel Plumb, were ordered to Fort Halleck, 120 miles from Fort Laramie, to

wretches a trial." The colonel reported: "Dear General—I obeyed your first order before I received the second." Mrs. Eubanks many years after lived at McCune, Kan.

The following is the report of Col. Thomas Moonlight, dated Fort Laramie, May 27, 1865, addressed to Capt. George F. Price (Rebellion Records, series I, volume 48, part 1, page 276):

"I have the honor to submit the following report of the capture of Two Face and Black Foot, Sioux chiefs of the Ogallala tribe, along with their band, and the execution of the two chiefs:

"About the 18th instant some Indians were discovered on the north side of the Platte, near the Indian village, encamped ten miles east of Laramie. Mr. Elston, in charge of the Indian village, took a party of Indian soldiers and captured what was found to be Two Face, having a white woman prisoner (Mrs. Eubanks) and her little daughter, whom he had purchased from the Cheyennes. During the same evening and next morning early the other Indians who were with Two Face, and who had fled on approach of Elston's party, were also captured and lodged in the guard-house here. Mrs. Eubanks gave information of the whereabouts of Black Foot and the village, and a party of Indian soldiers started to bring them in, dead or alive. The village was found about 100 miles northeast of here, on Snake fork, and compelled to surrender without being able to make any fight. Black Foot and his companions were placed in the guard-house with the others, making six men in confinement. Both of the chiefs openly boasted that they had killed white men, and that they would do it again, if let loose: so I concluded to tie them up by the neck with a trace-chain, suspended from a beam of wood, and leave them there without any foothold. The property captured was as follows: Six United States mules, three United States horses, five mules not branded, but I believe claimed by some party down the river, and fifteen ponies, in miserable condition, which I left in charge of Mr. Elston for the use of the Indian soldiers in scouting. The other animals were turned in to the acting assistant quartermaster, to be taken up on his return. On the person of Two Face was found \$220 in greenbacks, which I gave to Mrs. Eubanks, also fifty dollars taken from another of the band. This lady was captured by the Cheyennes on the Little Blue last fall, where her husband was killed, along with several others. She was treated in a heastly manner by the Cheyennes, and purchased from them during the winter by Two Face and Black Foot, who compelled her to toil and labor as their squaw, resorting, in some instances, to lashes. She was in a wretched condition when she was brought in, having been dragged across the Platte river with a rope. She was almost naked, and told some horrible tales of the barbarity and cruelty of the Indians."

reopen and protect the route of 400 miles from Camp Collins, Colo., to Green river. For 200 miles of this distance the Indians had full sway. They had captured all the horses and destroyed all the stage company's property. Colonel Plumb distributed his five companies at different points along the entire line, and again opened the overland communication between the East and the West. The stages, loaded with United States mail, were drawn by cavalry horses. Soldiers were drivers. His troops were constantly on duty protecting the telegraph line, escorting trains, and repelling attacks of the Indians, who were always on hand, ready to strike at any unguarded point.

The wily foe well understood that if the soldiers' horses could be stampeded they had them at a great disadvantage, and they hovered around the posts and lines of travel, watching for a chance to make a dash when the troops were off their guard or in small bodies. The headquarters of the troops on the North Platte were at Platte Bridge, under command of Maj. Martin Anderson,* of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry, company I, of the same regiment, under Captain Greer, being on duty there.

Platte Bridge was a strategic point.† It was here that the savages from the Powder river country crossed to the lines of travel on the southern overland route, where they reaped a rich harvest, intercepting travel, plundering and robbing richly laden trains, United States mail, and valuable express. The military forces at the bridge were a hindrance to their predatory raids, and the redskins were determined to remove the soldiers out of their path. This made the post a dangerous one for a small body of troops to hold. The Indians were always bold and ugly at that point. June 26, Lieut. W. Y. Drew, of company I, with twenty-five men, while repairing the telegraph line, had a hard scrimmage with some 300 warriors that pounced down upon them. On the 2d of July the whole of company I was attacked by several hundred Indians, some twelve miles from the bridge. Major Anderson then ordered a detachment of troops from D, H and K companies to report at headquarters at the bridge for duty, thus bringing up the number of enlisted men to 120 and two teepees of Snake Indians. This force was wholly inadequate to be stationed in the heart of the Indian country swarming with savages.

* MARTIN ANDERSON was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, September 17, 1817. In 1833, after receiving a common-school education, he went to Pittsburgh, Pa., and learned the carpenter's trade. He followed the trade in Ohio until he came to Kansas, in June, 1857, settling at Valley Falls. January 1, 1858, he moved to Holton. In 1859 he was one of twelve men who organized the Republican party in Jackson county. The party were assaulted, and Mr. Anderson received a blow on the head with a club, from which he was unconscious for seventy-two hours. He was in the care of a physician for six months. In the fall of 1858 he was elected probate judge, serving one term. In 1860 he was elected to the territorial legislature. In 1861 he was elected to the first state legislature, and was the main instigator of the investigation which ended in the impeachment of the auditor and secretary of state. In 1862 he enlisted as a private soldier in the Eleventh Kansas, and was made captain of company B. He participated in the battles of Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, and Van Buren. In 1863 he became senior major of the regiment. In the Price raid, in 1864, he commanded a battalion of cavalry in the battles of Lexington, Little Blue, Big Blue, and Westport. At the close of the campaign against the Indians he returned with his regiment to Leavenworth, and was mustered out in September, 1865. He returned to a farm near Circleville. In 1866 he was elected state treasurer, serving one term. He served two terms as mayor of Holton. April 19, 1838, he was married to Ellen Hauck, who was born in Maryland, December 9, 1819. The fruit of this marriage was two children—Thomas Jefferson Anderson and Luticia Ann. Mr. Anderson removed to Topeka in 1892, where he died, July 9, 1897.

† Only two names can be recognized on the latest map of Wyoming, and those are Labonte and Deer creek, the latter being about 100 miles on an air line from Fort Laramie, in the southwest corner of Converse county. Platte Bridge was thirty miles up the river from Deer creek, which would be about Casper, in Natrona county.

About the middle of July I went with a mail detail of twelve men from Platte Bridge 100 miles down the line toward Fort Laramie. We were gone ten days, having to travel mostly in the night, as it was unsafe to travel by daylight in small bodies. While at Horse Shoe station we learned that the Indians had appeared again along the North Platte, and in our rear, in large numbers, and were liable to give us serious trouble on our return. We arrived at Deer Creek, where our company was stationed, on the 24th of July. Another detail of twelve men under Corp. Henry Grimm relieved us and proceeded to Platte Bridge with the mail. They arrived there on the 25th; also a small detachment of the Eleventh Ohio from Sweet Water bridge. The Indians had been hanging around the bridge for several days and were bold and saucy, which indicated that they were there in force. In the early morning of July 25 a small band attempted to stampede the horses that were grazing just below the bridge on the south side of the river, where company I, commanded by Capt. J. E. Greer, was camped, but the soldiers finally succeeded in getting them into the stockade.

Reinforcements coming from the post, the Indians were driven back. The Indians rallied, and in their turn drove our boys back and recovered the body of their dead chief.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the 26th, a train of wagons from Sweet Water, escorted by twenty-five men, under command of Sergt. Amos J. Custard, company H, Eleventh Kansas, was seen coming over the hills some two or three miles away. The howitzers were fired to warn them of danger.

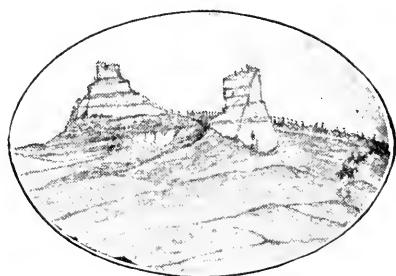
A detail of twenty-five men from I and K companies, under Sergeant Hankammer, including the mail party under Corporal Grimm, was ordered to go to the relief of Sergeant Custard. Lieut. Caspar Collins, Eleventh Ohio, who had just arrived with Grimm's mail party, volunteered to take command of the detachment. They crossed the bridge to the north side of the river, and at full speed made their way toward the hills. They had proceeded about half a mile when, from behind the hills and out of the ravines, came swooping down upon them hundreds of Indians, yelling, whooping, shooting arrows and rifles, and riding in circles about them like so many fiends, while a large body of them, coming down from the bluffs, attempted to get between them and the bridge. Captain Greer, company I, seeing the peril threatening the brave boys under Collins, charged across the bridge with the balance of his company and poured a deadly fire into the howling savages, driving them back, and thus opening a way of retreat for Collins and his men, if they succeeded in making their way through the hundreds of savages that surrounded them. Collins, finding that more than half of his men were killed or wounded, gave command for every one to make for the bridge. It was a race for life. Nehring, a private of company K, Eleventh Kansas, not understanding the order, dismounted to fight from a deep washout in the road. Grimm, looking around, yelled to him in German "To the bridge!" That was the last that was seen of poor Nehring. Camp, also of company K, Eleventh Kansas, lost his horse and then ran for dear life, but when within a few rods of safety was overtaken and tomahawked.* Sergeant Hankammer's horse was wounded, but carried him safely to the bridge and there dropped.

A wounded soldier fell from his horse and called out to his comrades, "Do n't

*Camp's horse was killed and he himself wounded. After he fell he crawled on his hands and knees to within 500 yards of the river, when an Indian buried a tomahawk in his head. W. K. Lord, now of Dodge City, a company I soldier, lying under the bank of the river, fired and killed the Indian. The soldiers at the bridge covered the body of Camp with their rifles while Lord and two comrades went out and brought him in.

leave me! do n't leave me!" Collins turned and rode back to the man, and thus lost all possibility of saving his own life. The brave lieutenant was mounted on a magnificent horse, and might have escaped had he not gone back on this errand of mercy. It was a miracle that any man escaped. Our friendly Snake Indians reported that they heard the order given by the chiefs of the wild Indians, "Stop firing! You are killing our own men." This, added to the fact that the Indians were so massed, was what probably saved our boys. The bridge across the Platte was of 1000 feet span and the stockade was on the south bank of the river, near the bridge. Our soldiers held the bridge and stockade, although the Indians crossed the river above and below

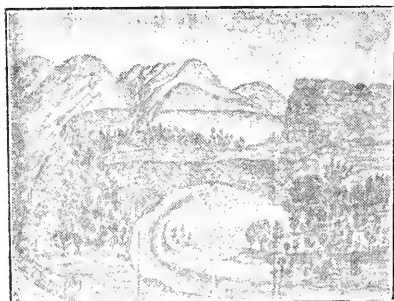
the bridge and fought desperately, harassing our forces on every side throughout that day and a part of the next. On the evening of the 26th two men came out of the chaparral in a bend of the river on the south side, about one-half a mile above the bridge. A party went out to rescue them. They proved to be company D boys from Sergeant Custard's command. They said that, when they heard the howitzers in the morning, Custard ordered a corporal to take five men



COURT HOUSE ROCK.

Fifty miles northwest of Julesburg, on the old military trail from Julesburg to Fort Laramie. Situated in a sandy desert and is apparently solid sand. Supposed to have been a high hill or mountain once, and that the storms which have been sweeping the desert for ages have whittled it down to its present grotesque shape. The Eleventh Kansas, on its way to Wyoming, circled this strange natural monument and some of the boys inscribed their names on the highest pinnacle.

and go forward to see what the firing meant. They had proceeded but a short distance when they were cut off from Custard's escort. Pursued by the Indians they struck for the river, but only three of them succeeded in crossing to the south bank, and one of these was killed before the friendly shelter of the chaparral was reached. The nineteen men remaining with the train under Custard were also surrounded, but made a brave fight from ten in the forenoon until three in the afternoon. From that time there was an ominous silence which, to the troops at the bridge, boded ill for Custard and his men. Five squadrons of the Sixth Michigan cavalry at Laramie were ordered by forced marches to Platte Bridge to relieve the garrison. Major Anderson, on the evening of the 26th, sent a telegram to Lieutenant Hubbard, at Deer Creek, giving an account of the battle, but the Indians, during its transmission, cut the wires, so the message as received was only fragmentary.



LA PUELLE CREEK.

A small stream that enters the North Platte some sixty miles below Platte Bridge. It takes its rise somewhere west of the Deer Creek range of mountains. By some convulsion of nature the mountain range was cleft, and a deep gorge made for the stream to pass through. Entering the valley on the east side, it flows under a natural arched bridge, by a channel made through solid rock. The banks of La Puelle creek were lined with trees, mostly box-elders. Near a bridge on this creek a company of the Eleventh Kansas was stationed for four weeks. While there a band of Indians undertook to stampede the horses, but were repulsed without loss. Had they come down in force, as they did at Platte Bridge a few weeks later, there would not have been a soldier left to tell the tale, there being no stockade nor any protection for horses or men, while the nearest post was thirty miles away.

Major Anderson issued an order to Lieutenant Hubbard, at Deer Creek, to re-enforce him at once, as his troops were nearly out of ammunition, and he could hold out but a short time. Two friendly Snake Indians were paid \$150 to take the order to Deer Creek, thirty-five miles distant. They started from the bridge after dark, took to the mountains and followed down the range, and delivered the order just at dawn the next morning. Lieutenant Hubbard put his company in readiness at once and made a forced march to the bridge.

Arriving there about three o'clock in the afternoon, we were cheered lustily as we came in. The main body of the Indians had apparently withdrawn. The next morning we took an ambulance and went out to gather up our dead. We found Nehring with his arms bound to his body by telegraph wire, his hands and feet cut off, his tongue and heart cut out, and otherwise horribly mutilated. Nearly one hundred arrows were sticking in his body; a long spear pierced it through to the ground. Lieutenant Collins was found a half-mile from the bridge, stripped, and cut up in a fiendish manner. The company I soldier was also stripped and mutilated, but for some reason Camp's body had escaped such awful indignity. The arrow that pierced Grimm was pulled through after the feather end was cut off. The arrow in his spine remained there for over four hours during the battle. He begged the doctor to take it out, and not let him die with it in his back.

On the afternoon of the 27th, twenty-five of us boys, under Lieut. Paul Grimm, went out in search of Sergeant Custard and his men. We followed the telegraph road among the hills. Several miles from the bridge we came to a washout, where the boys had made a stand.

On three sides the embankment was three or four feet high, but on the west there was only slight protection. Into this washout they had driven one of their wagons, and from behind such meager embankments the poor fellows fought for their lives for five long hours. Here we found the mangled and mutilated bodies of Sergeant Custard and his eighteen men. Seventeen of them had been left lying upon their faces, their bodies pinioned to the ground with long spears. They had been stripped and cut up in a shocking manner. The wagoner was strapped to his feed-box, and hot irons from the hubs of the wagon-wheels were placed along his back, apparently when he was alive. The charred remains of one man were among the coals where the wagon was burned. The next day another detail of twenty-five men, under command of Lieutenant Hubbard,* went

* Lieut. J. M. Hubbard, now a resident of Middletown, Conn., under date March 5, 1904 writes as follows:

"I have read with great interest your account of the Indian campaign of '65. It recalls vividly the experiences of that eventful summer, although a considerable portion of your narrative is of events with which I was not directly connected.

"I had been on detached service away from the regiment for nearly a year, and rejoined the company, I think in June, at La Prolle Creek, one of our stations which you do not mention. Afterwards we moved to Deer Creek, from which station we made our march to the relief of the garrison at Platte Bridge. I have often thought of that march as apparently involving more of danger than any other undertaking which fell to my lot during my three years of service.

"There were just fifty of us, and we were moving to the relief of a post invested by an uncounted swarm of savages, probably outnumbering us twenty times over or more. And whenever I have thought of it my heart has thrilled with pride at the way the boys of K company faced the situation. There was no sign of flinching, though every one understood the peril of the movement.

"I remember, too, the reply which Henry Grimm made to me when I asked him if he wished us to take him along with us on the homeward march. You know that the doctor had strongly advised against it, and gave very little hope for his life in any event. But it seemed to me that if he was left behind he would be likely to die of homesickness, even if his wound did not prove fatal, and I told him that while the trip would be hard on him, he should go if he wished it, and we would do the best for him we could. Henry said: 'Yes, take me along; if I am to die, I at least want to die on the road home.' I am inclined to think that being on the road home was the very best medicine in the world for him. And the seemingly interminable extent of those dusty plains, as we trailed day after day for forty long summer days to cross them and reach our destination at Fort Leavenworth, to be mustered out of the service and to scatter to our several homes, to take up as best we could the broken threads of civil life! None of us, I think, could ever be just what we were before those three years of army life, or what we would have been if we had never had that experience."

out and buried the poor fellows where they had sacrificed their lives so dearly. A long ditch was dug and lined with blankets. In it the dead were laid side by side, with rubber blankets spread over them, and then the bodies were covered with the sands of the desert. How many Indians were killed in the battle will never be known. In a communication from General Dodge, he says: "Information from our scouts shows that their loss must have been greater than at first supposed. The Indians threw away all the scalps they had taken from our men, a sure sign that they had lost more than they had killed."

It was estimated that over 2000 Indians were engaged in the fight, and that over one-third of Major Anderson's forces were killed or wounded.*

A few days after the battle our regiment was relieved by the Sixth Michigan and we were ordered to Fort Leavenworth to be mustered out; so we soon took up our line of march for the white man's country. Between Fort Laramie and Julesburg all of our serviceable horses were taken from us, and we were left to plod our way several hundred miles on foot. At Fort Kearney our transportation was also taken from us and all of our belongings dumped on the banks of the Platte river. After having served our country faithfully for three years, we felt that we were cruelly and unjustly treated. But the curses of the boys rested on General Connor, commander of the district, and not on our country. There was possibly some excuse for the officers in command. They were at their wits' end as to how to furnish equipment for the contemplated campaign. Troubles arose which were unlooked for when they planned the expedition into the heart of the Indian country. Even before they were sent to the plains most of the horses were worn out by the hard campaigns in the South. Transportation for the troops was insufficient. Added to these difficulties were the insubordination and desertion of the troops. The soldiers claimed that the term for which they enlisted had expired, and that they were entitled to be mustered out, but by some arbitrary power were held in service. Many of the officers were arbitrary and tyrannical, and the soldiers were wicked enough to believe that the general officers were not anxious for the strife to come to an end, but were fighting the Indians on the same principle that boys used to torment hornets, punching their nest just to see them fight. The war department of the plains and the various Indian agents were at swords' points. One was for ex-

*L. W. Emmons, late corporal company L, Eleventh Kansas regiment, writes from 71 Shelby street, Detroit, Mich., under date of March 19, 1904:

"Personally I was not in that bloody scrap at Platte Bridge, my company (L, Capt. Henry Booth) being at that date posted at other points. We had been at Deer Creek, Horse Shoe, La Banta, and other points in that land. I was one of the boys on that 'excursion' to the Old Woman's fork of White river (not Dead Man's fork) under Colonel Moonlight, 115 strong, a part of our company, with a company of California troops, when the redskins stampeded our horses. It was this little troop that was ordered post-haste from Fort Laramie to the rescue of the troops, of which Capt. Wm. D. Fouts, of the Seventh Iowa, and some of his men were butchered. We went with two days' rations, and followed the reds into the hills 120 miles from Laramie, practically without grub, and about 100 miles of the tramp without water. I well remember how angry the California boys were over the loss of our horses, the mutterings and threats against Moonlight; and the first day of our 'retreat' I fully expected to see our colonel plugged in the back by some fool Californian. But no outrage of that nature happened. Immediately on our arrival at Fort Laramie, footsore and tired as we were, our company was ordered back to Fort Halleck, in the southwest. And it was there we were stationed when the affair at Platte Bridge occurred. You say that the loss of the redskins was greater than that of the soldiers because the reds threw away scalps, and so it was, as we at Fort Halleck were in possession of facts in a remarkably short time after the fight. Our information came to us through some 'good Injuns' at the fort, who had their information from passing Indian runners from the scene of the conflict. And the information was that 240 Indians were killed and wounded, and that the soldiers 'fought like devils.' My company was a year on the plains before joining the regiment at Fort Riley on our northwestern trip, previous to which we had done the central and the southern routes from Salina and Fort Larned up the Arkansas valley to Fort Lyon. Myself, with a small detachment of company L, were at Sand creek when Chivington with the First Colorado regiment did the act you mentioned to that band of Indians, who deserved what they got, notwithstanding Chivington was court-martialed, as was Moonlight, without just cause. My company (L) had the pleasure of hoofing it through from Fort Halleck to Fort Leavenworth, about 1000 miles, to be mustered out, and then about 100 miles back home again to God's country, in Pottawatomie county."

termination; the other demanded a treaty of peace. General Dodge, in a communication to General Pope, says: "I desire that the government may understand that it has either got to abandon the country west entirely to the Indians or meet the war issue presented; that there are 15,000 warriors in open hostility against us in the north and about 10,000 in the south, and never before have we had so extensive a war on the plains, so well armed and supplied as now."*

Had the military arm of the government in the West been let loose it would have wiped the redskins off the face of the earth. But a different spirit pervaded the country. It was tired of bloodshed, turmoil, and strife. As soon as the clouds of war had passed over in the South the people began to breathe easier, but, on looking westward, they beheld a dark, ominous cloud rolling up in the sky. They were alarmed and began asking what it meant. Commissioners were sent out by the president to see what was behind the cloud. The secretary of war wrote General Grant: "The president is much concerned about the Indian expedition. The secretary declares his inability to meet an expenditure so large and unexpected, and not sanctioned by the government. Have you any information to relieve the president's anxiety or to satisfy him as to the object or design of the expedition? Who planned it?"

General Grant to Secretary Stanton: "They have been planned under General Pope's direction. I will go to St. Louis in a few days and look into this matter myself."

General Grant to Major-general Pope, commanding the department of Missouri: "The quartermaster and commissary generals report requisitions of such magnitude coming from Leavenworth as to alarm them. Look into this and stop all unnecessary expenditures."

General Pope's headquarters were at St. Louis, and he instructed his generals in the field to plan and manage the campaign against the Indians and make requisitions on the government. They, being on the ground, would know what was best. This proved to be erroneous, for reckless expenditures were made without the approval of the government. The United States quartermaster reported, August 6, 1865, to the secretary of war that \$10,000,000 of supplies had

*Major-general Dodge, in one of his reports, said that there appeared to be a perfect organization extending from Denver to the Missouri river, and that all the rascals in the West were in the combination, stealing and committing all kinds of depredations. Col. Samuel Walker had a sample of it on his way to Fort Laramie with his regiment. He camped one night at a deserted ranch. Some of his soldiers discovered the toes of a man protruding out of the ground. On removing the earth they found the body of a man that had been murdered and placed there but a few days before. The colonel sent a squad of men back, and they learned that an old man and a boy had passed west on the road with a load of apples a few days before. Walker then sent a sergeant and some men west as far as Fort Kearney; there they found a boy sixteen years' old with a team peddling apples. The soldiers took him back to the regiment, and he confessed that he had killed the man. He said they were in camp and the old gentleman was cooking supper, and he came up behind him and brained him with a hatchet and then took his team with the load of apples and went on to Kearney. The colonel called a council of his officers and told them that he had decided to have the young criminal shot, and not turn him loose to kill other men, and his officers coincided with him. A box was made for a coffin from some old boards. The boy stood by with his arms folded, facing the soldiers with their rifles that were drawn up to shoot him, as coolly as if he was having his picture taken. The Nebraska soldiers were greatly incensed at Walker for taking the law into his own hands in their territory. The regiment, on its way west, passed one of their posts. The Nebraska officers took the colonel to task for his presumption. Walker told them that their country was full of desperadoes, and they would kill a man for five dollars. A private stepped up to him and said: "You are a d— liar." He had not more than gotten the words out of his mouth before down came the colonel's revolver onto his head, laying bare his skull. The soldier declared that he would kill Walker if he had to go to the ends of the earth for him. Colonel Walker died a natural death in Lawrence a few years ago. (See sketch of Samuel Walker, sixth volume Kansas Historical Collections, pages 249-274.)

been sent to the army in the west, exclusive of the outfit of the troops, wagons, animals, clothing and stores taken with the troops in their own trains.

Had the expedition which had already started been allowed to go on as planned by General Pope and his generals, the treasury of the United States would have been in a condition similar to that of England at the close of the Boer war.

The peace commissioners sent out by the president, with authority to make treaties with the warlike Indians, in conjunction with the United States Indian agents, succeeded in getting the chiefs of most of the tribes in council. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon until October, when the chiefs of the tribes would meet in council, with the commissioners appointed by the president, to make treaties of perpetual peace, and thus the war was practically ended, and most of the troops in the Indian country were relieved from duty and ordered back to their various states, to be mustered out of the service.

Our regiment having been furnished transportation from a train returning from the mountains, we again took up our weary tramp of 300 miles for home. We did not have the appearance of returning heroes, neither did we look like a very formidable foe. We scattered along the road like so many schoolboys, but always brought up at night with the wagons that held our grub and blankets.

It cheered our hearts when we first saw our dear old Kansas, with her fields of waving corn and broad prairies covered with green, so unlike the desert we had left behind. Above all, it was "home, sweet home," Arriving at Fort Leavenworth, muster-out rolls were prepared and, just three years from the time we were enlisted into the service for three years or during the war, we were mustered out. As soon as the boys were free they made for their homes, to enter again the peaceful walks of life. Friends of a large number of the soldiers came with wagons to take them home, but many had to go on foot, for railroads were an unknown quantity in Kansas in those days.

THE BIG SPRINGS CONVENTION.

Paper read by R. G. ELLIOTT at the meeting of the "Fifty-sixers," at Lawrence, Saturday, September 13, 1902.

IF "every human action gains in honor, in grace, in all true magnificence, by its regard to things to come," what honor should be given to the movement, gentle as the breeze upon the vapor, that condensed and harmonized the heterogeneous and refractory political elements of Kansas, and molded them into a living form, from which was evolved the brightest star in the constellation of states.

Such an agent was the Big Springs convention. Yet, though it imprinted its name indelibly upon the history of Kansas, its position in the chain of events that make up that history has been misplaced, its origin misrepresented, its character misunderstood, and its conclusions misconstrued. From a mistaken point of view, Professor Spring treats it, to use his own phrase, with "verbal caustics," terming it "a kind of organic connection of all the anti-Missouri elements denominating themselves the free-state party." Other writers have taken only the conclusions of the convention as so much prepared matter to be embodied in their histories. Only one seems to have obtained from the outside a comprehensive view, and that only of the bodily organization. As the only appreciative description known to exist, it is worthy of repeating. It was by John Speer, who opposed the movement from its inception:

"The Big Springs convention became noted throughout the Union. . . . It was the first consolidated mass of the freemen of Kansas in resistance to the oppressions attempted by the usurping legislature, and was as intelligent, earnest and heroic a body of men as ever assembled to resist the tyranny of George III. . . . The people came from all portions of the territory. No hamlet or agricultural community was unrepresented. Men started before daylight from dangerous pro-slavery places, like Kickapoo, Delaware, Lecompton, and elsewhere, to avoid interruption if not assassination."

But the full significance of this assembly can be understood only from a comprehensive view of the prevailing conditions that called it into being; and as the germ from which was developed the organization of statehood, the importance of the subject demands for it minute consideration.

The order of statehood development was:

1. Natural inflow of immigration.
2. Organization of the free-state political forces at Big Springs.
3. Adjusting the free-state policy to changed conditions at Grasshopper Falls, August 26, 1857.
4. Assumption of legislative authority by free state men, at the legislative election of October, 1857.
5. Perfecting the development of the free state in the Wyandotte convention.

Other movements were experimental or subsidiary. The prevailing theory, however, that upon which Kansas history has been written, is:

Organized or scientific emigration, imbued, to use Ingalls's term, with the "invincible potency of the Puritan idea."

Organized repudiation of the territorial government by free-state men.

Organization of an experimental, independent state government by free-state men.

The blending of the Topeka state government, through the agency of its executive, with the reformed territorial organization, in 1857-'58.

The Big Springs convention had its origin in the spirit of dissent, fast merging into revolt, against an organized movement proposing armed resistance to the territorial government, and was a departure from the course into which the opponents of slavery were being forced by assumed leaders.

The situation which called the convention into being was one of great peril, both to the political issue in controversy and to the safety of the community. The movement for armed resistance, first openly revealed at the Lawrence celebration of the Fourth of July, 1855, burdened the party of freedom with a charge of insurrection, and involved the whole territory in a conflict with an unscrupulous and relentless enemy, which could command for its most perverse acts the support of the federal government. In fact, organized resistance compelled federal interference, and provoked lawless retaliation. In short, with a feeble minority in Congress to support it, the free-state party in Kansas could, at the most, supplant usurpation with anarchy.

The strength of the pro-slavery element in the territory had been measured by the first wave of emigration, having its fountainhead in Missouri, and the force of its allies had reached a waning maximum in the invasion of the polls March 30, 1855. Its power lay in these allies, who were a tide that ebbed and flowed with the pressure of emergencies; but it was organized and under the command of astute and unscrupulous commanders.

The anti-slavery element was the deposit of a steady flow of population which was annually bearing westward on its tide the material for the peopling of a state. From the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, the hives

of pioneers, was an average migration of 70,000, as shown by the federal census of that period. It was an army, as the locusts, without leaders, moving westward by instinct, under a fixed law, and impelled by a crowding population, augmented by 200,000 foreigners.

For the ultimate triumph of the free-state party it is apparent that the conditions required only peace, patient endurance, and watchfulness, till the swelling tide of immigration from the North should bring in a population which, by strength of numbers, would render fraud and invasion in the interest of slavery, futile.

That Kansas would receive her due share of emigration did not admit of a reasonable doubt. Her geographical position defined her as the basin, opened by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to receive the flow of emigration. No other territory had been so widely advertised, presenting to the homeseeker "hungering for the horizon" so attractive a picture. The strength of her allurements were irresistible. With the enchantment of distance and the haze of romance had come to him the vision of a land blessed with all the bounties of nature, where the Creator had imprinted enduring smiles upon her billowy prairies, reflected His beneficence in her valleys, fringed her streams with groves, stocked her coverts with game, fed the great herds of nature on her green pastures, and devoted to them her arid plains as an everlasting preserve. And to embellish the whole, she had wrought a forest embroidery upon her border, adorned her summer landscape with virgin bloom from nature's conservatory, and cast over all, as a silken gauze, the changeful beauty of the seasons.

To the pioneer of early days the great West tendered homes in the trackless wilderness, "with boundless contiguity of shade," but encumbered them with a life-tenancy of grinding toil; or, upon the bleak monotony of treeless plains, with conditions that responded only to his lower wants. But this latest inheritance was a land formed by nature in her happier mood, combining all the external elements for an ideal home, and, glowing with the graces that minister to the higher senses, awaken the loftier emotions that lie dormant within the uncultivated mind.

It was such a vision that gave a new impulse to our Western emigrants. The broad prairies of Illinois, with their exhaustless fertility, could not detain them. Missouri, imperial in her domain, and richest of all the states in the gifts of nature, spread a succession of Edens before them; but the trail of the serpent was there, and homage to slavery the condition of tenancy. Only the flaming sword that guarded the gates of that other Eden could prevent—the faint shadow reflected upon it by slavery could but impede—their entering in and holding this land of their visions.

Though in this inflow the free-state element largely predominated, with increasing ratio, it was not bound together by any political affinities, but was an aggregation of home-seekers, drawn from a wide range, mainly of rural life. Strangers to each other, they represented every phase of political opinion and shade of belief. Spread over a wide expanse of territory, without mail facilities, with limited business relations and social intercourse, fastened to the soil by the necessity of subsistence, and held to their homes for the support of their families, they were unfitted for the organization of an aggressive movement. But their fixity and inertia fitted them admirably for an army of stubborn occupation.

The promoted immigration from the East, however, was of a widely different caste. Their migratory instinct had been awakened and quickened by an ambition to share in the conflict which was convulsing the nation. Fired with the

spirit of crusaders, their determining motive was the saving of Kansas to freedom. Responding to public patriotic appeals, rather than to self-promptings and intelligent judgment, there was drawn into the movement too large a proportion of the restless and adventurous element, of budding professionals, ambitious for a career, and of those ill adapted to pioneer life. But though, by the census of the territory, they numbered only six per cent. of the population, they were all of a superior grade. In education, in general intelligence, in familiarity with the vital issues of the times, with strong social cohesion, skill in discussion, in the art of public speaking, in expounding first principles and compounding resolutions, with a genius for publicity and, in politics the most effective of all agencies, the ability to control conventions, they could all pass a political-service examination. In council, where the native pioneer, who had been drawn to Kansas by his migratory instinct, would occupy the column of units, the promoted emigrant, who had obeyed the call of patriotism, would rank in the column of tens, and in aggressive action a Macedonian phalanx. He had enlisted for the redemption of Kansas in a campaign outlined for two years' duration and was eager for service. Many were oppressed with the consciousness of their responsibility, and as forty centuries looked down from the pyramids upon Napoleon's army on the Nile, so our New Englanders were conscious of seven generations from the Mayflower viewing with anxious expectancy from Bunker Hill their descendants in the valley of the Kaw.

In the flush of indignation at Governor Reeder's tacit approval of the invasion of the polls from Missouri, indicated by his granting certificates to a majority of the members of the legislature, an assumed leader, without consultation, sent East for a supply of Sharps' rifles, the most effective weapon then known. Though obtained ostensibly to defend against invasion of the polls, the unadvised act was widely deprecated as unnecessary, as it was certain that there would be no further invasion, last of all Lawrence, unless provoked. The rifles in the hands of the rash and irresponsible element, which would be the first to accept them, would lead to conflicts that, from the strained conditions existing, would involve the whole community. At the same time the organization of a secret order, the Kansas Legion, was busily promoted, the real purpose of which was indicated more by the military rank of its numerous officials than by its open constitution.

FOURTH OF JULY DEMONSTRATION.

This undercurrent of resistance was more fully developed at the Fourth of July (1855) celebration in Lawrence, before an audience larger than had ever before assembled in Kansas, in the address of the future governor, Charles Robinson, and by the response of Samuel N. Wood, in behalf of the two armed military companies which had been presented with flags by the citizens. Doctor Robinson said, in part: "What are we? Subjects of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with chains clanking about our limbs. We lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication. Proscribed, outlawed, denounced, we cannot so much as speak the name of liberty, except with prison walls and halters staring us in the face. . . . 'Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves, than that Cæsar were dead, to live all free men? Who is here so base that would be a bondman?'"

The whole burden of the address, impressed upon his bearers, was that patience was servility and endurance cowardice.

The sinister significance of the military and declamatory proceedings was made apparent by the knowledge that the usurping legislators, backed by their legal advisers, on receiving a majority of their certificates, had defiantly pro-

claimed before Robinson and the other attending free-state men, who had been summoned to the Shawnee Mission capital to support Reeder, that they would ignore the supplementary election, and give seats to those who had been denied certificates by the governor. With Doctor Robinson's knowledge of this fact, his prompt dispatch for arms is explained, as he has inspired Professor Spring to record, as "the first stroke in the projected scheme of anti-Missouri operations," to which "Sharps' rifles were an absolutely essential preliminary."

This insurrectionary step was the more easily comprehended when it was recalled that five years before the orator had led in a riotous assault against the legal authorities of California, in an attempt to unsettle the land titles in Sacramento, which had been quelled only by bloodshed and death. The story of this adventure, till then but vaguely known, and dimly remembered beyond the confines of California, was revived, with the personality of the leader magnified, and given renewed circulation by his adherents in the way of encouragement, and by his opponents as a warning.

That these premonitions of possible strife were well grounded is attested by the author of the movement. In his retrospect of the California affair, in the "Kansas Conflict," forty years afterward, recounting approvingly the Sacramento insurrection in all its minuteness, he refers to it as his precedent "on a small scale."

The dominant feature of the situation at this time was the character of the territorial organization to which resistance was proposed. The gross, barbaric laws that proved more paralyzing to their makers than annoying to their enemies, had not yet been enacted. Though such legislation was plainly foreshadowed, it was eliminated from the proposition, and resistance was apparently aimed at the machinery of the government.

The justification was based on the illegality of the legislature. The overshadowing fraud that marked with ignominy the invasion of the polls on the 30th of March stamped upon the body elected on that day a brand of infamy that destroyed in the public mind all respect for its authority, and tainted its enactments. Yet, with all its deformities, and its vileness unconcealed, it was clothed with the robes of legitimacy and had federal recognition. The election of the members, constituting a majority, to whom Reeder had given certificates, was not contested. Movements for the contest before the governor had been suppressed by threats. Yet, by the act that called the territory into being, this legislative majority, though the offspring of violence and fraud, was the supreme tribunal for determining the election and qualification of its own members. Only from a political standpoint has its legality been disputed. It is true that Congressmen Howard and Sherman, of the investigating committee, in their report to Congress, pronounced it "an illegally constituted body, having no power to pass valid laws, and that its enactments, therefore, were null and void." But theirs was a political conclusion, submitted, not to a court for a decision, but to Congress, that had the power and was under obligation to apply the remedy. But as a judicial proposition, the question of its legality was never raised, but, on the contrary, shunned. S. N. Wood, while under indictment for resisting Sheriff Jones, expressed a readiness to submit to arrest for the purpose of carrying the question to the supreme court; but when in the grasp of the sheriff he flinched from the ordeal and fled from the territory. Even Doctor Robinson, when under indictment for treason, as his political actions were construed, when an adverse decision would have been a triumphant vindication of his course, instead chose acquittal based on a technicality.

That impulse of freedom that recognizes its obligation to established govern-

ment burst into expression on the culmination of the fraud of the 30th of March, and reverberated with an echo like the rumbling of an approaching storm that made the beneficiaries of the fraud dumb in its presence. It was not vociferous, but sullen and determined. It was first publicly proclaimed by Martin F. Conway, at an assemblage called to hear him at Lawrence, on the 8th of June, at which he announced his purpose of returning his certificate of election to the council, and "repudiating all action by the legislature elected on the 30th of March," and "memorializing Congress for relief."

Again, a fully attended convention, on the 25th of June, called to instruct the members chosen at the supplementary election, requested "the legally elected members, as good citizens of Kansas, to resign, and repudiate the fraud." The resolutions of the convention made repudiation of the legislative enactments a working principle of the free-state party by absolving its members from all obligations to obey them. Conway was the moving spirit of this convention. It did not propose resistance. Its action was negative.

As yet there had been no movement to organize the political forces of the territory for any positive action. The numerous assemblages that met in Lawrence with almost weekly regularity, were composed of delegates representing the promoted immigration, and were dominated by the ardent and volatile elements that were seeking opportunity rather than counsel, and expending themselves in resolutions of denunciation and defiance rather than in deliberation.

The assumption of leadership which these numerous meetings forced upon Lawrence awakened a spirit of hostile jealousy and alienation among the more sluggish settlements.

The scheme for a state government was the proposition of Lane, suggested by him on the day of his arrival in Lawrence, to the writer, while the free-state men were staggering under their recent defeat and groping for some active policy for relief. He attested that it was approved by Douglas, Dickinson and other leading Democrats in Washington, with whom he had had personal consultation. The writer has never doubted the truth of this statement, though the consulting Democrats evidently referred to the time when the quatum of population would entitle the state to admission. Though not offered by Lane in a public assemblage, this plan became current on his authority, and was met with approval by a few, but discarded by most, who were suspicious of its origin, as a scheme to entrap and democratize the free-state party. It was finally redeemed from disrepute by John Speer, who became sponsor for it before the 14th of August convention, with Lane in anxious readiness to support it and press it with all his force to adoption.

Statehood, however, was not conceived by the originator of the movement as hostile to the territorial organization, but supplementary. Statehood was distinctly recognized by the organic act as the legitimate heir to sovereignty, to which the territorial government was regent; therefore Congress would eagerly confirm it as an escape from the disasters of the Kansas imbroglio. Viewed by the enemy from the inauguration of the movement only as an attempt at insurrection, it drew their fire upon this indefensible point, changed the plan of the contest, and involved the whole population in the calamity of an armed conflict. Every department of the hostile forces joined in the attack upon the free-state ranks. Pierce, and afterwards Buchanan, trained the presidential battery upon them as "insurgents." The federal grand jury, instructed by Judge Lecompte, indicted the Free State hotel with its parapets "port-holed" as "a stronghold of rebellion," and the two newspaper offices, for publishing articles encouraging resistance to the laws; all of which were destroyed without trial by the sheriff's

posse. Armed defense became criminal. Armies from Missouri laid waste the territory, and bands of brigands marked their trail with the ashes of burned dwellings; all under guise of suppressing an intangible insurrection.

This train of calamities, easily traced after the event as the logical result of the conditions, required no prophetic insight to predict from the beginning. It was the recoil from the threatened consequences that brought into being the Big Springs convention. With this minute portrayal of the conditions prevailing as the course of Kansas politics from the beginning, the introduction of myself may here be permitted without imputation of undue egotism, being the originator of the Big Springs convention movement, the secretary of the caucus that issued the call, the secretary of the convention, and one of the only three living of the fifteen delegates from the Lawrence district; the other two being Wesley H. Duncan and William M. Yates.

The bitter dispute over the town site between the Lawrence Association, composed of Eastern emigrants, and the farm claimants, who were Western pioneers, increasing in intensity during its seven months' duration, had spread until it had involved the whole surrounding population, dividing it, according to its sympathies, on sectional lines—the association known as “insiders,” all others as “outsiders.”* From Lawrence, as the center of political activity, the virus of the controversy was diffused as an antitoxin to abolition, chiefly by the aid of the slave propaganda, till it had spread to the confines of settlement, creating a deep prejudice among the masses against every political movement emanating from Lawrence as the center of infection. Notwithstanding the amicable settlement of the dispute, a cleavage still remained in the political situation in the summer of 1855, dividing factions, denoted as radicals and conservatives, which was widened by provincial jealousies. Eastern disdain for the crude political creed of the uncultivated pioneer, and Western prejudice against the political eccentricities of the East, made unity of action under radical leadership impossible.

The *Kansas Free State*, which sought cooperation on the one proposition expressed in its title, was generally accepted as the representative of the advanced political element forming the party of action, its broad platform giving its editors a standing as advisers.

THE SAND-BANK CONVENTION.

On returning from Pawnee, where he had gone to witness the assembling of the bogus legislature and the ousting of the free-state members, the writer of this was beset by a multitude of his political clients, alienated by the demonstrations on the 4th of July, and threatening desertion. Not a few of the wavering had declared for the party of slavery. The action of the convention of a week later (July 11, 1855), taken at the significant moment, confirmed them in their determination to revolt. The revulsion would have landed them in a hostile organization, which was seeking to organize as the ally of the administration, under the leadership of some of the brightest and ablest men in the

* When the site of Lawrence was selected, in the fall of 1854 but one settler, Clark Stearns, occupied it. The agent of the Emigrant Aid Company bought his right and cabin for \$5 0, and turned the cabin into a store. Another settler, A. B. Wade, was near the site on the west, but his claim was not needed. But other claimants appeared, the most troublesome being John Baldwin. He settled within a few rods of the Stearns cabin, claimed 160 acres, and employed C. W. Babcock as his attorney. Babcock and two others, named Stone and Freeman, and a speculator named Starr, became associated with Baldwin, and they proceeded to lay out a rival city—named *Excelsior*. After much hostile talk during the winter of 1854-'55, the trouble was settled in March, 1855, by giving the contestants 100 shares out of 220 in the Lawrence Town Company. Governor Robinson's "Kansas Conflict" gives a lengthy account of this trouble. (Pages 78-90.)

territory. It may be said, in anticipation, that these apostles of National Democracy met in council at Tecumseh five days before the Big Springs convention, and finding their material all afloat and drifting towards Big Springs, the best of them committed themselves to the flowing tide, and were landed in the free state party. To the sweep of this tide we owe the services of Marcus J. Parrott, Judge Johnson, M. W. Delahay, Doctor Davis, and others whose unrecorded names have been lost to memory. With the collapse of the Democratic movement, others, among them John P. Wood, repelled by the Reeder resolutions at Big Springs, found lodgment in the pro-slavery party.

But to return to the main subject. To avert this threatened revolt a number of the most pronounced of the disaffected were summoned for consultation, and met at the office of the *Free State*, on the 17th of July. Prominent among them were W. Y. Roberts, and his brother, Judge Roberts, of Big Springs; Judge Wakefield and J. D. Barnes, of the California road; William Jessee, of Bloomington, one of the ousted members of the legislature; Judge Smith, Doctor Wood, and others from Lawrence and vicinity, whose names are not recalled. As the number responding exceeded expectation and the accommodations of the printing-office, Wood proposed removal to the river bank, at the foot of New Hampshire street, where, under the shade of a cottonwood, was a set of timbers for a warehouse designed for the accommodation of the steamboat traffic. In the spirit of liberality, though at the sacrifice of unanimity, all who were met on the way were invited to the conference, and the number seated on the timbers increased to more than twenty by the acceptance of John and Joe Speer, editors of the *Tribune*, S. N. Wood, E. D. Ladd, and G. W. Deitzler, who were committed to the aggressive movement. Most noted among the counselors who were caught on the wing was Colonel Lane, fresh from attendance upon the bogus legislature. He was seeking to enter the political arena, having registered his pedigree on the 27th of June, and it was conceived would be a strong factor in the movement. His acceptance was accompanied with a request that his participation should not be published; so no mention of him appears in the record. Judge Wakefield was chosen as chairman, and the writer of this as secretary. The wide and determined revolt against the political action inaugurated, or rather enunciated, at Lawrence, charged with imposing upon free-state men a dangerous policy without consultation or authority from the masses, had been attested from every neighborhood. It was our conclusion that the situation could be saved only by a convention in which every locality should be fairly represented, and free from domination by local influences.

Big Springs offered the ideal location.* It was yet but a mere site upon a wide expanse of high prairie, dotted only with cabins half a mile apart, with its blocks marked by stakes, its street the California road, and its buildings a rude hotel, hastily built, and two or three other cabins. Roberts, who was one of the proprietors, offered its hospitalities, pledging free accommodations for the convention by the neighborhood, and free entertainment for the delegates—a large promise under the conditions, but amply fulfilled. Big Springs was convenient and attractive, with its wide prairies, to the rural delegates whom it was desired

*Big Springs is located in section 14, township 12 south, of range 17 east, in Lecompton township, about four miles from the town of Lecompton, and two miles south of the Kaw river and the Santa Fe road, in the northwest corner of Douglas county. It is on the main traveled road between Lawrence and Topeka, and so named from a spring near by. The first settlers located there in the fall of 1854, and they were given a post-office in 1855. In the spring of 1856 a Missourian opened a saloon. He paid no attention to a protest against selling, and forty men took three barrels of whisky from his establishment and burned them.

to draw out, and who would come prepared for camping. It was central and accessible, and at a safe distance from the dreaded influence of Lawrence. Five delegates were apportioned to each of the twenty-six representative districts, and, in contrast to the prevailing custom, the ample time of fifty days was set for convening.

The whole scheme, however, was opposed by five of the supplementary counselors, Deitzler, Ladd, S. N. Wood, and the two Speers, who deemed it a movement that would distract and divide, rather than unite, the free-state elements, and lead to defeat. In the following issue of the *Tribune* there appeared a three-column article, contributed (as was afterward learned) by Deitzler, the most caustic and penetrating published in that era of sharp controversy, headed "Sand Bank Convention," treating the movement with merciless sarcasm as a conspiracy to entrap the unwary masses and lead them into the Democratic fold. The disrepute into which this brought the movement left no hope of electing a sympathetic delegation from Lawrence. The defeat of the "conspirators" in their own precinct would be a disaster, to avert which the principle applied in the selection of Big Springs as a convention site was applied. The Lawrence district extended south to the old Santa Fe trail, and the election for delegates was called at Blanton's bridge, on the Wakarusa, as central and at a safe distance from Lawrence, for the 25th of August.

Meanwhile the political zodiac revolving with its belt of conventions brought to the zenith that of the 14th of August, transformed on the 15th, on an *ex post facto* call, into a non-partizan people's convention, by pressing into service as its vice-president "Jimmy" Christian, a professed pro-slavery Democrat, and thus qualifying itself for the initial movement in constructing a state government—which it proceeded to do.

To promote harmony, it was desirable to obtain the cooperation of this assemblage, and a committee of the "Sand Bank Convention," of which the writer was one, appeared before it, and presented the subject of the proposed convention, with a statement of the *situation* upon which it was based. But though urged by others, it met with opposition from the delegates, until a copy of the call, printed as a quarter-sheet poster, was brought from the *Free State* office across the street and displayed, with the assurance that, in addition to the publication in the paper, 600 copies had been distributed, going into every precinct in the territory, and that favorable responses had been received already from the most distant and diverse quarters; and that while the cooperation of this assemblage was earnestly sought, the Big Springs convention would be held regardless of its dissent.

This demonstration, which is attested in the report of the convention printed in the *Herald of Freedom*, gave pause to the deliberations of the convention, for the delegates, hesitating to place themselves in conflict with the lofty ideals of the masses, were nonplussed at playing second fiddle to the "Sand Bank" caucus. John Speer came to their relief with a resolution instructing a committee to issue a call duplicating that of the "Sand Bank," expressed deceptively as originating with themselves. From this fictitious and deceptive origin it has gone into history. Robinson, taking credit for what he personally opposed, says in the "Kansas Conflict": "It was concluded to call a general convention of the free-state party at Big Springs, September 5, 1855. The call* was made by the convention of the 14th of August, held at Lawrence, and notices were spread broadcast over the territory." Speer, in his "Life of Lane," claims its paternity through his deceptive resolution, committing a hesitating

*A copy of the call is printed at bottom of next page.

convention to an advancing movement that up to that time his paper had treated with reproach.

But while disproving these spurious claims to the authorship of the movement, the writer disclaims any assertion of leadership, aiming only by the minute portrayal of the whole situation to show that the movement was the result of an irrepressible impulse stirred into activity by the crushing situation threatening from opposite sides, and that no one has a just claim other than for shaping its expression and giving initial direction to its force.

BLANTON MEETING.

The next step demanding attention was the election of delegates. The accession of the radical element, with its zealous activity, complicated the situation and called into play for the first time the "fine Italian hand" of Lane. The Lawrence district was entitled to fifteen delegates. A well-balanced ticket was selected, composed of the best men representing the diverse free-state elements, and fairly distributed, with instructions to each candidate to be at the polls with his friends promptly on the hour to organize the convention. The radicals also turned out in good force, but, finding themselves outnumbered, plead for delay in organizing—that it was in law two o'clock till three. But the convention was promptly organized, with Judge Smith as chairman, and J. S. Emery as secretary, and on motion of Lane a grace of half an hour was given for the arrival of Lawrence recruits, who were anxiously looked for but did not come. The minority then plead for a division of the ticket, but the stereotyped ticket could not be changed without offense to the delegates to be dropped, as with most having entered into the matter this was regarded as the honor of their lives—a feeling shared by all the members of that notable assemblage. Besides, the Eastern element had been given three places, and the ticket as prearranged was the very foundation of the convention, and had been printed and distributed. The majority was inexorable in their determination to vote for the delegates in block and pushed the first contest to a conclusion; in which the personalities of Lane and Robinson were opposing factors. The result was a vote of exactly two to one for the preordained ticket. Incredible as the subsequent events would make it appear, John Speer at this engagement was Robinson's chief of staff.

The elect were G. W. Smith, Bryce Miller, Turner Sampson, Henry Barricklow, Dr. Andrew Still, Col. J. H. Lane, Morris Hunt, Wesley H. Duncan, J. S. Emery, John Hutchinson, J. D. Barnes, Wm. Yates, R. G. Elliott, James McGee, eight of whom had been selected from the town and seven from the country.

FREE STATE CONVENTION!

All persons who are favorable to a union of effort, and a permanent organization of all the Free State elements of Kansas Territory, and who wish to secure upon the broadest platform the co-operation of all who agree upon this point, are requested to meet at their several places of holding elections in their respective districts on the 23d of August, instant, at one o'clock P. M., and appoint five delegates to each representative to which they were entitled in the Legislative Assembly, who shall meet in General Convention at

BIG SPRINGS, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 5th, '55,

at 10 o'clock A. M. for the purpose of adopting a Platform upon which all may act harmoniously who prefer Freedom to Slavery.

The nomination of a Delegate to Congress, will also come up before the General Convention. Let no sectional or party issues distract or prevent the perfect co-operation of Free State men. Union and harmony are absolutely necessary to success. The pro-slavery party are fully and effectually organized. No jars nor minor issues divide them. And to contend against them successfully, we also must be united—Without prudence and harmony of action we are certain to fail. Let every man then do his duty and we are certain of victory.

All Free State men, without distinction, are earnestly requested to take immediate and effective steps to insure a full and correct representation for every District in the Territory. "United we stand; divided we fall.

By order of the Executive Committee of the Free State Party of the Territory of Kansas, as per resolution of the Mass Convention in session at Lawrence, Aug. 15, and 16th, 1855.

J. K. GOODIN, *Sec'y.*

C. ROBINSON, *Chairman.*

Herald of Freedom, Print.

BIG SPRINGS CONVENTION.*

On the 5th of September, 1855, the nascent town of Big Springs bloomed with a display unknown to that isolated watering-place on the California road since the days when the Oregon pilgrims and caravans of the Argonauts made its inviting ranges their camping-ground. Commencing with the previous evening, a population greater in number than it has ever since attained began flowing in upon it from all directions. They came on horseback, in covered wagons, and conveyances of every variety, with tents and camping outfit, the most poorly equipped provided with lariat, picket-pin, and blanket, the distinguishing marks of the plainsmen—preparations prudent but superfluous, as the entire population within the radius of a mile were in waiting to press upon the incoming delegates the hospitality of their cabins. Roberts had more than redeemed his pledge. A shaded platform, ample seats, and an abundant provision, with free tickets to the delegates for dining, had been provided. Heaven, in the kindest of her moods, spread a radiance over the whole with the glory of her September sunshine.

The convention was organized with Judge G. W. Smith as chairman, and R. G. Elliott and David Dodge as secretaries. The usual committees were appointed, consisting of thirteen members each, representing the several council districts, the chief of which were the ones on platform, state organization, and resolutions, with Lane, Elliott, and Emery, respectively, as their chairmen.

* From a pamphlet entitled "Proceedings of the Territorial Delegate Convention held at Big Springs on the 5th and 6th of September, 1855," we learn that the convention was called to order at eleven o'clock, and organized temporarily by appointing W. Y. Roberts, Esq., to the chair, and D. Dodge, secretary. A committee consisting of John Hutchinson, R. Riddle, A. Hunting, P. C. Schuyler, P. Laughlin, W. Pennock, John Fee, A. G. Adams, John Hamilton, J. M. Tuton, R. Gillpatrick, J. M. Arthur, Isaac Wollard were appointed on credentials, with instructions to report immediately. S. D. Houston, G. F. Warren, J. D. Barnes, Wm. Jessee, A. G. Adams, E. Fish, John Hamilton, Wm. Jordon, B. Harding, Isaac Wollard, S. Mewhinney were appointed to report permanent officers for the convention. The convention took a recess until half-past two. Met again at the hour of adjournment. The committee on credentials reported the following list of delegates:

First District.—G. W. Smith, J. H. Lane, John Curtiss, J. S. Emery, John Hutchinson, Turner Sampson, M. Hunt, R. G. Elliott, J. D. Barnes, Wm. Yates, A. Still, H. Barricklow, B. W. Miller, W. Duncan, James McGee.

Second District.—J. M. Tuton, J. A. Wakefield, A. Curtiss, H. Y. Baldwin, H. Burson, Wm. Jessee, Samuel Walker, T. Wolverston, J. C. Archibald, Charles Wright.

Third District.—Wm. Y. Roberts, Wm. Jordon, A. G. Adams, James Cowles.

Fourth District.—S. Mewhinney, J. F. Javius, E. G. Scott, A. J. Miller, W. Moore.

Fifth District.—A. P. Wykoff, James Osborn, James M. Arthur, D. F. Park, Wm. G. Nichols, Dr. R. Gillpatrick, G. W. Partridge, Isaac Wollard, Chas. A. Foster, James Todd, Robert H. Brown, Enos Shon, Wm. R. Vail, Eaos Strawn, Hamilton Smith.

Sixth District.—John Hamilton, James Johnson, F. M. Morris.

Seventh District.—P. C. Schuyler, Geo. Bratton, Dr. J. G. Wood, Dr. A. Bowen, E. Fisk.

Eighth District.—J. E. Hohenick, Daniel B. Hiatt.

Ninth District.—S. D. Houston, Wm. S. Arnold, James P. Wilson, Luke P. Lincoln, Dr. A. Hunting.

Tenth District.—James Wilson, John Anesworth, Nathan Adams.

Twelfth District.—M. F. Conway, C. Junkins.

Fourteenth District.—S. Collins, John Fee, P. Laughlin, N. Carter, Geo. W. Bryan, Benj. H. Brock, Wm. Poeppes, B. Harding, A. Grooms, C. W. Stewart.

Fifteenth District.—Wm. Crosby, H. J. Stout, J. C. Ridgeway, Elijah Pierce.

Sixteenth District.—Wm. Pennock, J. B. Pennock, J. H. Byrd, Geo. F. Warren, P. Dowlin, R. H. Phelan, D. Dodge, H. M. Hook, James Salsbury, E. Castle, Marcus J. Parrott, John Wright, A. Guthrie, R. Riddle.

Seventeenth District.—R. Mendenhall, D. W. Mendenhall, G. P. Lowry.

The committee on a permanent organization reported the following list of officers: President, G. W. Smith, Esq.; Vice-presidents, John Fee, J. A. Wakefield, James Salsbury, Dr. A. Hunting; secretaries, R. G. Elliott, D. Dodge, A. G. Adams.

The conclusions of the convention have been very fully set forth by all the historians, and need not be rehearsed, except as they have been invidiously commented upon.

Professor Spring records Lane as "intriguing himself upon the chairmanship of a committee of thirteen, and in an all-night discussion persuading the committee to adopt violent anti-negro principles," a statement that shows the professor was not a historian to the manner born—his years of residence in Kansas failing to give him a perception of the political atmosphere that even in his day retained the odor and haze of its morning hours. It shows a misapprehension of the character of the assemblage and of all the prevailing conditions. As to "intriguing" for position in that assemblage, it is only necessary to reply that where Lane sat was the head of the table. As to the "anti-negro" enunciation, it is a sufficient reason that the convention was not a synod called for the reforming of a political creed, but a council charged with the harmonizing of the most diverse elements, drawn together by the pressure of an overshadowing issue, and banding them for the coming struggle to the finish, with ultimatum distinctly defined, in which no compromise could be made nor quarters given. The convention was not "persuaded to adopt negro exclusion." The proposition had been thrust upon attention by the masses that commissioned the convention, coupled with that of a free state.

A stereotyped phrase of wide currency was: "If we are to have the negroes (pronounced niggers), we want their masters with them." This was the creed of a class of no inconsiderable numbers, that between the extremes would revolt to the enemy.

The strength of the element favoring negro exclusion, with its title to recognition, is shown by the result of the election held three months later, at which the question was submitted separately from the adoption of the Topeka constitution, being nearly three to one for exclusion. Only three precincts, Lawrence, Manhattan, Wabaunsee, show a majority—combined, only 103—opposed to exclusion. And in the whole territory, outside of seven precincts, containing the Eastern element, the vote for exclusion was over 93 per cent. Deplorable as such political depravity may be, as viewed from the lofty plane of contemplation, by the doctrinaire, it was, nevertheless, an importunate condition that had to be dealt with practically, and with conciliatory discrimination—a recognition of the law that political reforms come, not by resolutions nor proclamations, but by the impact and attrition events knocking off excrescences and grinding crude forms into symmetry.

Hardly had these repellent elements emerged from between the millstones till they became eager guides of the fugitives. The champion of negro exclusion, in an address at Topeka, offered his body as a tie for an underground railroad, and on the first clap of the rebellion, with the applause of his constituents, acclaimed the policy of the liberation and enlistment of the slaves as a logical method of saving the Union. But for the contumacy of the governor in refusing supplies for Camp Lincoln, which had been established for the enlistment of negroes, and hindering enlistments by writs of *habeas corpus*, Kansas would be to-day wearing the jewel, proudly treasured by Massachusetts, of the first commission issued to a regiment of colored troops.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

The committee of thirteen on state organization, of which the writer was chairman, after a night's consideration and much outside inquiry, reported unanimously, over their signatures, against the proposition, summing their conclusions in the phrase "untimely and inexpedient." This judgment has been

amply justified by the current of events which it set in motion, much as has been written to prove it a deep game of political strategy played to "thwart, baffle and circumvent" the slave power. In view of the paucity of population, overestimated at 25,000, only the gravity of the situation and the statesmanlike seriousness of the sponsors of the movement suppressed the rounding out of the cadence by adding "absurd."

Among the many reasons for the committee's judgment, the most cogent was the want of popular support, the sole foundation for a political organization. Among the more than 100 delegates, not one could be found who favored the proposition, except those, less than a score, who had been initiated into the movement at Lawrence. It was with a feeling of deep regret that both Judge Smith and Colonel Lane heard the adverse report. Both, relying on an intimate friendship with the chairman of the committee, had been confident of the approval of the measure. But in the end this backset was plainly turned to the service both of Lane and of the measure, raising its originator to that position of power which he thereafter maintained over the masses. John Hutchinson offered a substitute for the adverse report, indorsing statehood.

Lane permitted Hutchinson, Foster, of Osawatomie, Judge Smith and the other trained advocates of the measure to exhaust their ammunition with no apparent effect. Then, rising to the occasion, under a shadow of threatened defeat, he gave an exhibition of that magic faculty by which he controlled primitive assemblages, convincing them against their judgment and bending them against their will. It was not measured oratory nor logical argument, nor was it an emotional harangue, but the blending of an accompaniment toned to the popular chord, with a dramatic presentation of the subject that materialized as a moving, tangible reality. His ideal was a state, not antagonistic, but harmonizing, rising legitimately out of the popular-sovereignty clause of the organic act; the rightful heir to sovereignty, with the territorial organization as regent. He represented Douglas as anxiously waiting the recovery of his political fortunes and the salvation of the Democratic party by the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state; Pierce as ready to sacrifice his right arm to correct the mistakes of his administration; while he himself bore the parting admonition of Douglas: "For God's sake, do something to save the Democratic party." These were the visions that were made to pass across the stage before the audience.

When the curtain fell, the vote, taken at the psychological moment, revealed the triumphant passage of the substitute. Within an hour opposition had melted away and the minority had become the majority. Only the stubborn pride of opinion preserved the consistency of the chairman of the committee. The belligerent element that controlled the veiled movement at Lawrence had been eliminated at Blanton, and the measure approved at Big Springs was distinctly peaceful and petitionary.

"BLOODY-ISSUE" RESOLUTIONS.

An anomaly of the convention was the bifurcated committee on resolutions—one branch, with Lane as chairman, charged with furnishing the necessary material for a broad and substantial platform; the other, on resolutions, with Emery as chairman, to furnish explosives and projectiles for a defiant pyrotechnic display—elements too dangerous to be inserted in the platform and too radical to be imposed upon the masses.*

* From a pamphlet copy of the proceedings:

"The chairman of the committee on platform reported through Colonel Lane the following resolutions, stating at the same time that twelve out of thirteen had agreed upon adoption, and pledged to each other their undivided support:

"WHEREAS, The free-state party of the territory of Kansas, about to originate an organi-

This division of the work was made for the accommodation of Governor Reeder, ranking with the indignity of his removal, made on the importunate demand of the legislature, because of his refusal to recognize its legality. It was a crucifixion on the base and baseless accusation of speculation in Indian lands, and the "laying out his capital town of Pawnee City on a military reservation." The indictment was aggravated by the slanderous publicity given to the controversy over the matter, abounding in scurrilous charges by the Indian commissioner, which Reeder was denied the opportunity to disprove. On the 30th of August Reeder was stopping at the American Hotel, in Kansas City, with his trunk packed in readiness to depart to his home in Pennsylvania, when Parrott also stopped there, on his way to a Democratic conference at Tecumseh. Reeder had expressed his indignation in a set of resolutions which he showed to Parrott, intimating his purpose of attending the convention at Big Springs and taking a parting shot at the legislature. So, borrowing a valise from Colonel Eldridge, he set out for Lawrence, where an arrangement was made to handle his explosives by a select committee, so as not to encumber the platform. The resistant features of the resolutions were vainly sought to be modified in the convention by Parrott, Lane, and other conservatives, but the utterly atrocious features of the slave code, just recently made public, had worked the popular mind up to such a pitch that no language was too strong to express their indignation, and the resolutions were adopted with a defiant shout.

zation for concert of political action in electing our own officers and molding our institutions; and whereas, it is expedient and necessary that a platform of principles be adopted and proclaimed to make known the character of our organization and to test the qualifications of candidates and the fidelity of our members; and whereas, we find ourselves in an unparalleled and critical condition—deprived by superior force of the rights guaranteed by the declaration of independence, the constitution of the United States, and the Kansas bill; and whereas, the great and overshadowing question, whether Kansas shall become free or a slave state, must inevitably absorb all other issues except those inseparably connected with it; and whereas, the crisis demands the concert and harmonious action of all those who from principle or interest prefer free labor to slave labor, as well as of those who value the preservation of the Union and the guarantees of republican institutions by the constitution; therefore,

Resolved, That setting aside all the minor issues of partizan politics, it is incumbent upon us to proffer an organization calculated to recover our dearest rights, and into which Democrats and Whigs, native and naturalized citizens, may freely enter without any sacrifice of their respective political creeds, but without forcing them as a test upon others. And that when we shall have achieved our political freedom, vindicated our rights of self-government, and become an independent state of the Union, when those issues may become vital as they are now dormant, it will be time enough to divide our organization by these tests, the importance of which we fully recognize in their appropriate sphere.

Resolved, That we will oppose and resist all non-resident voters at our polls, whether from Missouri or elsewhere, as a gross violation of our rights, and a virtual disfranchisement of our citizens.

Resolved, That our true interests, socially, morally, and pecuniarily, require that Kansas should be a free state; that free labor will best promote the happiness, the rapid population, the prosperity and the wealth of our people; that slave labor is a curse to the master and the community, if not to the slave; that our country is unsuited to it; and that we will devote our energies as a party to exclude the institution and to secure for Kansas the constitution of a free state.

Resolved, That in so doing we will consent to any fair and reasonable provision in regard to the slaves already in the territory which shall protect the masters against injustice and total loss.

Resolved, That the best interests of Kansas require a population of free white men, and that in the state organization we are in favor of stringent laws excluding all negroes, bond or free, from the territory. That nevertheless such measures shall not be regarded as a test of party orthodoxy.

Resolved, That the stale and ridiculous charge of abolitionism, so industriously imputed to the free-state party, and so pertinaciously adhered to, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, is without a shadow of truth to support it; and that it is not more apparent to ourselves than it is to our opponents, who use it as a term of reproach to bring odium upon us, pretending to believe in its truth and hoping to frighten from our ranks the weak and timid, who are more willing to desert their principles than they are to stand up under persecution and abuse with a consciousness of right.

Resolved, That we will discountenance and denounce any attempt to encroach upon the constitutional rights of the people of any state, or to interfere with their slaves, conceding to their citizens the right to regulate their own institutions and to hold and recover their slaves, without any molestation or obstruction from the people of Kansas.

"The report was received with three hearty cheers, and adopted by acclamation.

"Mr. Emery, on the committee, having in charge the legislative matters of Kansas, reported as follows:

Resolved, That the body of men who, for the last two months, have been passing laws for

The opponents of the free-state party made no distinction between the resolutions and the platform, but held it responsible for all the utterances of the convention, making bold display of "resistance to a bloody issue."

The resolutions were a bold and defiant thrust at the powers that be, but with disastrous recoil provoked against the whole party a virtual proclamation of outlawry, setting loose the brigands against it, and casting a false color of insurrection over every defensive movement forced upon it for self-preservation.

"Resistance to a bloody issue" gave a crimson color in the eyes of the adversaries of the state movement. The phrase was echoed in derision from the halls of Congress; and in the Fremont campaign, Kansas being the paramount issue, the convincing story of her wrongs was offset by the charge of insurrection, and the grossest outrages of the pro-slavery party were condoned by these resolutions.

But their rebound brought Reeder the nomination for delegate to Congress, which had been his objective, and raised him to an eminence from which he could bombard his adversaries.

As yet the authorship of the resolutions had not been disclosed. They had passed the convention by their intrinsic weight, under the impulse of a revolt against the atrocious slave code just passed by the legislature. Their author had not appeared before the convention, but his reserved and dignified presence in the adjacent hotel, like sunshine breaking through a cloud, disclosed his sympathies and impressed his personality upon the assemblage, and brought his nomination by acclamation.

To him this meant more than to any other; a vindication by those who knew him best from a humiliating charge by the administration which he had been

the people of our territory, moved, counseled and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the territory; that we repudiate their action as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation and fraud unparalleled in the history of the Union, and worthy only of men unfitted for the duties and regardless of the responsibilities of Republicans.

Resolved, That having, by numerical inferiority and want of preparation, been compelled to succumb to the outrage and oppression of armed and organized bands of citizens of a neighboring state—having been robbed by force of the right of suffrage and self-government, and subjected to a foreign despotism, the more odious and infamous that it involves a violation of compacts with sister states more sacred than solemn treaties, we disown and disavow with scorn and indignation the contemptible and hypocritical mockery of a representative government into which this infamous despotism has been converted.

Resolved, That this miscalled legislature, by their reckless disregard of the organic territorial act and other congressional legislation, in expelling members whose title to seats was beyond their power to annul, in admitting members who were not elected, and in legislating at an unauthorized place, by their refusal to allow the people to select any of our officers, by imposing upon us their own appointees down to the most insignificant offices, many of whom were unquestionable residents of Missouri at the time, by leaving us no elections save those prescribed by Congress, and therefore beyond their power to abrogate, and even at these selling the right of suffrage at our ballot-boxes to any non-resident who chooses to buy and pay for it, by compelling us to take an oath to support a United States law invidiously pointed out, by stifling the freedom of speech and of the press, thus usurping a power forbidden to Congress, have trampled under foot the Kansas bill, have defiled the power of Congress, libeled the declaration of independence, violated the constitutional bill of rights, and brought contempt and disgrace upon our republican institutions at home and abroad.

Resolved, That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious legislature; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and every free man amongst us is at full liberty, consistently with all his obligations as a citizen and a man, to defy and resist them, if he chooses to do so.

Resolved, That we will resist them primarily by every peaceable and legal means within our power, until we can elect our representatives and sweep them from the statute-book; and that as the majority of our supreme court have so far forgotten their official duty, have so far cast off the honor of the lawyer and the dignity of the judge, as to enter with the judicial ermine into a partisan contest, and by an extrajudicial decision given opinions in violation of all propriety, have prejudged our case before we could be heard, and have pledged themselves to these outlaws in advance to decide in their favor, we will therefore take measures to carry the question of the validity of these laws to a higher tribunal, where judges are unpledged and dispassionate, where the law will be administered in its purity, and where we can at least have the hearing before decision.

Resolved, That we will endure and submit to these laws no longer than the best interests of the territory require, as the least of two evils, and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceable remedies shall fail and forcible resistance shall furnish any reasonable prospect of success; and that, in the meantime, we recommend to our friends throughout the territory the organization and discipline of volunteer companies and the procurement and preparation of arms.

Resolved, That we cannot and will not quietly submit to surrender our great 'American

denied the chance to disprove; and called forth from him in response a burst of oratory such as only the conditions of that time could produce. As the brilliant features of that address, still vivid in its scope after forty-seven years, have been blended by time in their outlines, the best view that can now be given is the faint negative produced at the time, here copied from the records of the convention:

"He spoke long and eloquently. 'Should all hope of moral influence to correct these evils be cut off, and the tribunals of our country fail us while our wrongs still continue, what then? Will they grow easier to bear by long custom? God forbid that any lapse of time should accustom free men to the duties of slaves; and when such fatal danger as that is menaced, then it is time to

"Strike for our altars and our fires,
Strike for the green graves of our sires,
God and our native land.'"

"As he paused there was for an instant a deep silence, as when a question of life or death is being considered—every man drew a long breath, but the next instant the air was rent with cries: 'Yes, we will strike! White men can never be slaves! Reeder! Reeder! Nine cheers for Reeder and right!' During his speech he had been constantly interrupted by shouts and shaking of hands. But now the enthusiasm was ungovernable. The crowd gathered round him with warmest greetings."*

But his altars and his fires had been left behind in his native state of Pennsylvania. Thither, obeying his patriotic impulses, he repaired, leaving his political fortunes in the care of the party, and the party to withstand the recoil of his resolutions. He was known no more in Kansas, except by the echoes of his bombardment of Pierce, until he appeared with the congressional committee in the spring of 1856, contesting with Whitfield for a seat as delegate in Congress.

If in the white light of the present these views seem to be too highly colored, the cause is in the subject. As the events of that day are called up in memory, they rise in succession and make their imprint with the glow that illumined and magnified them, as they were brought into being by the clash of elements which made that era a political chaos.

birthright'—the elective franchise—which, first by violence, and then by chicanery, artifice, weak and wicked legislation, they have so effectually accomplished to deprive us of; and that we with scorn repudiate the 'election law,' so called, and will not meet with them on the day they have appointed for the election, but will ourselves fix upon a day for the purpose of electing a delegate to Congress.

"Mr. Lane moved to strike out of the report all that part impeaching the action of the territorial supreme court. Lost.

"Several motions were made to amend, but was finally adopted with but one dissenting vote."

*John Speer, in his "Life of Lane," page 46, says: "Reeder's speech of acceptance was a masterpiece of eloquence and patriotism. It is to be regretted that there was no reporter on the ground to preserve it as an example of heroic literature, to be read by future generations, when liberty might seem to be endangered. When he uttered this noble sentiment: 'We stand here, fellow-citizens, as with the voice of one man, to proclaim to the world, before high heaven, that we will protect our rights with the steady arm and the sure eye!' it was said that the unit shout was heard at Lecompton, five miles away."

IN MEMORIAM.

COMRADE OTIS BERTHOUE GUNN, citizen, soldier, civil engineer, and author, was born on a farm near Montague, Mass., October 29, 1828; died at his home, Montague apartments, in Kansas City, Mo., February 18, 1901.

Comrade Gunn was a member of the Loyal Legion and of the Grand Army of the Republic. He was mustered into Admiral Farragut Post No. 3, this city, January 14, 1892. He was educated at Montague and at Williston Seminary, East Hampton, Mass. Completing his schooling in 1846, he taught school for about two years near Harrisburg, Pa., after which he served a short time as rodman with engineers on the Fitchburg system, between Troy and Boston. Following the business of civil engineering, for which he had specially qualified himself, he became connected with the Wabash railway system, and at the age of twenty-four years he was promoted to the position of division engineer of that system, in Indiana. Being of a self-reliant and aggressive nature, he forged ahead until he was made assistant engineer of the Lockport & Niagara Falls railway.

Foreseeing the great development of the new country in the West, and being imbued with the spirit of the times, he migrated to the Western frontier in 1857, and settled in Kansas, locating in Wyandotte. In the excitement of the border struggles in Kansas that aroused the whole nation and culminated in the great civil war, Comrade Gunn, with his anti-slavery sentiments and positive character, could not and did not long remain unknown; he soon became prominent, and, although not a politician, he was elected to the Kansas state senate in 1861 and 1862. He also served on the military staff of Governor Robinson, in that state, in the early part of the civil war. He was subsequently commissioned and served as major of the Fourth Kansas volunteers, and with them was for a time stationed at the military posts in and near this city, where he superintended transportation of army supplies.

At this time the Kansas Pacific railroad was projected, and was regarded as a great public advantage, and almost a military necessity, and its construction had become a certainty. Comrade Gunn's reputation secured for him an offer of the position of chief engineer of this road, which he accepted, and resigned his office as major to take that position. From this time on for many years he had a wonderful career as a civil engineer and builder of railroads. The Central Branch of the Union Pacific, now the Missouri Pacific railroad, was built by him, and he was made its superintendent. As chief engineer of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad, he built about 900 miles of that road, including the great bridge that spans the Missouri river at Booneville, Mo. He also built the bridge across the Missouri river at Atchison, Kan.; and the dam across the Kansas river at Lawrence, Kan. He reconstructed the Hannibal bridge piers and the union depot at Kansas City, Mo. As chief engineer, he built the Southern Kansas railroad, and also portions of the Union Pacific, Santa Fe and Frisco railroads. He made the first map of Kansas; was city engineer of Kansas City, Mo., in 1889. He superintended the construction of many bridges and public buildings throughout the country.

Comrade Gunn had acquired a national reputation as a thoroughly skilled and practical engineer and also an able writer. He frequently contributed to the

leading journals and magazines of the country able and valuable articles on great engineering projects, or upon subjects of special public interest. These articles always commanded attention, and many of them were copied and republished in the ablest scientific journals and magazines of this country and of Europe.

He wrote numerous papers, pamphlets, and books. A very able, interesting and instructive paper on the proposed Nicaragua canal, first read in our own Farragut post, attracted considerable attention and favorable comment. It was subsequently, by request, read before the commercial club of Kansas City, Mo., and afterwards before the Loyal Legion, at Leavenworth, Kan., by whom it was published. The article coming to the attention of the Nicaragua Canal Company, of New York, they took it up and republished in pamphlet for general distribution, as a most clear and masterly presentation of the project from an engineer's view, showing its practicability and use, and well calculated to create and mold public sentiment in its favor and to prove its great advantage as a military as well as a commercial necessity.

His book entitled "Bullion vs. Coin" was written by him during the heated discussions of the money question, in 1895, as a refutation of the sophistries of W. H. Harvey, in his book called "Coin's Financial School." "Bullion vs. Coin" was adopted and circulated by the national committee of the gold party as a campaign document in the presidential campaign of 1896.

Comrade Gunn lived and rounded out an eventful life, and in an age of great events. He was always a very active, industrious and busy man, and thorough in whatever he undertook, but withal a very modest person. He was known by his works, which, while he lived, commanded for him respect, admiration, and honor, and after his death shall serve as his monuments to perpetuate his memory and name. He was a just and generous man, a good neighbor and true and firm friend, universally respected and beloved, and his demise is lamented by all.

He was married in 1853 to Miss Mary H. Crosby, of Spencerport, N. Y., who survives him, together with three children, namely: Mrs. H. C. Whitehead, of Chicago, Ill., wife of H. C. Whitehead, general auditor of the Santa Fe railway system; Mrs. Otto Bendix, of San Francisco, Cal.; and Fred C. Gunn, the well-known architect of this city.

Before coming to Kansas City, Mo., Major Gunn and family resided many years in Lawrence, Kan., where he was buried, February 20, 1901, beside his two deceased children, Lucy and Charles H. Gunn, in the family lot in the beautiful Oak Hill cemetery, near the historic city of Lawrence, where he lies at rest amid the scenes of his early pioneer struggles, and alongside of the spot where lie the remains of the 150 victims who fell defenseless in the infamous Quantrill raid and massacre, at Lawrence, in 1863.

"With profound appreciation of him whose death so many mourn:

Be it resolved, By Farragut-Thomas Post No. 8 Department of Missouri, Grand Army of the Republic, That in the death of Comrade Otis B. Gunn his wife and family are bereft of a devoted, affectionate and kind husband and father; each of us, his comrades, a true friend; this post a most valuable and honored member; the Grand Army of the Republic a loyal supporter; the commonwealth an exemplary man and citizen; and liberty and good government an able promoter and defender.

Resolved, That we extend to the widow and family of our deceased comrade our sincere sympathy and condolence in this hour of their bereavement; that we are mindful of their loss, which is likewise our loss, irreparable, sustained by his death; that we recognized his worth and held him in high esteem, and de-

plure with them his separation from us, and with them we shall ever cherish his memory. He yet survives in our hearts and affections.

Resolved, That this record and these resolutions be spread upon our minutes, and that duly certified copies thereof be sent to the family of our departed comrade, and also copies thereof be deposited in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka, Kan., and at Lawrence, Kan.

JERE T. DEW,	W. F. HENRY,
E. B. HOWARD,	J. L. WALKER,
J. W. JENKINS,	H. F. DEVOL,
W. F. CLOUD,	ROSS GRIFFIN,
C. N. BROOKS,	<i>Committee.</i>

"IT IS HEREBY CERTIFIED, That the above is an exact and true copy of the record and resolutions concerning our late comrade, Maj. Otis B. Gunn, adopted unanimously by this post, this 14th day of March, A. D. 1901, at Kansas City, Mo.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The commander of said post has herennto subscribed his name, and caused the same to be attested by the post adjutant, and the seal of said post to be hereunto affixed, at Kansas City, Mo., this 14th day of March, A. D. 1901. J. E. TURNER, *Post Commander.*

"DAVID C. BEACH, *Post Adjutant.*"

A KANSAS PIONEER MERCHANT.

Written for the State Historical Society, October, 1903, by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary.

THERE has been so much excitement of a political and public nature in the settlement and development of Kansas, that the biography of the average pioneer has largely to do with office-holding, controversy, or fighting. Those who participated in the organization of government, who were leaders in giving character to our institutions, labored under unusual circumstances, attracting more than ordinary attention; but none the less deserving of mention or fame are those who, in such chaotic condition as prevailed in territorial days, conducted successful business enterprises, and who contributed to the expenses of those who gave time and service to the public. In the beginning of things the tax upon the liberality of business men was far greater than it is to-day, because there was so much to do and so few to do it, while the uncertain condition of things gave hazard to contributions.

Hence there is something refreshing in the biography of a business man who has adhered strictly to business since the month of November, 1856, down to the present—the oldest continuous merchant in Kansas to-day; always refusing public or political favors; contenting himself solely with voting the Republican ticket, but ready with his services and money in advancing a business enterprise of use to his city, the territory, and his neighbors.

In the now almost half a century since the organization of Kansas as a territory, and therefore subject to settlement, statesmen, politicians, office-holders and whole communities have passed away. Those who have lost out and moved on; towns that have had national prominence in fact or in the minds of the projectors; schemes that died a bornin'; United States senators, congressmen and governors who existed only in sappy heads, have far outnumbered those who got there and stayed. The people of Kansas can look back and see all that has been done, how it was done; and the failures, and how they happened, are as significant as the successes.

It is interesting, therefore, when we note the style of old-time Kansas biography, to read the story of a Kansas pioneer who attended strictly to business. William Leamer, of Lecompton, without doubt the oldest continuous merchant in Kansas, will soon retire from business which he established in that city in No-

ember, 1856, and which he has continued in one place since 1857, and within less than a block of where he opened. This business he has conducted successfully all this time, never failing, and having never been sued. Mr. Leamer, it may be further said, began business on his own account in 1843, when he was seventeen years old, and he now closes sixty years of active business without failing, without being sued, and although he has sued others probably a dozen times, never once called for an execution against another.

There is not enough of this sort of biography written. There is an abundance of it among this people, but somehow there is a predilection toward the sensational and notorious. And yet with all his quiet attention to business Mr. Leamer had a connection with public affairs in the territorial days of exceeding interest; the local and political failures with which he was surrounded emphasizing the success he made in his chosen line of strictly business.

William Leamer was born at Leamersville, Blair county, Pennsylvania, September 8, 1826. He was the son of William Leamer and Catherine Gast, each being born in eastern Pennsylvania. There were eleven children in his father's family. Two besides himself still live—Levi G., at Altoona, Pa., and a sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Lovell, at Osborne, Kan. His education was limited to the common schools of Leamersville and East Freedom.

On the 8th of August, 1855, at Altoona, he was married to Anna Mary McCormick, whose family had previously removed from Hollidaysburg. She was the daughter of Alexander McCormick and Catherine Adams. Her parents were also natives of Pennsylvania. Mr. and Mrs. Leamer have had eight children: Kate K., Clara E., and William A., now dead; Ed. Brooke Leamer, a traveling man, with the Rocky Mountains for his field; Coates W., in business at Onaga; Mary McKinney Snyder, at Robinson; Harry Gast, at Lecompton; and Ella Butler, living at Hood River, Ore.

Mr. Leamer began business at Leamersville in 1843. In 1846 he moved to Hollidaysburg, the county-seat of Blair county, just created that year by the Pennsylvania legislature, and bought out Lloyd & Graff, a leading mercantile establishment. Here he did a large business until 1855, when the Kansas fever took hold of him, and he sold out. He and his wife started for Kansas in January, 1856, reaching Lecompton in May. In the following November he opened the business which he is now closing, and which has been a success, leaving him a comfortable competence, notwithstanding the public and political disasters to the town of his choice.

A number of Hollidaysburgers and other Pennsylvanians had located at Lecompton, without much thought of the slavery question. Dr. A. Rodrique, of Hollidaysburg, was one of the town company, and was doubtless responsible for leading the others. Later, other Pennsylvanians came to the neighborhood, who announced themselves as free-state Democrats, and, as the town became the pro-slavery capital and headquarters, they were regarded as abolitionists, and became very offensive. The Leamers and the McCormicks away back in Pennsylvania were, however, Whigs and Republicans.

If Leamer had put his energy, liberality and success at a point not doomed for political reasons, how much more he would have accomplished; and yet, who knows. As it has been, he has done his part well, he has made a pleasant home, raised a delightful family, and left a mercantile record for honor and uprightness never excelled and rarely equaled.

At the time of his settlement at Lecompton, the national government was engaged in erecting a capitol building for the future state of Kansas. This was in the interest of the scheme to force Kansas into the Union as a slave state. The

foundation of this building was placed, and the walls built a few feet above the ground. The contractors on the job were A. Rodrique, Samuel J. Jones, James C. Bailey, and Findlay Patterson; all being Pennsylvanians except Jones. Congress spent \$50,000 on the job, and, as sentiment changed rapidly from 1856 to December, 1857, no more money could be had. The last contractor got into debt to Mr. Leamer about \$1000, at which figure the credit was stopped. This puts some responsibility on Mr. Leamer of squeezing out the first capitol. He afterwards received \$500 of the amount, leaving \$500 in the effort to give Kansas a capitol building.

The free-state men were determined that there should be no capital at Lecompton, and, when they came into power, removed the session of the legislature to Lawrence in 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861. But that they should have no excuse, the citizens of Lecompton provided ample hall room and hotel accommodations. A majority of the sentiment of the neighborhood was pro-slavery, and both elements made an effort for a hotel, each standing in the other's way, and so without success. Mr. Leamer and the celebrated Robert S. Stevens were on the free state subscription for a hotel for \$500 each. At last Leamer proposed that he and Stevens transfer their subscription to the pro-slavery side, which was done, and before night a contract was made for a stone hotel, known to fame as the Rowena. In a few months the control of the enterprise was shifted to the free state crowd, and when finished a free-state landlord was put in charge. But in the progress of construction and equipment help and credit were needed, and, with seven others, William Leamer signed a note for \$8000. Everybody knows what happened. The legislature regularly adjourned to Lawrence, and, as William H. Seward predicted, Lecompton became as lonesome as a lone widow on a hill. But that note! Dynasties may fall, revolutions come, parties decay, and political manipulators die, but a note with a good name on it goes on. Three months after that note was outlawed, William Leamer paid every dollar of it, with interest, making about \$10,000 in all, the other fellows falling by the way-side, either for lack of stuff or conscience.

In addition, the landlord, in attempting to feed the statesmen, that they might have no excuse for leaving, became indebted to Leamer about \$500, adding so much more to his enterprising zeal for the town of his adoption. To help establish a private boarding-house he contributed about \$400; but nothing could entice the free-state people to tolerate Lecompton as their seat of government.

In territorial days a stage line was established between Lawrence and St. Joseph. In order to have the stage company make Lecompton a point, he built a barn for them, costing him about \$1000. He put \$1600 into a pontoon bridge. He and a few others, in the early days, built a Presbyterian church, which is now used as a residence. He has hundreds of dollars in Episcopal, Catholic and Southern Methodist enterprises, now defunct. He and his good wife were of the straight-laced Presbyterian stock in Pennsylvania, but when left without their kind, and the United Brethren adopted Lecompton, they joined with this element in maintaining church work in the community.

About 1864 or 1865 the United Brethren denomination purchased the foundation of the capitol and erected thereon a two-story building, which they called Lane University, in honor of General and United States Senator James H. Lane. Our recollection is that Lane promised to endow the institution very liberally, but Lane had a prolific mouth in this respect—he was a dollarless man. This summer the institution was removed to Holton and consolidated with Campbell University. From beginning to end, Lane University cost the subject of our sketch about \$10,000. The old Rowena hotel, which has been used in conneo-

tion with Lane University as a dormitory, is now being remodeled for a hardware and agricultural-implement store.

Mr. Leamer first engaged in business on the corner of Woodson and Halderman avenues. On this corner he now has as fine a residence as there is in Douglas county. In 1857 he built a store-room on Elmore avenue, in which place he has continued to this day. In 1857 this was the finest store in Douglas county, and he carried the best stock of goods.*

In 1859 he started a store in Junction City, and in August, 1860, sold out to the famous firm of Streeter & Strickler. For many years he also did business at Perry, in Jefferson county. He established other people in business, getting the worst of it a couple of times; but he took hold of each concern and made them pay out 100 cents on the dollar. His credit with wholesalers was unbounded. During his sixty years of continuous business his losses from bad accounts run upwards of \$130,000; some of it, of course, such as occurs to all business men, a little of it perhaps to bad judgment, but a whole lot of it due to cleverness and an ambitious desire to push along enterprises of a useful public nature. Much that he did in territorial days was wasted because of political animosities, but that does not lessen the fact that he did his duty. Now that he has concluded to retire, the evidence is all in, and it is certain that he came from a family of stayers.

In no department of activity or enterprise did Mr. Leamer lag. When the scheme of building a railroad from Topeka to Kansas City was suggested, he promptly took hold, in March, 1872, and obtained the right of way from the farmers through Lecompton township as a gift to the company, and without expense on his part. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe started from Atchison, but the development of Kansas City necessitated the construction of a line down the valley from Topeka. Mr. Leamer began freighting with an ox team from Leavenworth; in 1866 his wagon service was reduced to a drive from the Union Pacific at Perry, across the river; and later the great Santa Fe, successor of the local company, came within three blocks of his store and residence. That he was always a cash man, always putting up his share through life, it may be said that he does not know the sensation of riding on a pass or of having any dead-head freight.

We are told that but three merchants in a hundred go through life without failing. Therefore Mr. Leamer is not only the oldest merchant at one stand in Kansas, but he is one of the three out of a hundred. He stayed with his business—came to Kansas with that purpose; and I think the lesson of his life is of more use than that of the man who became governor, congressman, or United States senator. Mr. Leamer was never called tricky, never charged with taking advantage of another; always known for unlimited cleverness toward his neighbors. There never was any fault found with his business operations; his record shows the most scrupulous business integrity and personal honor, whereas, a person may reach a political job without either of these old-fashioned virtues.

To those who have adhered to business after the manner of Mr. Leamer the state of Kansas owes its advancement. He has had the help and inspiration of a splendid woman. Eliza Jane McCormick, an aunt of Mrs. Leamer, had charge of the infant Sunday-school of the First Presbyterian Church in his old Pennsylvania town for years and years; and when I think of the thousands of boys and girls, afterwards and now strong men and women scattered all over the country,

*He closed this business out March 15, 1904, to his sons, Brooke and Harry G., under the firm name of Leamer & Leamer, and is now retired.

with her impress upon their minds and hearts, I would not trade her record for that of a whole township full of women's clubs of to-day. It is the sort of blood and brain and companionship from which William Leamer has drawn in his battle of life, and this is the mettle which is sending the pioneers of Kansas ringing down the ages.

RAILROAD GRADING AMONG INDIANS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by A. ROENIGK,* of Lincoln, Kan.

THE year of 1868 was a busy time in western Kansas, especially at the army posts. Forts Harker and Hays were active. Indians had committed many depredations on the Solomon river and at other places. The Nineteenth Kansas cavalry was being organized. This regiment, with General Custer and the Seventh cavalry, was getting ready for an Indian campaign. Horses, mules, wagons and other freight were shipped by rail to these military posts. From here soldiers and wagon-trains followed the Indians south to the Indian Territory. After a battle they were brought to terms and then fed by the government at a place named Camp Supply. I had been working for the government, and came to Fossil Creek station in November to work on the railroad.

Ellsworth and Hays City were small frontier towns, with no others between or west of Hays to Sheridan, a small place at the end of the road near the state line. From there freight was hauled by wagon-train to Denver.

Fossil Creek † station had no depot or telegraph office. A water-tank and a small frame box house, the shape of a freight car, were the only buildings. The side-track was about one mile west of the station. I think it had been built for the purpose of loading building stone for culverts and bridges.

A man named John Cook was in charge of the station, pumping water for locomotives by horse power (one horse). He and his wife also boarded the section men, generally six or seven. Several small dugouts were the quarters of the men and a large one was occupied by the boarding boss and his wife, which was also the dining-room for all. It had small windows on all four sides and could be used as a fort in time of need. Large herds of buffalo were in sight many times and other game was plenty.

The railroad had been built the year before and was named Union Pacific, Eastern Division; afterwards the name was changed to Kansas Pacific. There

* ADOLPH ROENIGK was born in Thuringia, Prussia, in 1847. He is the son of Gotlob and Maria Roenigk, who were honest, thrifty farmers in good circumstances. He received a common-school education up to the age of thirteen, when he came to America, settling in Wisconsin, leaving his parents in the old country. A few years later he went to St. Louis and learned the trade of saddle- and harness-making, attending night school. In 1866 he made a tour of Kansas, visiting Lawrence, Topeka, and Manhattan, returning by way of Leavenworth. In 1868 he came to Kansas to make his home, working for the government during the Indian troubles of that year. He settled in Clay county in 1870, and in 1871 his parents came from Germany and joined him. He engaged in the saddlery and harness business at Clifton, Washington county, and was worth at this time \$20,000. He removed to Lincoln, Kan., and engaged quite extensively in manufacturing, and has always done a prosperous business. He built several business blocks. He was burned out in 1897, without insurance, and met with other losses about the same time. He made a trip to California for his health. He is a bachelor, an Odd Fellow, and a Royal Arch Mason. He is still engaged in business, as much for pleasure as profit, and is comfortably fixed.

† Fossil creek is a branch of the Smoky Hill. Fossil station became the present town of Russell, April 19, 1871, through adoption by the Northwestern Colony Association, of Ripon, Wis. In 1874 it was made the county-seat of Russell county.

were no regular passenger trains running; only a mixed train, one a day each way, and once in a while an extra. Indians had been troublesome more or less ever since the road was built, and men had been killed along the line. The company had armed its men with guns for their protection, six or seven of which belonged to the equipment of each section gang, the same as the tools. We called them railroad guns and we carried them with us when going to work, but, seeing no Indians, some of the boys would get careless and leave them at home. They were breech-loading rifles of an unusual caliber. The ammunition could not be found for sale anywhere, and it was furnished by the railroad company in such limited quantities as to allow no practice, and we were generally out, or nearly so.

Three of us, George Seeley, the boss, Charles Sylvester, and myself, intended to stay together and with the job at the station for some time. Each had bought a Spencer carbine, a seven-shot repeating rifle, which has the magazine in the butt of the gun, and was one of the best at that time.

About May 20, or a week before the raid, a man on horseback was passing through and stopped with us for dinner. I think he was a scout or some kind of government employee. He told us the report at Fort Hays was that the Indians had broken out at Camp Supply and were coming north, and we had better be on the lookout.

On May 28 there were seven of us. Besides us three who had the Spencers there were George Taylor, Alexander McKeefer, John Lynch, and a man whose name I have forgotten. The latter had taken his gun with him, but had forgotten his ammunition and had left it at home. The other three were armed.

I was the youngest man among them, but the oldest hand on the job at the time, and can say for myself that I was the most careful. Only a few days before I had urged one of the men who was killed to take his gun with him when going to work. I had sixty rounds of ammunition, and the other two men about thirty rounds each. We were working on the track about one and three-fourths miles west of the station, and about 300 yards east of a large ravine running north to the Saline river; a branch of this one heads about a quarter of a mile east of where we were at work, and so we were between the two.

While busy at work in the forenoon I overheard an argument between two of the men about Indians. They were looking north, and one contended that he had seen Indians; the other said they were not. On looking up I had seen what might have been a bay animal. It had dropped out of sight, and the distance was too far to be sure. The hand-car was standing on the track with the guns in the rack. I started for the car to load my gun. Charles Sylvester, who was our funny man, always full of stories and jokes, made fun of me, calling me a coward, because I had done the same thing once or twice before when it turned out to be nothing but antelope, or something of that kind. I laid down my gun without loading it and went back to work. About an hour later, and when we had forgotten about it, one of the men shouted, "Yes, they *are* Indians." It flashed through my head as another of Charlie's jokes, but the same instant I saw Indians on their ponies coming out of the ravine west of us, yelling like demons.

I ran for my gun, and, seizing my cartridge bag, grabbed a handful, but, loading in haste, got one too many in the gun. I could not shut down the magazine and had to pull it out and take out one. This occupied several moments. The Indians were right on our heels, firing at us, and the bullets made the dust fly all around me. Some one called, "Come on." Looking up I saw the boys on the car leaving me. I ran and got on the car. We tried to get the car under

headway, but had gone only a short distance when Indians came out of the ravine ahead of us, and the next minute we were surrounded and they were firing into us from all sides. We had to take to our guns.

The Indians were also in danger of hitting one another. They opened out in front and let us pass, keeping up the fire from both sides and behind. I thought it impossible to reach the station alive. A culvert was ahead of us. I called to the boys, "Let's get into the culvert." Some one said "No." I think it was one who had no gun. These words, and "O God!" by one of the men killed, were the only ones spoken during the run. On we went. It was impossible to get the car under headway, as the Indians came so close we had to take to our guns, which slackened the speed of the car; but before we could get them to our shoulders, like circus riders, the Indians would slip on the other side of their ponies, and we would let drive at them now and then.

About half way, Alexander McKeefer and John Lynch were killed, and fell from the car a few hundred yards apart. Each time a crowd of Indians jumped off their ponies and gathered round. The last one exclaimed "O God!" I turned to look at him and saw he was struck. The Indians were pressing us hard. I turned back towards them and the next moment I saw him lying on the track behind us. Again the Indians gathered round and I fired a shot into the crowd. When their guns were empty and no time to reload, we received a shower of arrows. One struck George Seeley in the thigh. He jerked it out the next moment. About one-half mile from our dugout the Indians turned and left us. When within a few hundred yards of the station we met John Cook, with his rifle, coming toward us.

All got into the large dugout with our guns, placed the ammunition on a table in the center of the room, where it was handy, and waited for the Indians to come. We expected to be attacked. As none appeared, we spread some quilts on the floor, and four of us, who were wounded, George Seeley, Charles Sylvester, George Taylor, and myself, laid down, while the man that was not hurt kept watch outside, in turn with John Cook. Nothing was seen for several hours. In the afternoon twenty-eight Indians passed that station on the south, but out of our range, walking one behind the other, leading their ponies, to a point on the road about two miles east, where they tore up the track by breaking off the heads of spikes and setting fire to the joint ties. They were the old-fashioned chair rails. In that way they removed some rails. The smoke was plainly seen from the station, and we suspected what they were doing.

Both trains were due at midnight, to pass one another on the side-track one mile west. The one from the west came first and found the road bed damaged, but a wreck was prevented on account of the train going slow to go onto the side-track. John Cook intended to flag the train from the east, but would not venture out to the other side of the damaged track. When the train came in sight he made a fire in the center of the track at the station by burning a bale of hay, but the signal was not understood by the engineer on account of the distance, and the train ran into the ditch.

The nearest telegraph station was Bunker Hill. A wrecking train to arrive and repair the track required nearly two days. We were taken to the government hospital at Fort Harker, later to Ellsworth, and treated by a doctor in the employ of the railroad company from Salina.

In the fall I went back to Fossil Creek station. Things had changed. The place was a busy tie camp. The railroad was being extended from the state line to Denver. Wood-choppers were making ties and chopping cord wood on Paradise creek for the new extension, and teams were hauling them to the sta-

tion. Locomotives then burned wood. We had a telegraph office. The name of the operator was John J. Burns. A squad of soldiers were stationed here, as at every other station along the line. They were of Gen. Nelson A. Miles's regiment, the Fifth infantry, with headquarters at Fort Harker. Twice more we saw Indians; one time a mile west, at nearly the same place. Eight were coming from the south. Seeing us, they turned and took a course west and were soon out of sight. We were feeling all right that time, and would have just as soon had a round or two with them. The soldiers at the station had also seen them and were coming to where we were. It was not known whether there were any more in the vicinity or not.

In the spring of 1870 I left the station. At the time of the raid we were criticized by some, claiming that we acted cowardly in taking to our heels; that we should have made a stand and that we could have easily whipped them, and so on.* For myself, I will say at the time I had no other thought than my gun. Although we had plenty of warning we were completely surprised. In a very short time the prairie seemed swarming with Indians, and the majority of us were without means of defense. By the way the firing commenced, we knew they were well armed. The place there is level and hardly any ditch for us to get into. But this was not all. Leaving myself out, I will say the boys had reason to believe we could outrun the Indian ponies, as we had done once before when we had a race with some of the best horses of Fort Hays. This can best be told by relating the whole story.

About February, I think it was, we had a blizzard that filled ravines and railroad cuts full of snow and left very little on the prairie. The sun came out warm and we were shoveling snow to clear the track. We had had no train for a week. We had our section clear except one cut six miles west. While going there one afternoon to finish, a few miles from the station we met a big, burly looking fellow with a pair of six-shooters strapped to his side coming on foot. Answering a few questions as to the distance to the station, etc, we passed on and forgot about him. Arriving at the cut we shoveled snow on the east end, when one of the boys had occasion to go up on the high ground. He came down immediately with the report, "Indians are coming." Another went, to know the truth of the statement. He also came down with the same report.

All seemed to think the dugout would be the best place for us; so without argument we pulled for home. We had gone but a short distance when horsemen appeared on the high ground behind us, and one of them fired a shot. Here the railroad makes a long bend. Four or five of the best mounted on the north side took across the prairie to head us off. A lively race followed. We had a good car and down grade, and I might say we fairly made her fly. The bend in the road was not short enough and we easily outwinded the horses.

Being out of reach, we took it moderately. Getting home, we all got into the large dugout with our guns and got things ready for a reception. A while later those horsemen who had run the race with us came in sight. One was carrying a stick with a white handkerchief tied to it as a flag of truce. Coming nearer,

*Grading on the railroad was quite risky in 1867 and 1868. Tuesday, June 18, 1867, Thomas Parks, contractor, and three other men were killed by Indians on the grade about where Wilson is now. Parks was a partner of Vincent J. Lane, of Kansas City, Kan. Mr. Lane declined to contract further because of the danger, and it was but a short time after he retired that Parks was caught. On Saturday, the 22d, three more men were killed and scalped near Monument station, and 1000 laborers driven from their work along the line. A few days later two men were killed at Bunker Hill. On the 27th a camp was attacked and one grader killed and another wounded, and five Indians killed. Lieutenant-general Sherman called on Governor Crawford for eight companies of cavalry, and the Eighteenth Kansas regiment was the result.

we saw that they were army officers, and later there came about thirty privates of the Tenth cavalry. They were negroes and those our two men had taken for Indians.

They were following the track in the snow of the man whom we had met in the afternoon. He was said to be a horse thief, and when they saw the car going they thought he was on and tried to head us off. On reaching the station, they took a circle around the place looking for his tracks, to see that he had not left; then the darkies made a search of our dugout with drawn guns. Finally they located him up in the water tank, made him hand down his guns and come down. The officers then had him tied by his wrists with the rope over the beam in the tank building and made him stand on his tip toes. In that way they tried to get a confession out of him as to who his pals were. They worked with him all night.

An organized gang of horse thieves were about Hays City, and some of the best horses and mules had been taken from the government corral. The snow came at the wrong time, and it got too hot for the thieves, and this one tried to get away on foot. One of the soldiers told me the thief must have traveled forty miles that day, but the snow was not melted enough but what they could track him.

The next morning all started back to Fort Hays. The man had to walk with his hands tied, and a rope to the saddle of one of the negroes. Later we heard that he never reached the fort, but that he was found in an abandoned sod house on the way, with bullet holes through him and some sod thrown over him. Our supposition was that the officers rode on ahead and left him to his fate in the hands of the soldiers, who killed him.

In conclusion, I will say that I believe the chances taken in getting on that car were greater than otherwise, and don't think I would have been in favor of it; but as soon as we started and saw Indians coming out of the ravine ahead of us I thought it was a mistake, and I hardly expected to reach the station alive. Hundreds and hundreds of shots were fired at us, and twenty-eight bullet marks were counted on us and the hand-car. It was a wonder we were not all killed. On the other hand, if the car had been off the track there would have been no time to get it on, and it might have been better for us, as we would have been compelled to make a stand. We three were fairly good shots, and they could not have got us without our getting some of them, perhaps a large number; and after killing a few, they might have left us alone. Being near the railroad, we would have had relief.

The trouble was we were not organized. Those who had no guns would not depend on us three; but, in justice to the boys, I will say they were not cowards any more than the average citizen. They expected to outrun the Indians, as we had the army officers, and could we have gotten the car under good headway they could have done us little if any harm. When it was over we did not know that we hit any one, but the next day one pony was found dead in its tracks on the south side, and the carcass of another was found later, some distance north and west.

When the train that had been on the side-track during the night came down to the station the next morning, the trainmen picked up the dead bodies on the way. They were stripped of clothing and horribly butchered up. They were scalped, and rings of telegraph wire were through the calves of their legs and fleshy parts of their bodies, and arrows stuck into them. Being hurt myself, I was advised not to see them. They were wrapped in blankets and buried about 300 yards south of the railroad-track and a little east of the water-tank,

somewhere near what is now the main street of Russell. [On the lot now occupied by Hill's store.—ED.] In the winter of 1869 I put up a headstone for each—common limestone, the only kind I could get—on which I cut their names, native state, and the words: "Killed by Indians, May 28, 1868." Alexander McKeefe was a Canadian, and John Lynch a New Yorker, of Irish descent. Both were between thirty and thirty-five years of age.

A DEFENSE BY SAMUEL D. LECOMPTE.*

Occasioned by a newspaper controversy, and published by SOL. MILLER, in the *Troy Chief*, February 4, 1875; reprinted in this volume by the secretary as an act of historic justice.

IT has been the greatest misfortune of a life, by no means exempt in smaller measure, that I accepted the position of chief justice of the territory of Kansas, soon after its creation; not that the position was not one in itself desirable; not that I failed to apprehend its duties and its responsibilities; not that, in aught, I did not bring to the discharge of its duties as fair and impartial a spirit, as full an exemption from partiality, prejudice, favoritism, partizanship as ever entered with a judge upon his seat; not that, when I retired, I did not possess a conscience as free from censure as ever possessed a human bosom; not that to-day, with the increasing solicitude excited by the near approach of the "hour" to all human aspirations and fears, I have a regret for one solitary act of my judicial life. Its misfortune was this—this only: that my service filled a period, scarcely paralleled in the history of this country, for the violence of the political animosities aroused; the ingathering, amongst many that were good, of so many that were vicious and depraved; the facilities that existed; the prompt-

*SAMUEL D. LECOMPTE was born on the eastern shore of Maryland, December 13, 1814. He died at the residence of his son, J. T. Lecompte, 1224 Campbell street, Kansas City, Mo., on the morning of April 24, 1888. He lived in Cambridge, Md., where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1854 he was appointed by President Pierce chief justice of the territorial court of Kansas, which position he held from October 3, 1854, to March 9, 1859. In the early part of December, about five weeks after his appointment, he arrived in the territory, accompanied by his wife, five children, and two negro women. Upon his retirement from the bench he resumed the practice of law, locating at Leavenworth. At the close of the war he renounced his former political belief and became a Republican. He served four years as probate judge of Leavenworth county. He represented Leavenworth in the state legislatures of 1867 and 1868. April 15, 1874, he was elected chairman of the Republican congressional committee of the first district, Cy. Leland being secretary, when William A. Phillips, territorial correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, was representative in Congress for that district. Judge Lecompte resided in Leavenworth twenty-two years, when in 1887 he went to Kansas City to live with his son. He was married, April 28, 1841, to Camilla Anderson, who died at Leavenworth, October 22, 1877. He made an address before the State Historical Society, February 24, 1879, Governor Robinson presiding. In the fourth volume of the *Kansas Historical Collections* will be found a letter from Judge Lecompte to Congressman J. A. Pearce, of Maryland. The town of Lecompton was named for him. The Historical Society has a number of manuscripts from Judge Lecompte. Among them we find the original of the following, referring to the murder of R. P. Brown, at Easton, January 17, 1856:

"JANUARY 18, 1856.

"*Mr. McMeekin or other Deputy Marshal*: The accompanying warrant, I understand, it is important to have served speedily. I am told that there is danger that in the excitement under which those having custody of Mr. Brown are, personal harm may be done him. It is of infinite importance that everything like mob violence shall be restrained in the territory. In the condition of affairs existing, every good citizen ought, at all hazards, to array himself on the side of law and order. The recurrence of deeds of violence must be stopped. If need be in order to secure the prompt acquiescence of those in whose hands Mr. Brown is, say to them that he must be surrendered to your custody, to be dealt with as the law directs, and that the refusal to surrender him must be treated as high-handed outrage upon the laws of the country. If you think it will be needful and of service let those persons see this.

Very respectfully yours, SAML. D. LECOMPTE."

Several letters passed between Judge Lecompte and the former secretary of the Historical Society, Franklin G. Adams. The last one is dated March 7, 1887, in response to a request

ness with which they were seized to charge every violence and every homicide to political account; the already excited hostility with which immigrants from the North and from the South gathered here, not as theretofore in friendly rivalry to extort its riches from the bosom of the earth by diligent toil, but, *volens volens*, by right or by wrong, to force and to resist the recognition of slavery as an institution of the future state; and consequent upon all these, the utter impossibility that those holding official position could escape calumny.*

The Kansas-Nebraska bill gave to every resident on the day of the first election a right to vote. The adjacency of Missouri, separated in the north only by the river, in the south only by an imaginary line, gave to the citizens of that state all advantages in the control of the first election. Of these they availed themselves. These they abused, coming hither just in time to vote, and after the election returning. They carried the elections. Representatives thus elected constituted the first legislature. They enacted the laws of 1855. However flagrant after-facts may have shown the abuse to have been, these were the laws; were so recognized by the government; could but be so recognized by the judges; were so recognized until repealed; and are to this day the source of numberless rights of property of all kinds, and would to-day be interpreted by the judges of our courts, if a question of right depended upon them for adjudication.

Unpopular as may be the opinion, it was then, with all the opportunities I had of knowing, is now, and I doubt not will be to my dying day, my firm conviction that the politicians of the time, no purer nor less pure than the politicians before and since, were mainly anxious to carry their projects to success, and were

for a cabinet photograph of himself. The judge says: "You were kind enough to ask me to give our (your) Historical Society your (my) cabinet photo portrait. You did not say whether it was by direction of the Society or only at the prompting of your own friendly feelings. It is not the first time that you have evinced towards me a generous disposition in a somewhat similar direction, to which I take pleasure in adding that I have found you, beside, to the extent that social relations have presented the opportunity for any demonstration, always affable and courteous. Were your request, therefore, a merely personal one, I should respond to it with unhesitating compliance, and no less ready acknowledgments for the compliment it would imply. But coming in the form it does and for the purpose specified, while I, none the less, appreciate your motives and return my heartfelt thanks for the intended kindness, I feel obliged by every consideration of self-respect, and in deference to long-felt and profoundly impressed convictions, to decline your suggestion." Here follow twelve pages of exceeding bitterness, closing with the following paragraph: "Instead of contributing to its perpetuation in archives, so abounding with manifold outrages, and where such a character holds and, so far as human prescience can forecast, is destined to hold a lofty preeminence, I should greatly prefer that my name should be erased from every record and obliterated from every memory. Thanking you again, most profoundly, for your individual consideration, I close with the assurance that I have no desire that my photograph or picture should grace, as perhaps a score of personal friends might deem, or disgrace, as the hosts who have confederated to my destruction would adjudge, the halls of the Historical Society of the state."

*On the 23d of September, 1856, Gov. John W. Geary addressed a letter to Chief Justice Lecompte and Associate Justices Cato and Burrell, in which he said: "Upon my arrival here I found this territory in a state of insurrection, business paralyzed, the operations of the courts suspended, and the civil administration of the government inoperative and seemingly useless. Much complaint has been made to me against the territorial officers for alleged neglect of duty, party bias, and criminal complicity with a state of affairs which resulted in a contempt of all authority," closing with three questions as to their districts and the amount of business in each. (Kansas Historical Collections, volume 4, pages 555, 556.) Cato and Burrell did not respond. Judge Lecompte responded (volume 4, pages 602-607), with the information asked for, and from which is quoted the following:

"As to the complaints made to you 'for alleged neglect of duty,' the charge, like the others mentioned, is too general to be responded to otherwise than by a general denial, and a reference to the responses which follow to your inquiries.

"As to the charge of 'party bias,' if it means the fact of such bias, I regard it as ridiculous; because I suppose every man in this country, with very few exceptions, indeed, entitled to respect either for his abilities, his intelligence, or his virtue, has a 'party bias.' I am proud of

quite secondarily concerned as to the modes, and that this was true of both sides no reasonable man can doubt.

Circumstances changed, the description of Missouri outrages might have been those of another state of opposite policy. Be this as it may, thus we were provided officers and people, with a body of laws as good in general as any other body of laws then governing any other state or has since governed this. No objection, so far as I know, was ever made to the laws, with the exception of the very absurd provisions relating to slavery, nor was any ever made to this, within my knowledge, in the courts of the territory — certainly no question touching it ever arose in any court held by me.

The head and front of my offending hath this extent, no more: that, as judge, I administered these laws until they were repealed. If in this I polluted the judicial ermine or committed any other crime, then am I amenable to such charges. If there be any man who thinks that this was to disgrace the judicial office, I have quite as much commiseration for his stupidity as he can have of censure for my offense, with the very flattering advantage on my side, that my feeling rests upon reason, while the censure is due to a very low order of ignorance. With those whose condemnation rests upon this fact I have no controversy.

That a considerable body of the people of the territory, under the leadership of false teachers, instead of abiding by the laws, until so much of them as was objectionable, either in their provisions or the manner of their adoption, could be repealed, arrayed themselves against them, and defied the officers, executive and judicial, entrusted with their administration and execution, was the great mistake of the time. This condition of affairs necessitated a very large increase of the already existing troubles.

The only alternatives were an abandonment by the entire corps of officials, from the president of the United States to the lowest territorial officer, of their highest duty, or the maintenance of the laws. They, myself amongst them, adopted and sustained the last alternative. That they were right in this I am not to discuss. But in the maintenance of this alternative, did I abuse or pervert my power, to the wrong of any living soul? Did I abuse or pervert my power by affection, on the other hand, or partiality, to secure a living soul from a rightfully incurred condemnation? If, in either of these regards, I was at any time derelict, then I am well charged with malfeasance in office, and richly deserving to have my name reproached and dishonored. If not, then are they libelers, and wicked libelers, who so stigmatize me, as has been done, until I was obliged, in self-vindication, to appeal to the law for an ascertainment of the proof.

It was reasonably to be expected that, where such fierce invectives have been

mine. It has, from my first manhood to this day, placed me in the ranks of the Democratic party. It has taught me to regard that party as the one, par excellence, to which the destinies of this country are particularly entrusted for preservation.

"If it be intended to reach beyond that general application, and to charge a pro-slavery bias, I am proud, too, of this. I am the steady friend of Southern rights under the constitution of the United States. I have been reared where slavery was recognized by the constitution of my state. I love the institution as entwining around all my early and late associations; because I have seen as much of the nobility of the human heart in the relation of master and servant, and on the part of the one as well of the other, as I have seen elsewhere. I have with me now an old woman who left all to come with me when it was purely at her discretion. Another who did the same have I lost, and buried with care and decency at Fort Leavenworth. An old man has come to me, under the care of a youthful nephew, within a few days, all the way from Maryland, and passing through every intervening free state, with a perfect knowledge of the fact, and making his way through various interferences by his own ingenuity.

"If it means more than the fact, and to intimate that this 'party bias' has affected the integrity of my official action in any solitary case, I have but to say that it is false — basely false.

"In relation to the other charge, of 'criminal complicity with a state of affairs which terminated in a contempt of all authority,' I will content myself with saying that it, too, is false — basely false, if made in relation to me, and to defy the slanderer to the proofs of a solitary act to justify the deepest villain in such an aspersion."

hurled, there must have been many glaring acts of intolerance and outrage, easily specified and susceptible of the clearest proof—many individuals, the unhappy victims of those wrongs, who, with the readiest alacrity, would have preferred their complaints and loaded me with fresh reproach.

Now, where are these persons? Who knows of one? With the single exception of Cole McCrea, I have heard of none. And what are the facts in his case? That he killed Malcolm Clark in the streets of Leavenworth in the spring of 1855 is an undeniable fact. I then resided at the Shawnee Mission, and was at home at the time. I heard of the murder, and at the same time was informed that there were threatenings of mob violence. In less than an hour after the information was received I was on the road to Leavenworth, for the sole purpose of determined resistance to such a procedure. Stopping at Fort Leavenworth over night, I went early in the morning to Leavenworth city, and, by earnest protest and entreaty with all such as I knew and met, prepared the way, before the hour appointed for the meeting for deliberating, for the passage of a resolution disavowing all interference with the regular administration of the law. When the meeting assembled I took the stand, and, with whatever of energy and earnestness and ability I possessed, urged the adoption of the resolution. Nobly seconded and sustained by the better thinking, the resolution was carried, against some violent opposition. Thanking the audience for the result, I immediately left, and had no part in any other of their proceedings.

Other resolutions of a highly inflammatory and partizan character were afterwards passed by them, as I learned from the next issue of the paper, where I saw them, along with the one I had come all the way from the mission, forty miles, to carry, and myself, in general terms, announced at the close as one of the speakers. My immediate purpose was to address a note to the editor, placing myself right by disavowing all connection and sympathy with the political part of their proceedings. Reluctant, however, to obtrude myself before the public, knowing, too, that every one present well understood my part in the matter, and little dreaming at that time of the future conflicts, I let the occasion pass, and thus, unfortunately for myself, left, without correction, an apparent record that did the greatest conceivable injustice.

It is this same report of the proceedings of the meeting, which being called to the attention of the investigating committee sent here by authority of Congress, led them to incorporate in their report that I had thus been one of the speakers at a political meeting at which very denunciatory partizan resolutions were passed—an act of the most inexcusable injustice on their part, when I had had no opportunity given me of explanation.

Shortly after this meeting I came up to Fort Leavenworth with my family, where I was allowed quarters for a few months. Then the case of McCrea was brought before me for preliminary hearing, and upon such hearing I thought it my duty, and as well his interest, to commit him to custody. This was done until the sitting of the court, which came on some months after. There being but a short time allotted to the term, before that to be held at Atchison and other places came on, no final action by the grand jury was taken until an adjourned term of forty days. At such term an indictment was found, and on the 14th day of November, 1855, his counsel applied, according to law, for a change of venue (and it was granted) to Shawnee county, in the second district. This was my entire connection with this case.

Shortly after that time he escaped from the guard-house at the fort; returned here some years afterward, when quietness had been restored and healing laws passed, and has remained undisturbed, as much to my satisfaction as that of

any other person. Upon the merit or demerit of the case I have had no occasion to decide, beyond that implied in the performance of the official duties above specified: nor have I at any time expressed an opinion beyond this: that it was such a case as made it my duty to hold him for trial.

Shortly before this I had had before me, at the Shawnee Mission, the case of one Kibby, a free-state man, who had killed a pro-slavery man. Him I had discharged on bail upon an entirely different state of facts, S. N. Wood, a prominent free-state man, being his counsel. It would be quite as fair to allege against me partiality in this case as prejudice in the other. The simple fact is, that I disposed of both with simple reference to their merits, as I understood them, and with no more regard to the political opinions or interest involved than to the color of their hair.

There is another case to which reference has been made, not unfrequently, that may be regarded as a specific accusation. It is that of the bailing of Charles Hays, after indictment for the murder of Buffum. This murder, undoubtedly, was amongst the most atrocious of those times.* Whether or not Hays was the guilty man is more than I know; about it I have never heard any proof, nor do I know that there was any. There was, it is true, an indictment, and that made some presumption that distinguished it from a case on preliminary examination, and, in the absence of extenuating circumstances, ought to have controlled, and would have controlled my judgment against bailing. Thus the question arose. The day before the necessary adjournment of court, at the close of a long term, when he had professed himself ready for trial, and the territory was not ready, his counsel made application for bail. I remarked that I did not feel at liberty to bail, under the circumstances, without knowing something of the merits of the case, and had the witnesses called, with a view to a summary inquiry as to the greatness of the presumption of guilt. No witnesses were in attendance. I stated that I would put the matter off until the next day, and proceeded with the business of the court, which consisted mainly in taking bail for appearance to the next term. The next day my attention was again called to the case, and when I asked if any witnesses were in attendance, and what the district attorney had to say, he rose in his place and stated that he knew Mr. Hays well: that he lived not far from him; that he regarded it as altogether uncertain whether any proof could connect him with the murder; that he had no doubt he could give good bail, and that so far as he, the prosecutor, was concerned, he should make no objections to his being bailed. I thereupon stated that, under those circumstances, I would take the bail, fixing the sum at \$10,000, and took a bail bond with five securities, reputed to be men of large means.

The next morning I left Leocompton for my home at Leavenworth, where I then resided, as I do now and have ever since. A day or two afterwards, Colonel Donalson, United States marshal, came to my house and told me that Governor Geary, after I had left, had denounced my conduct in bailing Hays, and threat-

* Governor Geary and Judge Cato happened along the road a few moments after the shooting of Buffum, and saw him weltering in his blood. This was on February 15. The murderer was one of a squad of six Kickapoo rangers, and in November Hays was arrested. Judge Cato, at the direction of the governor, took down the dying man's statement, as follows: "Oh, this was a most unprovoked and horrid murder. They asked me for my horses, and I plead with them not to take them. I told them that I was a cripple—a poor lame man; that I had an aged father—a deaf and dumb brother, and two sisters, all depending upon me for a living, and my horses were all I had with which to procure it. One of them said I was a God-d—d abolitionist, and, seizing me by the shoulder with one hand, he shot me with a pistol he held in the other. I am dying, but my blood will cry to heaven for vengeance, and this horrible deed will not go unpunished. I die a martyr to the cause of freedom, and my death will do much to aid that cause."—Gihon's "Geary and Kansas," page 167.

ened to report it to the president; had requested him, the marshal, to rearrest Hays, and, upon his declining to do, had ordered Colonel Titus to rearrest him. A few days afterwards application was made to me by Hays for a *habeas corpus*. This I issued, and upon his being brought before me by Titus, with a return setting forth the facts, I ordered his discharge from custody, and he was discharged; and thus the matter ended, so far as concerned action here. The case was represented by Governor Geary, but in the most distorted manner, to President Pierce. I made to President Pierce a statement of the facts as I have represented them here, and closed my letter to him with the assurance that, if he desired a chief justice for the territory of Kansas who could be dictated to in the discharge of his official functions by either the governor of this territory or the president of the United States, it would necessary to appoint another gentleman; that I had always performed my duties under a solemn sense of my obligations, without favor, affection, or prejudice; that I had so done in the case of Hays, and meant so to do while I held the office; and that my judicial conduct could not be controlled by either him or the governor.

President Pierce sent to the senate the name of a gentleman from Kentucky to supersede me, but the senate of the United States failed to confirm the nomination, and thus sustained me. But whether the senate had sustained me or not—but the more as it did—I ranked my conduct in that transaction as amongst the proudest acts of my life—only surpassed, if at all, by this: that subsequently to this wrong done me, when a Mr. Sherrard was killed at Lecompton, by a gentleman of Governor Geary's household, and the friends of Sherrard threatened the life of the governor, I remained there two days, upon learning of the threat, to prevent it, and did, by the most earnest exercise of my personal and official influence, allay the excitement.

I cannot doubt that Alexander Majors, in whose company and at whose request I had gone to Lecompton, of the firm of Russell & Majors, will well remember this fact. I desire in this connection to be expressly understood as intending no offense to the memory of Governor Geary. On the contrary, I am free to say that I entertained for him a high personal admiration, and received from him many acts of kindness and courtesy, not obliterated by a single injustice, the result of misrepresentations, and a consequently jaundiced view of the case, aided by the distortions of an egotism which those who have known him since, and better than myself, unless he had greatly altered, will be apt to admit to have been a prominent characteristic of him. Nor will I hesitate in passing, from any truckling to the prevailing fashion of speaking of President Pierce's administration, to say as a man, as a soldier or a statesman that Pierce is, in my opinion, entitled to the highest honor and respect and admiration.

That I may have erred in judgment in the matter of bailing Hays is possible, but I do not think I did; yet even if I did, it was but an error of judgment, and was amply retrieved by the resistance of the illegal and unwarrantable rearrest of him, by the executive authority, and maintenance of judicial independence.

Another accusation against me has been to the effect that the destruction of the Lawrence hotel and press was made under my authority. To this I can but offer unqualified denial, and an absolute defiance of any particle of proof from living witnesses or of record. Not until long after did it ever reach my ear that my name was in any manner connected with it, except that a newspaper article was sent to me describing my courts as scenes of drunken debauch, and myself as having been seen riding down to Lawrence astride of a whisky barrel, and directing operations. To such things I could scarcely have been expected to give denials. It did, however, in more serious forms, get into print, and even

into so-called histories, as that of "Geary and Kansas," by Gihon (the only man **whom** I have ever known who struck me as coming up to the full significance of lickspittle), that Sheriff Jones proclaimed in the streets of Lawrence, at the time, that the destruction of the property mentioned had been ordered *by the court*.

On the preliminary examination of the case against Anthony, James F. Legate distinctly disproved any such declaration by Jones. I know of nobody who will say that Jones ever made any such declaration. I have no idea that he ever did. All I can say is that, if he did, he stated what is unqualifiedly false. If he or any other living man should say that, by any order, oral or written, I directed such destruction, he would say what is unqualifiedly false. If he or any other living man should say that, by act or word, I had ever intimated any such thing, he would say what is unqualifiedly false. If he or any other living man should say that, by act or word, I had ever given an expression to a sentiment of approval of the destruction of this or any other property, he would say what is unqualifiedly false. If he or any other living man should say that he ever heard me express any other sentiment regarding it than unqualified condemnation, he would say what is unqualifiedly false.

What more can I say? If it be true that I did, directly or indirectly, by word, by intimation, by order, by connivance, by innuendo, advise, counsel, direct or approve of all or any of the wrongs then perpetrated, I trust that God almighty shall paralyze my arm as I write, so that this disavowal shall never meet the public eye. What more can I say? Where is the order? where was the trial, where the conviction upon which such an order could have been based? Do the records show it? Does anybody remember it? Has anybody ever seen it? How heartless, how base such aspersions!

There were presentments by the grand jury of the hotel and, I believe, of the press that denounced the laws and defied and counseled resistance to them. There may have been issued by the clerk of the court citations to the owners to appear in court and show cause why they should not be abated as nuisances. I know not that there were. It was not my duty to know, but that of the district attorney. If he ordered them, they would have been issued by the clerk. There may have been many writs in the hands of the marshal for service, and I presume there were; for I do know that it was to aid him in the service of the writs, which he stated his inability to serve without aid, that he made the foundation for his proclamation ordering a posse. It was his duty to serve the process of the courts. If he could not without aid, it was his duty to summon aid. This he did, and with this I had nothing to do. The public meetings assembled in Lawrence so understood; else wherefore is it that all their correspondence and resolutions and conferences through committees were addressed to and carried on with the governor and with the marshal? Why was not I ever addressed? Was it that they lacked confidence in me? Why, then, was not this somewhere disclosed in the course of the various movements to which the events gave rise? Nowhere in all the publications of the time will it be seen that my name was mentioned, except in the purely gratuitous and, as I have shown, absolutely groundless and false assertion that my authority justified the subsequent wrongs.

Another that may be treated as a definite arraignment of my conduct is the attempt by the congressional committee to blame me for the issuance against ex-Governor Reeder of an attachment, and the expression by them of an opinion that the object was to interfere with their proceedings. The facts are simply these: Governor Reeder was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury to testify. The marshal made return that he had served the subpoena, and that

Governor Reeder told him that he would not obey it. The district attorney demanded an attachment. I declined to order the attachment immediately, and stated as my reason that I thought it likely that the governor would, upon reflection, reconsider his determination, as I hardly thought it possible that he would adhere to such a purpose, and therefore deferred action in the matter to the next day. The next day the application was renewed. In the meantime, I had satisfied myself that he was not entitled to any exemption from such process, as it was stated that he claimed to be by reason of his position as a contestant for the seat as a delegate from the territory, and I therefore ordered the attachment. If I was not right in this, then was I never right in any order of attachment that I ever made. The committee expressed a doubt whether he was amenable to such a process; but, with due deference to their respectability and position, I beg leave to say that I hold the opposite proposition just as clear as that either you or I would be subject to a similar process should we disobey a subpoena. The opinion that my object was to embarrass their investigations, was as unauthorized and as far from the fact as it would have been had they said that I was holding my regular term for that reason. I regretted exceedingly that the necessity existed, but would far more have merited denunciation had I shrunk from my duty than I do for the discharge of it without respect to persons.

Another of the terrible murders of our early history was that of a Mr. Hoppe, in the neighborhood of Leavenworth, and not more than a mile from my residence. It was charged to one Fugitt, who escaped pursuit for some time, but was finally arrested and brought before me for trial, upon an indictment for murder. I had been accused of trying and acquitting him with just the same propriety that would be any other judge before whom an alleged or real criminal had been acquitted. No one has ever intimated any reason why I should have sympathized with him, nor can I conceive of any such reason to be assigned. That I should have been conceived capable of that absolute baseness that sees justification for an unprovoked, wicked, devilish murder in the fact that there was a difference of opinion between the victim and myself, and an accord of views between me and the demon of his destruction, upon one or more political questions, is more than I can understand. He who so conceives might well be supposed, under some strange intuition, to have that wresting of his normal, healthful operations of judgment from their natural channel by which incomprehensible modes of thought are substituted for the ordinary exercise of our faculties. Some self-generated process for the attainment of conclusions peculiar to an abnormal disintegration, and only estimable by a large concession to the power of innate adaptation, finding its parallel no otherwhere than in those fishes found in the subterranean waters of great caves, in which, for lack of eyes, some as yet undiscovered organism must have been developed, by a forcing necessity, to render the services of perception.

Fugitt was as much a stranger to me as was Hoppe. My first knowledge of him was, when under indictment, he was arraigned before me for trial. This ought to be a sufficient vindication of any man not known to be so absolutely lacking in moral principles, so utterly devoid of every sentiment of honor and appreciation of official propriety as to be ranked in the lowest scale of human existence. These delinquencies found in ordinary degree could not be supposed to incline to sympathy toward the perpetrator of so wanton a murder as that with which he was charged, adding to the most fiendish characteristics of homicide in civilized life the atrocities of such mangling of the godlike form as is found only upon the leavings of Indian butcheries.

Am I to vindicate myself in such a case? Alas for the toleration which has

permitted my residence unmolested where I now am for twenty years! How should such depravity have failed to outcrop in a growth of infamous acts that must have forced an uprising for the purgation of the community?

Not for vindication, but for confusion to such anomalous suspicions, I will say that, defended by able counsel, their first step in the progress of his defense was a motion to quash the indictment. This was argued with great force and at great length by one of the first lawyers of western Missouri, Mr. John Wilson. The natural tendency of a sympathizer would have been to sustain the motion. It was overruled. In the course of the trial it became important to the prosecution that a principal witness, who detailed a conversation he had heard, which was almost or quite a confession of the murder, should identify Fugitt as the man from whom he had heard it. Being asked if he could see the man in the court-room, and answering in the negative, the counsel for the territory asked that Fugitt should be ordered to stand up. This was earnestly opposed by his counsel. Sympathy would have dictated an overruling of the motion. The motion was sustained. Unfortunately for the ends of justice, if he really was the murderer, the witness failed to recognize him. This unquestionably was the turning-point in the case. It can scarcely be that, if he had been identified, the jury would have acquitted him. Had they done so, it would not have been an isolated case in the history of our country of the escape from conviction of the probably guilty under the dictates of a human sympathy, long after the occurrence of the tragedy—not even in such a case of extreme subordination of duty to feeling on the part of a jury can any man whose good opinion is worth the having see any cause of complaint against the judge who presides.

But in the category of cases to which reference has been made, that may be regarded as specifications of charges, it is said that I refused to bail certain persons who were indicted for treason. It is true that I did so upon their first arraignment, and when it was scarcely to be expected that the government could be ready for trial. It is equally true that at the next term, when sufficient time had intervened for the preparations, and the territory was not ready, and the prisoners were, that I did take bail. I may not have erred in either case. But suppose I did. Is it more likely that the error was in the latter, in allowing bail in such a case at all, or in the former? Perhaps the greater probability is that the error was on their side, in allowing bail in such a case. Or is the idea to be scouted that there was any foundation for such a charge, and that therefore the judge should disregard an indictment? Do those so thinking know how well defined is the line of demarkation between the functions of a judge and those of a jury? How rigidly the one is confined to the law and the other to the facts? The grand jury had said that the facts existed which, I had instructed them, would constitute treason. Could I wisely, and in the due line of duty, ignore the finding? But behind this have gone the fault-finders, and, first raising aloft an imaginary charge to the grand jury, have amused themselves at battering it as a wild vagary of judicial perversion.

Well, if I had charged the grand jury as they say, I should richly deserve the contempt of every well-read lawyer. But I flatter myself that it would be difficult to convince any gentleman of that profession who knows me that I could have given any such charge. A very tyro with but the most elemental knowledge of law could scarcely have been so stupid as to say to a jury "*that all that resist these laws (the territorial) resist the power and authority of the United States, and are therefore guilty of treason*"; very much as the constable in Pennsylvania remarked to a man who, being a little incensed at his pomposity, took him by the shoulder and shook him: "Take care, sir, take care how you shake me; for any man who shakes me shakes the commonwealth of the key-

stone of America." I remember somewhat what I did say; not word for word, by any means, nor the greater part of my charge to the jury.

One of the most serious regrets that I have felt in recurring to those unhappy days is that I had not, despite the great inconveniences under which I labored, in the want of facilities, at whatever cost of labor to surmount them, put upon paper and safely preserved every utterance in court. What these were no one can know, without a like experience with mine, of holding terms of court in villages where the largest room was but a ten by twelve, or thereabout, and for want of even such, under the shadow of the most accessible tree, with no more books within a league than could be carried under an arm; with no possibilities of other modes of locomotion than an ambling nag, over boundless prairie; with lawyers abounding, but with no attempt to enlighten the court, either from books, which could not be had, or their own intellectual resources, which, for the most part, must needs be scanty; with turbulence and mistrust and threatening and danger all around; with scarcely pen, ink, and paper, unless carried about in a pair of saddle-bags; and an ever-recurring, even *ad nauseam*, submission of the gravest questions of law to your unaided solution, in the deferential assurance that "Your honor is doubtless familiar with the authorities, and will not need that I shall put myself to the trouble of searching them up."

I do remember, however, very well, some features of my charge, and these are that, so far from uttering a word like the recognition of a "constructive treason," I expressly denounced it as only having its growth in the most oppressive periods of English history, and irreconcilable with our republican conceptions. I do recollect that I had the constitution of the United States under my eye, and that I had Wharton's Criminal Law in my hand, and that whether or not I had written what I said I had well considered it, and was extremely careful to confine myself to the clearest teachings of authority. I know that I did make the "levying of war" the very groundwork and indispensable prerequisite to the commission of this high offense; and I do know that if there were not upon my mind an impression the most inconsiderable of what I did say, I should none the less feel the utmost confidence that I could not, after the study of my previous life, the commingling of my thoughts and opinions with those of men of intellect and study, the conflicts I had had in the arena of political controversy and at the forum of legal discriminations, have so far stultified the reputation that justified my acceptance of such a position as to have given an instruction that ignored the plainest possible distinctions, and elevated every ruffian and rioter and drunkard who might happen to "shake a constable" to the high but melancholy eminence of a traitor to his country. If every man that "resists" the laws, and every "combination" made for the purpose of "resisting" them, were guilty of treason, it might be that, like the sayings of our Lord, if all had been written "the world could not itself contain" the reports of all the trials. The only latitudinous construction I can recall is that of Lady MacDuff, perhaps excusable on account of her sex and her extreme indignation:

"*Son*: What is a traitor?

Lady MacDuff: Why, one that swears and lies.

Son: And be all traitors that do so?

Lady MacD.: Every one that does so is a traitor and must be hung."

No, gentlemen who throw, throw something more substantial. Such pellets as these are too much of the pop-corn-gun order to hurt. The true and only debatable question in my charge was this: Could treason be committed against the United States government by levying war in resistance to the territorial authorities? I held and instructed them that it could; I hold still that it can; and if I were judge to-day in any territory of the United States, and the emer-

gency should arise that would invoke a charge to the grand jury, I should have no hesitation in reiterating the sentiment. In only one thing would I depart from the tenor of my previous course, and that would be in making a permanent record of what I should say, nor leave my utterances to be reported by Mr. A. as something Mr. B. had told him that Mr. C. had said that I stated.

With thus much of comment and explanation of some half-dozen cases, selected from a judicial service of about four years and a half, I might be content to close this communication, but I should do so by omitting some considerations which, it seems to me, ought not to be passed in silence. True, that to such aspersions as consist only of the use of opprobrious terms, such as "border-ruffian judge," "the tool of the slave power," "the most obsequious of all the federal appointees," "instincts and tyrannical reputation for crimes committed in" those days, "old shyster," "infernal villain," "holding courts amidst the fumes of tobacco and whisky," "committing to prison for no reason but the holding of free-state opinions," "the Jeffreys of Kansas," "a drunken wretch," and such others as the rivalry of ingenious effort, unrestrained by the decorums of taste, may invent, no response can be made.

If a life of twenty years anterior to that date passed in association with refined and cultivated society, and in the prosecution of an ennobling profession, and of fifteen years since its close, distinguishable by no participation in unseemly disturbances of the proprieties of social intercourse; if no taint of libertinism or of malignity, no charge of the inculcation of pernicious principles, no exhibition of disgusting and degrading practices, no infractions of the high obligations of marital, paternal or social demands, no instance of riotous or ruffianly demonstrations, not a broil or a discourteous act—if such a life, and that no allegations of like proclivities to these have been attributed to it, furnish no protection against these calumniations, or, being made, are not a satisfactory reply, it would be idle to add disclaimer or denial. Those who can comprehend how an isolated period of four or five years of one's life shall have been characterized by acts and practices so radically unlike the whole tenor of all the antecedents and the sequence of the so much longer eras, may find a compatibility in the vices of the one, with exemptions in those of the others. It would be indicative of a strange want of confidence in the refined faith of truth's ultimate triumph to doubt that the general sentiment will rather adopt the theory of irreconcilable repugnance, and discard the exceptions as too surely the creations of distempered prejudice.

Of those who cavil and seek solutions of the conflict in nice casuistic dissertations, the mass will find, as will the few, that, like the mirage of the desert, the solution recedes as they advance, and is as remote at the end as at the commencement of the chase, and, abandoning the vagary of reconciliation, the former may be expected to see, as is the truth under the eye of the All-seeing, that the exception has had no existence but in the oblique vision of those "who see what is not to be seen," while the few, stern in their determination not to "believe though one rose from the dead," will still falsify probabilities, possibilities, and truth, and "believe a lie," if not to be damned, in the placid hope that it may damn another.

It is not my task to philosophize, nor have I a charter to denounce. The multiformity of the species is proverbial, and

"In the catalogue all go for men;
As hounds and grayhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves are cleped
All by the name of dogs";

and various as may be their modes of thought and diverse the ends they reach,

starting from the same scroll and working out their results from the same data, it is an assumed authority, that which hurls denunciation at such as happens not to have attained our conclusions. Even where the goal reached is that least in harmony with humane sentiments, it is not always pardonable to assign as probable causes grossly perverted or grossly debased perception.

There is but one class to which this explanation might seem, almost without exception, to be permissible; to that one, fortunately not a large one, in which some great crime, indelibly set in the inner portals of their souls, incessantly preying, like the vulture upon the heart of Prometheus, gives no respite in relaxation, but impels, perpetually, the wretched subject of the mastering diabolism that prompted his deed to an ever active and unceasing plotting of mischief and evil as the only possible solace, like the "March! march! march!" of the wandering Jew to the never-ceasing recurrence of the curse that rests upon him.

I have thus, and I can but fear at wearisome length, said what I thought necessary to disabuse the minds of those honorable and dispassionate men who, under impressions received from the sources already indicated, and which I have had no opportunities but by obtrusively presenting myself before the public of correcting, may have judged me unfavorably, but are willing to know the truth. I have also intended thereby to fortify and sustain the respect of those friends who, knowing me personally for many years, have accorded to me their regards and confidence, in spite of similar preconceived prejudices. I have also had in hope, but less confidently, to oblige those even passionately prejudiced to such modification of their judgments as I knew, and have trusted to convince them, was fairly due to truth and justice. I have also designed to purge so-called history of its most unfounded calumnies; and while written as it is, such as it is, if I cannot obliterate its falsehoods from the pages where they are, I shall at least put in form where more disinterested compilers in the future may see it my own solemn asseveration, which, if still borne down by a current too strong to be stemmed, will nevertheless be as a voice from the dead to protest against the iniquity of the injustice.

For the tone of your editorial of the 7th I have already tendered you my sincere thanks. Forgiveness of wrong is a noble quality. The exercise of it is magnanimous. The recommendation of it is generous. This magnanimity, this generosity, you have shown. But, my dear sir, what I have written, as what I have yet to say, is a protest against the implication upon which forgiveness is based; for when there has been no wrong done there is nothing to forgive. The forgiveness is due from the other side; from me toward those who have contributed in the past to do, and are now to the extent of their power (alas! by no means an unlimited one) perpetuating upon me, injustice and wrong that have rarely been surpassed. It ought to have been enough for the most malevolent to have blackened my fame to the extent that it was done during the early years of our territorial existence. I can with difficulty comprehend how so much rancor can exist without provocation, as is evinced in the disposition, after the lapse of so many years, to subject me to the annoyance of being a target for every vile epithet and degrading charge that any unscrupulous editor may please to hurl at me.

I have now reached the place where it becomes necessary to explain why it is that I became the complaining witness in a prosecution by the state against D. R. Anthony for libel, and whence have proceeded the hurtful and wrongful allusions to me by the press of the state, which led me, upon seeing one of dissimilar character in the *Kansas Chief*, to ask you the favor of space in your widely read paper for this article.

This explanation, and the unavoidable reflections that follow, will end the heavy taxing of your space, and your indulgence, so kindly and so generously given.

In the autumn of 1873, D. R. Anthony published in the *Leavenworth Times*, on not less than six or seven occasions, articles of the most libelous character toward me, touching my official action, and, so far as I know or have ever heard, without any assignable provocation. Having borne with them as long, I think, as any reasonable man could have expected me to, I addressed a respectful letter to him, and one to Cole McCrea, the same whom I have occasion to mention herein before, who had contributed some of the articles, in which I stated that there were but three alternatives presented for my choice if such publications were continued: The first, submission; the second, personal redress; the third, legal prosecution; that I could not adopt the first, that my duty as a citizen forbade the second, leaving me only the third, and that to this I should resort if such publications were repeated; adding that the law allowed, in the case of prosecution, the truth to be given in evidence, and that if they believed they could prove the truth of the allegations, they need not be deterred by this assurance. It was not until after this fair notice, and the repetition of a most violent publication of the same kind, that I filed the complaint, which resulted in his conviction and a fine of \$500.

Will any honorable man say that there was in my conduct up to this point anything unworthy of a gentleman? Had I submitted to such imputations, would it not have been considered impliedly an admission of the truth? Had I assailed him in the street, and demanded recantation, and followed this up with assault with deadly weapons, would not I have been justly chargeable as a malefactor? Had I countenanced in my sons the violent redress of my wrongs, should I not have thus exposed them to similar imputations, and myself to the more painful charge of suffering those dearest to me to incur hazard and reproach which myself shirked? Had I feared the result of a legal investigation, when the law gives to the accused the fullest liberty of justifying, my proof of the truth of the charges, and of good motives, and of justifiable ends, I might have felt some temptation to incur the hazards I have mentioned, rather than the added odium of a jury's verdict of condemnation. But I knew, and I know today, that, one and all, without exception, the charges, in particular the subject of discussion in the prosecution, and all charges that impute to me in any respect a lack of the most upright and conscientious discharge of my official duties as judge, are utterly and unqualifiedly false and libelous.

I feared no judicial investigation, but, on the contrary, looked with most profound confidence to such an investigation, as resulting, by an inflexible necessity, in my most honorable acquittal. Such has been the result, and before court and jury as free from prejudice, so far as I know, as any that ever heard a criminal prosecution. On the trial, the amplest opportunity was afforded to prove the truth of the charges, and citizens of those times, with all the prejudices of those times, were called and heard, and, after a fair and dispassionate and able charge by Judge Sherry, a jury, with not two of whom had I a personal acquaintance, and one of whom was a colored man, presumably imbued with the deepest prejudices against those who had been pro slavery men in former times, but an honorable and intelligent man, almost of accord, on their first retiring to their room, rendered a verdict of guilty on all the several charges. In his charge to the jury, full and ample credit was done by the judge to the press, as one of the noblest and most efficient instrumentalities of this advanced age in the enlargement of the bounds of human knowledge, in the eradication of evils of pernicious

tendency, in the spread of just, humane and utilitarian principles, in the exposure of false and harmful doctrines, to all of which encomiums it gives me the highest pleasure to subscribe my fullest assent. But as it is powerful, and meritedly so, to advance the truth, so, when abused, is it a weapon of terrible potency to work ruin upon the individual character, and even upon the most time-honored institutions of a higher civilization.

Was it not enough that my character should be aspersed by hired reporters in those sad days of our early history, and the noblest feature of our polity—the judiciary, the safeguard, *par excellence*, of guaranteed rights—should be wounded in my person by the false and scurrilous accusations and epithets of those thus writing in the heat of an intensified partizan strife, without personal knowledge of me, without specification of an instance of misconduct in any other form than the worthless opinion of men knowing nothing of the facts that my official action in two or three cases of bailing, or refusing to bail, alleged offenders against the law, was partizan? Why single thus such cases and impute a partizan motive, in the face of a record abounding with instances of free-state men bailed or pro-slavery men brought to trial, with no more regard in either case to their political opinions than if there were no such thing on earth as political opinions? Why impute to me dereliction of duty or malfeasance in office in the face of the most conclusive testimony, of record and of living men, that at all times and on all occasions when violence was threatened, within my knowledge, I opposed a steady and fearless and, almost without exception, a successful resistance? Whenever called upon, no matter who the movers, no matter who the threatened victims of lawlessness, I stood, with whatever of influence my personal relations or my official character gave to the interposition, as a wall of protection to those in danger.

It was thus that I lay all night at the door of Charles Robinson, to protect him against a threatened mob. It was thus that I traveled hastily from the Shawnee Mission, where I then resided, the first winter of my arrival in the territory, to Leavenworth, to stem a like threatened violation in the mobbing of the same Mr. McCrea before mentioned. It was thus that, happening to be at Leecompton when Sherrard was killed by a member of Governor Geary's household, I delayed my return home two days to counteract and defeat similar outrages of his enraged friends. It was thus that, upon information of threatened destruction of the *Territorial Register* of Judge Delahay, I hastened to Leavenworth and successfully urged and sustained the United States marshal, Colonel Donaldson, in defending it against the outrage. It was thus that, as long as effort permitted the possibility of success, I besought, with all my power, an enraged multitude to desist from an application of mob law to three men charged with murder in Leavenworth city. It was thus that, when Governor Reeder expressed to me apprehensions of molestation by a body of men incensed against him, I assured him of my support and defense, to the last effort of my life. It was thus that, when General Lane was "hounded" (in his own language, in a letter to me from the senate chamber of the United States) by those from whom he expected other things, after he had killed Mr. Gaius Jenkins, I upheld his right to a fair hearing, before judgment, in the city of Lawrence. It was in this spirit that, when application was made to me by Mr. James F. Legate and others, at night, at my own house, for *habeas corpus* for a Mr. Brown, who had been taken by a mob, I not only issued it, but addressed to the marshal an unofficial letter urging him, by all means, to extraordinary efforts in its service. It was in this spirit that, when Mr. Phillips, who had been kidnapped from our soil, transported across the river to Missouri, and there most shamefully abused, de-

clined to prefer a complaint, I went to his own house in Leavenworth city and urged him to make the information, and heard the case, and put under bonds for their appearance at court all concerned in it. It was this spirit that was recognized by Wm. H. Russell, a distinguished lawyer, of counsel for Mr. Robertson and others, prisoners at Lecompton, when he closed a letter to me, of May 31, 1856, excusing my going there, in the following language: "With my sincere thanks, therefore, for the very courteous manner in which you received me, and for the obliging consent to accompany me upon a long and tedious journey, I beg leave to assure you of my most respectful consideration."

I have asked, was it not enough that irresponsible panders to the vulgar love of defamation should have ignored facts, and attempted to make history a worthless lie, that now, after the lapse of fifteen years, when our population has enlarged from tens to thousands, our facilities of intercourse and communication diminished leagues to roods, my children became men and women, and my name intermarried with others, that an unobtrusive and irreproachable life, and an unvarying citizenship of the state, to which, almost alone a presidential appointee, I brought my entire family, and with whose weal or woe I devoted myself and them, should now be darkened and overshadowed by a rehash and redistribution of infamies originally inventions for partizan ends, but now no other than the base utterances of that

"Slander

Whose edge is sharper than the sword; whose tongue
Outvenoms all the worms of Nile: whose breath
Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world—kings, queens, states,
Maids, matrons—nay the secrets of the grave
This vip'rous slander enters."

And pray, upon what pretext hath this vituperation assailed me? Was it any reason that my name should be thus overloaded with obloquy, that in the discussion of the Grange organization I should have expressed the conviction, and urged it, that the best policy for its adoption was to leave nominations for office to the political parties of the state? Was it any reason for personal vilification that when there was pending before the county board the consideration of the best manner of dealing with the great public defalcation in our county treasury, I should have been solicited by the Grange organization to submit certain resolutions expressive of their views? Was it any justification for a personal tirade upon me, by the repetition of baseless and even defunct calumnies, that in my official action as United States commissioner I should have held to bail a man charged with distilling liquor in violation of the revenue laws in a case so plain that even his counsel did not object, and raised no question except as to the court—the circuit or district—to which he should be held? Was it an answer to a calm and dispassionate discussion of the policy of unchanging adherence to the precedent of two presidential terms, published in the *Kansas Magazine*, to denounce me in vulgar vocabulary, not only of having to defile the judicial ermine in the past, but as now doing dirty work which no honorable Republican would do? If I then thought, nay, if I still think, that the coming centennial cannot more fitly be honored than by the assertion of our self-reliance in discarding, experimentally, a usage and a precedent, and again tendering to a well-tried and true man the presidential term for the opening of the second great epoch in our history, what more dare any man say than that he thinks otherwise? And should I even doubt whether the late Republican reverses indicate, as has so flippantly been assumed, a quietus to the third term, or whether they

rather teach that success in 1876 can only be achieved by the prestige of the name of Grant, what more shall any man venture to say in reply than that the experience of the next eighteen months must decide between us?

And yet such was the occasion which evoked that wantonness of aggressive and outrageous utterances through a widely disseminated paper that drove me to the tribunal provided by law for the defense of one of the dearest of individual rights, and as well for the protection of communities against the unbridled license of the press.

Of this have I already spoken, as it well deserves, as chief among the potent agencies that contribute to the spread and to the development of the most advanced civilization. And in no jot or tittle do I propose to qualify its high claims upon the confidence and admiration of the age, but by so much as I would cherish and venerate it, in the line of an exalted career of glory, may I not be pardoned to deprecate the abuse of its majestic capabilities? Would it not have been better in harmony with its nobler mission to have at least surceased its denunciation after the judicial tribunal had spoken its solemn edict? More in accord with such mission to have found something to admire in the spirit that prompted an appeal to such tribunal, rather than to that fiercer arbitration that stains the hand with human blood? More in the spirit of higher intelligence that ought to inspire its teachings, to have pondered the inquiry, Is there not in the confidence prompting the complainant something scarcely consistent with a consciousness of imputed guilt?

Have those claiming to be educators of the Kansas sentiment in the ennobling truths that conspire in the making of good citizens well reflected whither their teachings lead? Can they command the confidence of an intelligent people in the maintenance of the theory that they better know the truth of a mooted issue than the jury impaneled under the law, presided over by one of her appointed ministers, acting under the most solemn sanction? Can they feel sure that they are teaching a sound philosophy and inculcating wholesome sentiments when, putting their prejudices and preconceptions above a development of sworn testimony, they assume that a verdict was the result of either prejudice, ignorance, or corruption? Have they waived the probabilities as to the direction from which disturbing causes would have been most likely to have come: whether they would have found their sources where no hurtful influence could assail, or whence alike arraignment of motives and like denunciations might flow? List they themselves, pray tell me, sir, in the ranks of the ornaments of their profession, the instructors of their age, the upholders of our safeguards, or place they themselves besides the destroyers of all these when, forgetful of the just claims of the judiciary, they comprehend it and its noblest appendage—the trial by jury—in their invectives and denunciations?

But apart, the great power for truth, for right, for all good, which they wield, apart, the exalted demands thence arising, that it be not perverted to base uses, it is not easy to see how the mere citizen, possessed of but a spark of noble impulse, can justify to himself so gross a departure from the rule of estimation by which he would have his own rights and grievances adjusted.

I have done—with but a word more. Making no ridiculous assumption of superiority to the frailties of human nature, pretending to no exemption from its temptations and no unyielding power to always successfully resist them, conceding a fallibility of judgment and a limited capacity that may have occasioned me to fall into many errors and mistakes, I am none the less clear in the consolatory assurance of my own conscience that, in no solitary instance, did I know—

ingly, or in any spirit of prejudice or partiality, pervert or abuse my official position. To whatever extent I shall have failed, by a lack of occasion, or in default the energy to seize it, in the advancement of great purposes, or in the enlargement of the area of human happiness, I trust in all confidence to have that choicest of heaven's gifts, that no pangs of remorse for outrage and wrong shall cloud the serenity of a closing life.

A KANSAS SOLDIER'S ESCAPE FROM CAMP FORD, TEXAS.*

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary.

RÓBERT HENDERSON, captain of company G, Sixth Kansas volunteer cavalry, was born near Belfast, Ireland, January 8, 1834. He came to the United States in 1851. In March, 1852, at Hudson street, New York, he enlisted in company F, Second dragoons, regular army, under Capt. Patrick Calhoun. His expectation was to go to California, but instead he soon landed at Indianola, spending three years in chasing Indians on the plains of Texas. During these years he was at Forts Graham, McKavitt, Worth, Belknap, and Crogan, the latter now Gainesville. In 1854 his company, together with three companies of Texas rangers, went on a hazardous expedition to the Wichita mountains, and for this special service he received a land-warrant for 160 acres.

In October, 1855, his company arrived at Fort Riley, coming by the way of Council Grove. R. E. Laurensen, H. Lichtenhan, E. S. McFarland, and Patrick King, afterwards useful citizens of Geary county, belonged to the same company. They were quite lively in the summer of 1856, with Col. Philip St. George Cooke, in chasing free-state and pro-slavery men. On the 29th of June, 1856, Secretary Daniel Woodson wrote Col. St. George Cooke at Fort Riley "to take the field" and "scour the country between Fort Riley and the crossing opposite Topeka, for the purpose of repelling armed invasion of the territory." They were in Camp Sackett, a couple of miles south of LeCompton, when James H. Lane besieged that city, September 4 and 5, and were in the march which placed the troops between the town and the free-state forces. September 13 a march was made after the free-state men who engaged in the Hickory Point fight. The free state men were subject to arrest because they made this fight after Governor Geary had ordered all to disband, not having heard of his proclamation. In the latter part of September they were ordered to the Nebraska line to intercept immigrants into the territory. One of this company, Hartman Lichtenhan, was one of a number of sentries placed along the bluffs a mile or so apart, to signal to

*"Prisoners of War and Military Prisons," by Asa B. Isham, Henry M. Davidson, and Henry B. Furness, page 425:

"Camp Ford was located about six miles from Tyler, Tex., about 100 miles due west from Shreveport. On the arrival of the first detachment, of some 600 men, they were camped in the open woods. Afterward a stockade was built, enclosing two and a half acres, which was subsequently enlarged to six. No shelters were furnished for the men, and the only protection they had from the inclemency of the weather was such rude contrivances as they could construct of the limbs and boughs of trees, arranged in the form of cabins and thatched with mud. The usual dead-line was an imaginary line some ten feet from the stockade, of which the sentry was the sole judge. Water was abundantly supplied, and no complaint is made for lack of it.

"The remaining fifty-six places of confinement were of a temporary character, small and unimportant. The opportunity for the display of barbarity was on a diminished scale, but the suffering of the individual prisoner was not less keen, although the aggregate horror was smaller.

"Reminiscences of severe and malicious treatment by officers, soldiers and citizens abound in charges of starvation, thirst, frost, and exposure, at Lynchburg, Tuscaloosa, Camp Groce; at Raleigh, Charlotte, Atlanta. In all of these experiences, whether disclosed by captured rebel documents or related by the prisoners themselves, there is the same unvaried tale of deprivation, indignity, severity. It is hardly to be presumed that this was the spontaneous sentiment

Colonel Cooke, and being nearest the free-state party saw them bury a cannon — evidently the incident referred to by Robert Morrow on pages 305 and 306 of this volume. Governor Geary arrived at Fort Riley on October 28, on a tour of inspection, remaining the 29th, 30th and 31st. Robert Henderson was one of the men detailed to fire a salute for the governor.

In March, 1857, Henderson was discharged at Riley, and became a citizen of Kansas. He promptly settled in 1857 on a quarter-section of government land south of the Smoky Hill, about two miles from Junction City. Logan Grove, a remarkable body of timber, was his preemption claim. He entered this land at Ogden in November, 1858. This has expanded into a farm of 750 acres, noted beyond the borders of the county for its perfect development and the hospitality and patriotism of the very pleasant family he has gathered around him.

In 1858 he commenced work in Junction City, with the beginning of the town, as a house-builder, retaining such occupancy of his land and making such improvements as were necessary to hold his preemption claim. He was by trade a wheelwright. His industry provided a comfortable home in Junction City for his family by 1861, the commencement of the civil war.

October 4, 1861, he enlisted in company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, and was made first sergeant. September 15, 1862, he was made second lieutenant and transferred to company G. January 1, 1864, he was promoted first lieutenant, and to a captaincy December 9, 1864. He was mustered out May 19, 1865. He participated in the engagements at Newtonia, September 30 and October 9, 1862, Coon Creek, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, Fort Wayne, Prairie D'Ane, and Poison Springs; in the latter suffering a severe wound. There was no idle days for cavalry in the army of the frontier, and Captain Henderson was as energetic and persistent in pursuing the enemies of his country, bushwhackers or legitimate troops, as he has been in all the departments of civil life since.

In the winter of 1863-'64 Captain Henderson's duty found him in Arkansas, engaged in escorting government trains between Fort Smith and Little Rock. There were also in that neighborhood, besides his own company (G), companies A, K and M of the Sixth Kansas.

In January, 1864, the commander-in-chief of the army decided upon definite plans for an aggressive and early spring campaign for the control of the Arkansas river from the head of navigation to its mouth. For this purpose it was determined to order the concentration of a large force on Red river for the defense of northern and western Louisiana, and for the purpose of operating against Texas. The troops under Gen. N. P. Banks, Gen. A. J. Smith and Gen. Frederick

of a people spread over so wide an area. There is every evidence of a directing hand — a thread running through all, which connected them with the same center.

"The testimony of all the prisoners shows the quantity of food issued to them by the rebel authorities to have been greatly below what was necessary for their health, even under the most favorable circumstances. All along the line of prison stations, from Richmond to Camp Tyler, there is the same hollow, enfeebled cry for food."

The United States government at the beginning issued to the rebel prisoners thirty-eight ounces of solid food per ration, and after June, 1864, thirty-four and a half ounces, composed of bread, beef, beans, sugar, Rio coffee, candles, soap, salt, molasses, and potatoes.

On page 436 of "Prisoners of War and Military Prisons" is the following description of how they lived at Andersonville:

"The bacon was tainted with rust, and often so decayed that the prisoner pulled it in pieces with his fingers and ate it raw, and so filled with maggots as to appear like a moving, living, wriggling mass of worms. Fresh beef was sometimes issued at Andersonville which had, after killing, been thrown upon the ground and suffered to lie there in the hot sun until it was blown with flies and green with decomposition. To crown the fearful horror, the food was hauled to the famishing men in the same wagon in which they had but a short time before beheld their dead comrades carried out to the burial, half naked, and covered with scorbatic sores and gangrenous suppuration, with the worms that had consumed their living flesh still rioting in the dead remains; and all this filth was allowed to remain in the wagon and mingle with food the living were to eat."

Steele were to concentrate May 1 at Shreveport. The Red river campaign was the most disastrous to the Union cause of any in the West. Wiley Britton, in his "Civil War on the Border," says it was planned in Washington, and that General Banks was selected as the scapegoat. These three columns were to start from points as distant from each other as New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Little Rock, through hostile territory, and with many obstacles intervening. March 23, General's Steele's division left Little Rock with 24,547 men, including the First Kansas Colored, Col. James M. Williams; Second Kansas Colored, Col. Samuel J. Crawford; Twelfth Kansas, Lieut.-col. Josiah E. Hayes, in the division commanded by Gen. John M. Thayer; the Second, Sixth and Fourteenth Kansas cavalry, commanded by Lieut.-col. Owen A. Bassett; and ten companies of the Fifth Kansas, under command of Col. Powell Clayton. After much skirmishing and hard marching, General Steele's division entered Camden April 16. It was Gen. Sterling Price's army that General Steele maneuvered out of its entrenchments at Prairie D'Ane and out of its strong fortifications at Camden without a general battle.

On the morning of the 17th of April, Henderson was ordered out with a foraging party of 695 men, 198 wagons, and four pieces of artillery, under command of Col. J. M. Williams, of the First Kansas Colored. This squad was made up of fifty men of company G, fifty men of the Second Kansas, under command of Lieutenant Mitchell, and several companies of the Eighteenth Iowa, and an Indiana battery. Steele's entire army were on short rations, and it had been learned that, in consequence of the demands of the armies, the people had planted an increased acreage of corn and a decreased acreage of cotton, and that a large amount of corn had been secreted throughout the country. Upwards of 100 wagon-loads of corn were brought in at the end of the first day, and in consequence empty wagons were sent the second day to forage on plantations on either flank. The morning of the 18th, with eighteen wagons and fifty cavalry, Henderson was ordered to visit the plantation of a Captain Purifoy, of the Confederate army. He found large quantities of bacon, a number of great cans of lard, several barrels of salt, a general assortment of provisions used on plantations, covered with cottonseed, and some wheat. While the men were emptying the house, Henderson was superintending affairs on the outside, securing the capture of eight mules. He entered and found the wife crying. She threw down upon the table in his presence a Masonic manual. He instantly stopped the men, inquired how much there was in the house, and left her wheat and bacon enough for the use of the family. She asked the privilege of retaining one mule for plowing, and she was allowed to select one. Henderson left seven jaded horses and took in their place seven fine mules.

The booming of cannon announced that the battle of Poison Springs was on. Henderson with his fifty men promptly reported to Colonel Williams. He was ordered to move with his cavalry to the right, and his signal to advance was when an Indiana battery ceased shelling the woods. In this engagement he was wounded. Maj. R. G. Ward, of the First Kansas Colored, in his report (Rebellion Records, series I, volume 34, part 1, serial 31, page 752 says: "Lieutenant Henderson, commanding detachment Sixth Kansas (than whom a braver officer never existed), was severely wounded." (See, also, "Civil War on the Border," pages 283, 284.) He was carried into a small house with twenty-two other wounded. They were twelve miles west of the main command, which was in camp at Camden. During the night Generals Marmaduke and Shelby threw their command between the wounded and Camden, thus isolating them. The whole squad of foragers under Williams's command, 700 men were routed, and

the wagons and a few pieces of artillery captured. The rebels killed all the wounded colored troops and some of the wounded whites. The loss of this large train and artillery was seriously felt by General Steele, and necessarily crippled his operations. While in the shanty four of Henderson's wounded comrades died. The Union loss in this engagement was 122 men killed, 97 wounded, and 81 missing. In the fight and in the retreat the First Kansas Colored had 117 officers and men killed and 65 wounded. When separated from the command, the colored soldiers were shot without mercy. General Cabell, Confederate, reported that one of his regiments stationed east of the battle-field on the Camden road killed eighty negroes. While in the hospital Henderson overheard two Confederates deplore the cruelty toward the negroes, because they said it was a game two could play at, and they instanced the action of Colonel Crawford's Second Kansas Colored in the battle of Jenkins's Ferry, when the loyal negroes gave no quarter. Henderson knew of negro soldiers entering a house and killing six Confederate prisoners.

Capt. J. H. Purifoy, the Confederate whose place Henderson had raided, came to the improvised hospital and invited Henderson to his home, that his wife might nurse him: but Henderson declined to fare better than his boys. Purifoy was a surgeon in the Confederate army, captured at Fort Gaines. He had been a prisoner at Alton, Ill., where bakers' bread had ruined his health, he said; but upon appealing to the commandant he was granted his home feed of corn pone. There was then and still is a post-office named Purifoy, about the west line of Ouachita (Washita) county. The prisoners remained in this place, mostly on the battle-field, for three weeks—for a little time in this post-office room—and were very hospitably treated; the neighboring planters frequently contributing a variety of provisions.

General Steele had sent 200 wagons to Pine Bluff for supplies, and these were also captured. The Poison Springs disaster cost him 400 wagons. Couriers from General Banks announced several misfortunes to his division. These discouragements, added to his unprepared condition, compelled Steele to withdraw from Camden to Little Rock. The movements of Generals Banks and Steele west of the Mississippi were no doubt a part of the final effort to crush the rebellion, but were overshadowed by the greater importance of the operations of Grant on the Potomac and Sherman's march to the sea, so that neglect contributed to the disasters of the remote Western movements. General Steele was tardy in moving from Little Rock, and his explanation was that "more than half of my cavalry were dismounted, and more than half of the rest very poorly mounted; artillery horses and transportation in the same condition. This department is the last to be served, my troops scattered all over Arkansas, and still I am expected to move on short notice. We have had to haul most of our forage thirty and forty miles for months." General Steele left at Camden a hospital containing about 200 wounded, in charge of Dr. William Finlaw, for many years afterward a citizen of Junction City, but now of Santa Rosa, Cal. Finlaw attended Henderson until the latter was taken to Camp Ford.

After the departure of General Steele's army, the rebels gathered up all the prisoners and put them in the court house at Camden. There were about eighty wounded, and in all about 400 prisoners. In passing over the battle-field on the way to Camden the horrors of war were terribly illustrated: the dead had not been decently buried, their feet and arms protruding through the thin covering of earth. About the 1st of July, 1864, the prisoners were all rounded up and started under guard for the prison at Tyler, Tex. Tyler is in Smith county, near the northeast corner of the state. For some miles after leaving the neighborhood

of Poison Springs the roads were lined with bleached skulls, evidently the remains of negroes massacred because they were in arms in aid of the government. The prisoners spent the Fourth of July in Shreveport. The citizens turned out to see them, and were quite demonstrative. One bloodthirsty citizen wanted to exterminate the prisoners, but the guard pushed him away and told him to go to the front, where he could get a live Yankee for breakfast every morning. They crossed the Red river on a pontoon bridge and were placed in a tobacco shed, where they spent the night.

On the 5th bakers came around with trays of bread on their heads, offering loaves at ten cents each in United States money, or one dollar in Confederate money. All the money in the party had been taken by the guards. Not a man in the party that day had a bite to eat. A Confederate officer moved about among the boys, offering liberty to all who would join the rebel army. One man signified his willingness to do so, and it was with the utmost difficulty the rebel guard prevented the prisoners from hanging him.

On the 7th they were placed with a number of prisoners already at Shreveport in a bull-pen, making in all about 600, and started for Tyler. The ration in the morning for the whole day was a pint of meal, which each man carried in the corner of his blouse. They traveled hard that day. On this march Henderson saw Henry W. Selig, company F, Second Kansas, shot and killed by the guard, as he was not able to keep up on account of his wounds. He was the father of August L. Selig, recently mayor of Lawrence. One or two days on the trip they got a little bit of bacon.

On the 14th of July they reached Camp Ford prison. Before entering this terrible place, they were lined up, a roster made, and those who had anything left were robbed again. There were about 8000 prisoners at this place, the pen covering twelve acres, and they were allowed to distribute themselves among their old comrades. There were about six of the Sixth Kansas in Camp Ford, but Henderson concluded to mess with the One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio. Capt. Andrew J. Armstrong, of company D, First Kansas Colored, an Emporia man, knew Henderson, with whom he shared all he had, surrendering his plank to sleep on and lying in the sand himself. Henderson says he owes his life to Captain Armstrong, who not only aided him with his wound, but looked after him in a spell of typhoid fever, which came to him on the 18th.

The Monday morning following, the 25th of July, Henderson was taken to the hospital. He obtained a little quinine and extract of wild camomile, and soon began to recover; some gruel, a little meat and some flour aided rapidly. While in the hospital he sold his boots for twenty-three dollars, Confederate money, and with this he was able to buy some butter, eggs and sweet potatoes from farmers peddling about the place. He began to long for God's country, and plans for escape filled his mind.

The hospital consisted of crotches set in the ground, covered with brush. There were no sides, but it was thoroughly guarded. A fourteen foot board raised slightly at one end was deemed ample bedding for two. There were two log shanties in connection, and the place had the advantage of a good spring of water.

Some time in August 105 more of the Sixth Kansas were brought into prison. They had been captured at Massard Prairie.* Among them were Maj. David

* July 27, 1864, companies B, D, E, H and L of the Sixth Kansas, about 6:30 in the morning were surprised and attacked by General Gano's Texas brigade, 2000 strong, at Massard Prairie, six miles south of Fort Smith. Eleven were killed, 14 wounded and 115 taken prisoners, among them Maj. David Mefford and Lieut. J. M. DeFriese.

Mefford, of Fort Scott; James M. Asher, of company B, for several years after a lawyer at Junction City and Argentine, and Green L. Defrees, of company D. Several of this party got permission to go out after wood, and were killed because they were Kansas men.

During the month of September a tunnel was made by a number of the prisoners. It was about sixty feet long, and was sunk to a depth of four feet beneath the stockade, being just large enough for a man comfortably to crawl through. Thirty-eight escaped through this tunnel. They were detected because of one who came out with a violent cough, induced by the foul air. Instantly the alarm was sounded, and the bloodhounds and about forty-five men started in pursuit. Twenty-two were recovered. A man named William H. Riggs, of company H, Fifth Kansas, who worked in a sawmill at Kansas Falls, a few miles above Junction City, prior to the war, was one of those escaping and who was recaptured. He was badly bitten by the dogs. The rebels claimed the dogs had to taste blood to make them savage.

After the tunnel episode, M. F. Parker, first sergeant of company C, Sixth Kansas, and private J. J. Jones, of the Fifth Kansas, and Captain Henderson entered into an agreement to effect an escape. A feature of the compact was that in case of recapture each was to make his own escape independent of the others, rather than risk going back to Camp Ford. Henderson swapped his blue blouse for a butternut one and forty pounds of flour to boot. Jones baked this flour into little biscuits about two inches square. They secured from the hospital two ounces of spirits of turpentine, in which they mixed red pepper. This was to rub on their feet, to destroy the scent of the dogs. They secured one tin cup, one canteen, and two case-knives, and with this outfit they thought they were well fixed. Parker was waiting on Henderson in his sickness, and Jones was a cook in the hospital.

But not for months did opportunity offer. The horrors of Libby and Andersonville were duplicated at Camp Ford, but were not so conspicuous, because it was remote from the seat of war, and the number in confinement was much less. Henderson saw four men shot at the dead-line. The rations and filth were dreadful. Men were constantly attempting to tunnel and otherwise make their escape. The patrol and bloodhounds kept up a constant confusion after those who were missed.* Every day the rebel officers would make the rounds, offering liberty to

*Herman Westerfeld, of St. Louis, company H, Fourth Missouri cavalry, who was captured May 5, 1864, on Red river, in the report of the special committee on the treatment of prisoners, XLth Congress, pages 1032, 1033, under oath says:

"After we got into Shreveport they kept us there a day and a half, to the best of my knowledge, and they put us in an old store, a feed store it used to be. They had their own prisoners above, and it was such a lousy place you could see them fall down upon you from above. From here they marched us to Marshall, Tex. We camped there all night, and then they marched us to Camp Ford, in Texas. That was in the evening. They did not give us anything to eat until the next day, somewhere in the afternoon. We had no shelter whatever; and next day they gave us some corn-meal, a pint or probably a little over to a man. They gave us no wood, though, nor nothing to cook it in. They kept us there about fourteen days without giving us any shelter. After that they allowed some of us to go out and get some brush to build sheds of. The fourteen days that we stayed in there it was raining pretty near every day, and a good many of our boys at that time got sick, from not having our victuals cooked as they ought to be. It was coarse corn-meal, and they got the diarrhea from eating it and lying in the wet; and I have seen men, while I was in there, die for the want of sufficient food. One man, who slept next to me, had the diarrhea so bad from eating this corn-meal that he just fell down and died."

"A good many of the men had nothing but old pants on, the rebels having taken away their pants when they were captured and given them their old ones. This was at Camp Tyler, in Texas. This camp is about five or six miles from Tyler City. While here some days we did n't get our food at all. Whenever it rained, as there was a creek between the camp and the city, the rain would swell the creek, and the rebels would give as an excuse for not giving us food that they could n't get it across the creek. I recollect on several occasions we did n't get anything at all during the whole day. Another thing we did n't get, and that was sufficient wood to cook our victuals. During the winter time we had n't enough to keep warm. Once in a while they would let twenty of our men go out at a time to chop trees down and carry them in, and they

the strong, but not to the weak, if they would renounce their country and join the Confederacy. He knew of but one man to accept this offer. The prejudice against a Kansas soldier was intense.

On the night of the 27th of October an opportunity of escape came. The night had been determined upon a week before. It was cloudy, and proved a favorable time. The three named gave the guard the slip, one at a time, and met at a point agreed upon. A member of the Twenty-ninth Iowa, who had been wounded and bulletined as dead, occupied Henderson's bunk, and was counted for him for two mornings; Parker and Jones also had similar friends. But before the end of the second day they were missed and the bloodhounds started after them. The Twenty-ninth Iowa man had a suspicion that his wife would marry again, and he was exceedingly anxious that news concerning his healthy condition might reach her, and Henderson was to get a letter to her. But Henderson's wardrobe or baggage was no protection to the love missive, and the rain soon made pulp of it.

The meeting-point agreed upon was inside the dead or patrol line, but beyond the guard. The patrol made a round of the place accompanied by bloodhounds, the property of the Confederate States of America, managed by a captain, looking for tracks of any that might have escaped. Here they held a consultation as to directions. They determined to cross the Sabine river at a point about twenty miles distant from Tyler. They were three days in making this distance, traveling only at night. Here conflicting opinions arose among them, and they were very despondent, being still within hearing of the bugle calls of the prison. On the night of the 4th of November they ran into a rebel soldier and his brother out hunting. They talked with the rebel and obtained a promise that he would not report them: but to be sure, as soon as they got out of sight, they made another liberal application of turpentine and red pepper to the soles of their feet, and to their pants legs, now beautifully frilled by contact with the briars and brush of several nights' rambles toward the flag of the free.

would send a guard along. Then they would allow some of us to go out and cut some brush, after we had stayed there a while, to make a shelter. The treatment we received was very bad. I have seen men brought in there who had marks all around their necks where they had put ropes around them and tied them to the horses, and dragged them along the ground, on account of their being too sick to walk any more. I have seen men brought in there who had managed to escape from the stockade, but had been recaptured by bloodhounds. I have seen them with their pants all torn to pieces, and some of them had their legs torn pretty badly by the hounds."

"The graveyard was right in sight of the camp, and they would generally bring bodies there and bury them. Soon after we got there, on account of their giving us corn-meal, a good many died. I have seen as many as five or six die in a day. There were about 4500 prisoners when I first went there. Some of them were exchanged after a while, and about the last of the war there were about 800, I believe. To the best of my knowledge, some 700 or 800 must have died. The surgeon never came into the enclosure, to my knowledge, and I never heard of any sick call. If a man got sick, he generally stayed there until he got so low he could n't walk, and then we would carry him up to the hospital in our blankets. I hardly ever saw anybody go in the hospital before they were so low that I thought they could never recover. Most of them had scurvy or diarrhea, and they let them stay in camp so long without giving them any medicine that they could n't recover. While I was in there I heard one of the guards say, 'Whenever we kill one of you Yankees we can get a furlough of so many days,' but he did n't state whether he had orders from the officers to shoot us or not."

Frank Hanlon, of St. Louis, Mo., who was captured in May, 1864, before the committee on the treatment of prisoners, LXth Congress, page 1034, under oath, October 22, 1868, says:

"After we first went there we were allowed to go out and cut some brush with which to make a shade to keep off the sun. We found that we were not going to be exchanged, and then we went out and cut some poles, and dug holes in the ground, and put up the poles, and then put clay on top. While we were in prison a good many men were taken out and punished. Sometimes the men would get away, but would be caught and brought back, and then they would tie them up by the thumbs and punish them in different ways. They could n't well treat men any worse than we were treated. Colonel Allen was in command at one time, and then Colonel Stewart. There were four or five different ones; they kept changing. The guards had orders, I understood, not to speak to the prisoners. There was no surgeon there that I ever saw to attend to the sick, and no medicine. There was some kind of a place outside that they called a hospital, where they used to put men when they were very sick; and about all they had in the shape of medicine was salts. I played off one time that I was sick, and went in there, and I got a dose of salts. They gave us a few potatoes once in a while during the thir-

Their line of travel took them a little east, but in sight of Clarksville, Red River county, Texas. The next point of interest was in crossing Red river, about the 8th of November. This was exceeded by an alarming interest about the 10th, when their food gave out. They were now traveling north along the Choctaw road, or the western line of Arkansas. Hunger began to affect them and it was determined that Henderson should approach the first house they came to and ask for aid. He approached a house and heard the voices of colored people. Quite a number were present in the house, and the man who opened the door to him instantly surmised who he was and shoved him behind the door, out of sight of the rest of the company, and whispered, "What do you want?" The answer was, "Something to eat." Gathering up some meat and bread and other scraps from a table, he warned Henderson to get out of sight as quickly as possible: that his master, an officer in the Confederate army, and party of friends were near by on a hunt, and were expected in a very short time. They resumed their travel without further hint.

A day or so farther on serious differences arose between them, and a quarrel, which almost separated them, resulted. Henderson maintained that they were not far enough east, and threatened to secede, but the other two insisted they were on the right course. Better counsel prevailed and they continued the old route, but hunger now came upon them. An empty stomach was not conducive to good nature, but self-preservation was stronger, and they unitedly continued the battle to reach the safety and comfort known only under the flag. Another house came in view, and it was determined again to ask for something to eat, and voted that Henderson should again make the application. His butternut blouse was deemed a great advantage, but nevertheless a loyal rifle was held on him while waiting for a "hand-out." He approached a cabin and knocked, but much parleying was necessary before he could get in. As the door opened, an old man sat on a bed with a rifle aimed at him, which covered him until he withdrew. He found they were Unionists. The wife gave him corn-bread and beef to eat, and three ponies and three pieces of dried beef to carry to his companions. They had not heard a word from home or the rest of the world for four months, and the old couple gave them more than bread. Here they learned of the reelection of Abraham Lincoln, and that Price's raid into Kansas* had been a failure.

teen months that I was there. I am not sure whether they gave them or whether our men bought them. They had vegetables plenty in the country, so I am told. They would bring in sweet potatoes and sell them to the prisoners. Many died for the want of vegetables. The men died pretty fast. Some of them had no clothes on of any account, and were lousy, filthy, and dirty; had no means to keep clean. We had a very good well in the camp, and only for that many more would have died."

Patrick Fleming, of St. Louis, a steamboatman on the Red river, captured May 1, 1864, in the report on the treatment of prisoners (No. 45, XLth Congress, page 1038), October 24, 1868, under oath, says:

"We dug tunnels there to get out, and when we had the tunnels dug, the roll was called every morning, and if there was any one gone he was missed in the morning, and then there were three or four bloodhounds sent in pursuit of him, and before they could get far the men were caught. There were a good many prisoners that left there that never came back. There was a boy belonging to the Sixth Kansas who made his escape out of a rope, and they captured him at Sabine river, and they took him, after catching him, and tied a rope around him and threw him into the river, and then hung him up, but they didn't kill him. Then he was brought into the camp and was out of his mind. When we were coming home he jumped overboard and was drowned. I saw them tie an officer to the horn of a saddle, when we were coming out of there, and the horse was put on a gallop, and he was dragged along. Any one that would fall in the rear, and was too weak to keep up, they would treat them in that way. They never issued rations sufficient to satisfy the hunger of the prisoners."

*About October 1, 1864, it became generally known that Gen. Sterling Price contemplated a raid into Kansas. Gov. Thomas Carney learned of the movement September 24. Price crossed the Arkansas, coming north at Dardanelles, with from 5000 to 15,000 men. His army was greatly increased in Arkansas and Missouri. October 8, Governor Carney called out the state militia, Geo. W. Deitzler, major-general, and John T. Morton, adjutant, and on the 9th General Curtis gathered in all the Federal troops to resist Price, and on the 10th proclaimed

They were now 105 miles from Fort Smith. They were requested, if recaptured and taken back, not to recognize or look at the house as they passed. The food and the news greatly revived them and they made good time until November 17.

One morning, about this point in their march, when looking for a safe bunch of brush in which to hide for the day, they came to a spring. At this spring a skunk was drinking. Jones picked up a rock and killed it. It was instantly skinned, and there being one match in the party they soon had a fire, and prepared a luscious repast. Henderson's share of the animal was a foreleg and the tallow. It tasted very well, making a satisfactory meal. They laid down to sleep, and when they awoke in the afternoon, perspiring under a blistering sun, the odor of the animal seemed to come from every pore of their skins.

November 17, near Waldron, within fifty miles of Fort Smith, they were recaptured by a party who announced themselves bushwhackers, and boasted that they had killed and scalped every Kansan and Arkansan who had fallen into their hands, and that since the 1st of April they had killed sixty Federals. Here Henderson concluded it was safer to be an Iowa soldier than a Kansan. A Kansas soldier was about as objectionable as a colored soldier, the latter certain to be shot. So from this on he was a member of the Eighteenth Iowa. Parker and Jones likewise belonged to the First Indiana cavalry. The captain of this squad was named Sewell. Before the departure of Steele's command on the Camden expedition, and while stationed at Roseville, Lieutenant Henderson had captured a guerrilla named Colonel Carpenter. He was turned over to the Fourth Arkansas infantry regiment, his neighbors, who shot him. The guerrilla who took in Henderson and his compatriots, was a nephew of Carpenter, and so his talk was quite cheering. He did not know the identity of his prisoner—it would have been woe to Henderson if he had; so he magnanimously robbed him of what clothing he had left, also a large silver ring each from Parker and Jones, and announced that they would be taken back to Tyler. The next day he took them back nine miles, and the day following would have turned them over to a guerrilla captain named Miller, who knew Henderson, and whom Henderson knew well enough to deem a second escape preferable to his recognition. It would be all over with him if he did not somehow make a second slip.

Toward evening it began to rain, and for convenience the captain ordered a number of the party to a near-by house for supper. As soon as they approached the house the woman began to cry. The same party had murdered her husband a few weeks previous. After supper they were told to go to a smoke-house and make a fire. Everything was damp, and in the search for something dry Henderson gave them the slip and ran through an orchard. It was pitch darkness, and he made his escape. He crossed a fence and found a small brook. He followed

martial law in Kansas. The militia assembled at Olathe numbered 6816; at Atchison, 1151; Paola, 1872; Mound City, 1180; Fort Scott, 1650, and Wyandotte, 550, all of whom were soon concentrated on the border. October 20 there was a slight engagement on the Little Blue, followed on the 21st by a battle along the Little Blue, with Price's whole army engaged, closing on the Big Blue, within six miles of Kansas City. October 22 the battle of the Big Blue was fought—a Union victory. October 23 the battle of Westport resulted in the defeat and retreat of Price. Besides the Eleventh, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth regiments, Kansas volunteers, and troops from other states, there were about 20,000 citizens of Kansas under arms. General Price and his army entered Kansas in Linn county, a few miles south of West Point, Mo., and passing down through Bourbon, until he crossed the Marmaton, where he withdrew from the state. The decisive day for Kansas was October 25, in battle near Mound City. Marmaduke and Cabell, nine guns and 800 prisoners were captured, and 200 rebels buried there. The rebels made their last stand in Kansas on the Marmaton, six miles east of Fort Scott, and were whipped. October 27 Governor Carney ordered the militia to their homes. Lieutenant-general Grant, October 30, ordered the pursuit of Price to be resumed. November 6 Price again crossed the Arkansas, this time going south.

this brook into the mountains for several hours, when, deeming himself safe, he lay down in the mud and rain to sleep. He passed the remainder of that night and all the next day and into the second night without waking up. When he awoke the stars were shining, and taking his bearings he resumed his march. His food was now acorns and red haws. He was nine miles back on his march, and separated from his companions. The next day was Sunday, and he lay all day in the brush. At night he started again in a northwesterly direction, and on the 20th struck the Choctaw road. He now began to increase his speed, impelled by the thought that he could recognize an occasional landmark. A little grave he knew came to mind, and if he could find that he could locate himself. He found the grave, and he knew then that he was thirty-six miles from Fort Smith.

At daylight of the 22d he came to Massard Prairie. Here was the most dangerous point on the road. Bushwhackers were abundant, constantly picking off Union men who ventured out. Henderson here lost all caution—was so overjoyed with the prospects of home and of the flag that he was reckless of consequences. He met two ladies and asked them where he could breakfast, and they referred him to a little board shanty not far off, where he might get some Lincoln coffee. He received a good breakfast from a woman whose husband was a Union man at Fort Smith. He was now ten miles from Fort Smith, traveling in daylight. After a weary walk he reached the southern edge of heavy timber, and the flag of Fort Smith beamed on his eyes. This timber had been felled, lying crossways and the limbs jagged, affording a very good protection against the advance of an army of assault, and there was good view across it. Travelers always tell how joyful is that flag in foreign ports or on distant seas, but that is incomparable to the soul-thrilling joy of Henderson, Parker and Jones when they beheld that starry banner, for which they had suffered so much, against an Arkansas sky:

“Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming.”

He was now three miles out. He made his way to a tent of the Forty-fourth U. S. Colored. A lieutenant in charge sent him to Fort Smith in charge of two big negroes. On the way he met Corp. Thomas Tool, of his own company, who remarked to the negro soldiers: “What are you taking that old bushwhacker in for?” The first man to recognize him was Charles Speiner, of company F, from Junction City and Lyon Creek.

His pants were worn off up to his knees. He had taken the cavalry reenforcements from his pants to wrap his legs, his blanket was tied about his neck with a piece of grapevine, and he had an old white slouch hat, generously given him at Tyler for a good one that some rebel had appropriated. His arrival was soon noised about, and Maj. John Arrell Johnson, Mrs. Col. George W. Veale's brother, hunted him up, took him to his quarters, had a surgeon examine him, gave him a bath, burned his lousy rags, and clothed him in a good suit of his own.

Parker and Jones came into Fort Smith two days later. They had been taken thirty miles toward Tyler. The whole party was out of food, the country was devastated, and they were given a chance of escape. They made their way by night.

About six years after, Parker visited Henderson at his home, while on his way to Colorado. He has not heard of him since. The last heard of Jones, he was living in Leavenworth county.

Henderson was on the road twenty-six days. There was not much sign of civilization between Tyler and Fort Smith. In Texas the country was smooth,

and in Arkansas very mountainous. Where travel had attempted a road, it was passable only with the greatest difficulty. Wild animals seemed very rare. A wildcat annoyed them one night, and they saw signs of a panther. The party altogether proved congenial. Jones was a splendid woodsman, well versed in tree signs, trails, etc., a good specimen of an American farmer boy. Parker was a man of good sense and caution, and entitled to great credit for the safety of the expedition.

On a hilltop, near by a comfortable farm residence and ample barns and feed-lots, set off with handsome cedars, stands erect a better flag-pole than Uncle Sam has at Fort Riley, from which two flags float at intervals—the same which greeted Captain Henderson's eyes at Fort Smith: one a present from Mrs. Gen. John A. Logan, for special occasions, and the other for regular service. When anything of public interest happens, the flag gives the neighborhood for miles around to understand that the captain is pleased; if under such circumstances the flag does not appear, then things have gone wrong. But, right or wrong, that flag is the old man's idol.

Capt. Robert Henderson has been a fine citizen, as his love for the flag indicates. In 1871 he was elected county treasurer, and under Benjamin Harrison served four years as postmaster of Junction City. In 1887 he was post commander of Junction City Post No. 132, G. A. R. He is an ardent, enthusiastic and impulsive man in all things, and, like all such, always faithful. He keeps in good order, for the use of the public, the handsomest grove of native timber for several counties around, in which, in deference to a natural liking for archeology, Indian lore, and general history, he recently erected a monument commemorating the visit of Coronado to Kansas in 1541. He was beside himself with joy when the county name was changed from [Jefferson] Davis to [John W.] Geary. His splendid and self-sacrificing military service to his country is equaled by his citizenship, which has developed a Kansas home and a Kansas farm—a life embellished with a lively interest in all that is good and true.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF F. B. SANBORN.

Published by resolution of the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the State Historical Society, upon the occasion of the receipt of a bronze bust of Mr. Sanborn, December 2, 1902.

MY earliest recollections are naturally of the old house where I was born, at the top of the gentle hill on which my ancestors laid out their farm, in the seventeenth century, among the pine woods, and some thirty rods eastward of where the original house stood, as shown by the old well and the scattered bushes of the old English Lancastrian rose which they planted there, and which still survives. My grandmother Sanborn had died before I was born. My grandfather Benjamin, for whom I was named, as he had been for his father, and he for his uncle—all living and dying on this great farm—was my particular caretaker, though seventy-two years old when I was born, late in 1831. I slept in his bedroom, on the ground floor, except in winter, entering it from the old spacious kitchen, with its fireplace six feet wide and three feet deep, and, at my first remembrance, wainscoted and unplastered at the top, where I recall the dark, smoky pole hung across above our heads to dry wet garments on, and an old oak armchair, perhaps brought from England, in which sat "Grandsir Sanborn"—so called to distinguish him, in a child's mind, from the other grandfather, "Grandpa Leavitt," who came often to chat with his older contemporary and to urge Democratic politics on his milder kinsman.

Benjamin Sanborn was a hale, hearty yeoman, much of the English type, blue-eyed and brown-haired, with cheerful good nature, which I never saw ruffled, and a clear, rosy complexion, even at eighty-five. He had been a Federalist and follower of Washington, like his pastor and neighbor, Parson Abbot, but seems to have gone over to the Jeffersonian side when Governor Plumer did, though his pastor did not. About 1821, when those political animosities subsided under the sagacious administration of Monroe, Parson Abbot had consented to the introduction in the "singing-seats" of his old meeting-house of instruments—a bass viol, played by Jo Perkins, and a clarionet, blown by Peter Tilton ("Doctor Peter"); but my grandfather, who had been constant at church before, took offense at this new music, which seemed to him better suited for dancing than for worship, and for a while stayed away from service. It is the only instance of Puritanic strictness recorded of the good old man; he viewed the younger generation of temperance reformers with toleration; but took his own moderate tipple at intervals, notwithstanding; kept a goodly mug of cider on his table, and favored the family with Jamaica punch on Independence day, in the great pitcher whereon was seen the *Constitution* capturing the *Guerricre*.

Parson Abbot, a cousin of the more famous Doctor Abbot, of Exeter, and with some of his persuasive talent, spent many evenings at grandfather's house, chatting with him and Squire Perkins, father of the musical Jo; and took advantage of this to talk of David with his harp, and all the instruments named in the Bible—dulcimer and psaltery, sackbut and shawm—until finally, after grandmother's death, in 1823, he persuaded the widower back to his pew. An early and proud recollection is of going into this pew with my mother, when I was hardly high enough to peep through its enticing banisters (out of which, when the old sanctuary came down, I made spinning-tops), arrayed in a green frock and long, white stockings. Grandfather had then ceased to go to church Sundays, but sat at home and read the Bible, or some religious book, in a loud whisper, sounding the final *ad*, as "Enoch walk-ed with God," which struck my childish mind with awe.

When my father, Aaron Sanborn, the younger of his two sons, married Lydia, daughter of "Squire Tom" Leavitt, before 1820, and brought his handsome wife, blue-eyed, but with jet black hair, her father said, "Lydia ought to have a home of her own." His father replied "Yes," and said to his daughter Rachel, who was housekeeper in her mother's illness: "Lydia must be head now; there will be only one family here, and where I live there will be peace." Parson Abbot's daughter, who told me this, added, "the neighborhood was remarked upon as a happy one."

There all the children of my father and mother were born and brought up—Aaron having undertaken to carry on the farm and inherit it, as one of the sons of each generation had done since 1680. Like his father-in-law, who was the Democratic party leader in that region, my father was an active Democrat, and, under Jackson, his party controlled the little town of Hampton Falls; he was, therefore, chosen town clerk, and held that office when I was born. One of his duties was to record the names of new-born children; and while my grandfather gave me his own Scripture name, and my fond grandmother Leavitt added the favorite middle name of Franklin, in honor of the great doctor, father, knowing his son would be called Frank, vowed he should not go by his middle name. He therefore reversed on the record the usual order, and entered me as "Franklin Benjamin"—a whim that has occasioned some trifling mistake ever since. He was rather too persistent in his own whims, but essentially just in his

nature; a serious, rather saturnine person, inclined to separate himself from others; industrious, frugal, and governing his family more by severity than by affection; an athletic man, skilful with his hands in many arts, a fine horseman, unsparing of himself, kinder to the poor than complaisant to the rich, and independent to the verge of self-will.

My father and all his near kindred were readers, and in that community of old traditions and simple habits learning was held in honor. Books were easy to obtain, in libraries or by neighborly borrowing. With such books, many of them in Latin, the bequest of the parish minister, who had also been president of Harvard, and with the instruction of my brother, Charles, and the ministers, in addition to the worthy youths who taught the winter schools, I had picked up, before fifteen, much miscellaneous learning. To this I added by myself, before 1850, a good deal of Latin, a little French, some German, and the rudiments of Greek, though my father had forbidden me the latter when, at the wish of the schoolmaster and the age of eleven, I had learned the alphabet. I began to write verses at sixteen, and thought myself skilful that way before I was nineteen—even printing a few. However, I had no thought of entering college, and neither formed for myself nor had formed for me by my family any definite plan of life. I grew up in much freedom, working with my hands, but not excessively, sauntering and reading a great deal, with few companions outside of my own cousins and neighbors; learning to swim and shoot, play whist and chess; going to church when I pleased, but not habitually, and joining in a literary circle, which first gave me an opportunity to try my pen in verse and prose. Its manuscript journal, bearing the high name of "The Star of Social Reform" (not given by me), contained a few pieces written at eighteen, which I have since printed.

I was also making my first experiments in love, without forming any serious connection, until, in my nineteenth year, it was my good fortune to meet the beautiful person who had the most inspiring influence on that portion of my life which preceded my acquaintance with Emerson and John Brown. This was Miss Ariana Smith Walker, a grandniece of Webster's witty friend, Judge Smith, of Exeter, who, in consequence of her father's second marriage with a daughter of Parson Abbot, became a summer visitor in Hampton Falls. I met her there in the summer of 1850, having heard of her and had a glimpse of her in 1849, and between us a quick and inspiring affection grew up, changing my course of thought, and, for a time, arresting the malady which had fastened on her delicate constitution. This continued my chief interest and hers for four years and until her death, in August, in 1854. It was her wish that we should be married, when her death was seen to be near, and we were united in name, as we had been in spirit almost from our first sight of each other, but a short week before her death, which occurred at her father's house in Peterborough, where her maternal relatives, the Smiths and Morisons, of the genial Scotch-Irish race, had settled in the middle of the eighteenth century.

I had already, at her suggestion, been prepared for Harvard partly by private lessons in Greek from my good friend, Prof. J. G. Hoyt, of Exeter Academy, and finally, by seven months' study in that excellent old school, then very small (1851-'52), I entered college a year in advance, in July, 1852, and found among my classmates there Phillips Brooks, Gen. Frank Barlow, Edwin Morton, Robert Treat Paine, Theodore Lyman, and others since noted, who graduated with me in 1855. Though actually at Cambridge but little more than two years, my greater age and miscellaneous reading gave me good rank—I think seventh in the class; and by inheriting my wife's small property, could begin life free from

debt, and in a position at the head of a private school in Concord, which enabled me to be of some service to others. I owed this to the friendship of Mr. Emerson, who had known me in college, selected me as the tutor of his children, and by his influence more than my merit secured me a flourishing school, which I carried on for eight years—from March, 1855, to March, 1863—teaching boys and girls, young women and young men, and giving them some taste of country life and social training.

Interest in national affairs drew my attention often from this school; having long been, like my brother Charles, devoted to the freedom of the Southern slaves and the emancipation of the North from its subservience to the slave-masters and their commercial and political allies. This was contrary to the wish of my elders, and my grandfather Leavitt, long before his death, in 1852, predicted a "civil war on account of the niggers"; but it brought me into acquaintance with Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Doctor Howe, Mr. Garrison and others who took the anti-slavery side. Along with some of these—George L. Stearns, Dr. Samuel Cabot, Colonel Higginson, two of the Lawrence family, Dr. William and A. A. Lawrence (father of the bishop), and others—I became active in the colonization and defense of Kansas in 1855-'57, serving on committees and giving and raising money thereafter. This again brought me into friendship and much correspondence with that remarkable champion of freedom, John Brown, to whose cause and apparently hopeless undertaking, in Virginia, I gave much time and money in 1858 and 1859.

The story of this period is told in my "Life and Letters" of Brown, and my life of Doctor Howe; its events brought upon me, in the winter and spring of 1860, an attempt by the Virginians and other slaveholders, who then controlled the United States senate, to kidnap and compel me to testify before a senate committee against my friends and Brown's friends, which I was resolved never to do. Being summoned as a witness by the chairman of the senate committee, Mason, of Virginia, I declined to appear, and the senate ordered my arrest, in February, 1860: but the warrant, addressed to the sergeant-at-arms of the senate, lay dormant until April, when it appeared in the hands of Silas Carleton, a Boston bailiff, who, escorted by young Freeman, a son of the United States marshal of the district (who had served the senate summons in December), came to my house at night, with four men, and by a forged letter sought to entrap me. I, ignorant of their purpose, for I supposed the senate had given up its unwise purpose of arresting me, admitted them to my house, where they handcuffed me, and prepared to carry me off like a runaway slave seized under this same Mason's fugitive slave law. The courage of my sister, my own resistance, and the intervention of neighbors, who came flocking at the sound of the fire-bell, stopped my kidnapers, and a writ of *habeas corpus*, drawn up by my neighbor, Judge Ebenezer Hoar, then on the Massachusetts supreme bench, and served by Sheriff Moore, another neighbor, with the *posse comitatus*, took me from their hands and brought me the next day before Chief Justice Shaw and the full bench, who discharged me as unlawfully arrested—the warrant being in hands to which it was not addressed, and the law's salutary maxim being *delegata potestas non potest delegari*, "delegated power must not be again delegated" by the mere server of a process.

This decision did not touch the main issue, which my counsel (John A. Andrew, afterward governor), raised: but it was good law, and recognized as such by Senator Bayard, of Delaware (uncle of our late ambassador at London), then chairman of the senate judiciary committee, who drew a bill to meet such contumacies in future. But the civil war came on, and the bill never passed even

the senate; my kidnappers, whom I got indicted, mostly enlisted in the Union army, and I never proceeded against them.

Such affairs interfered with the success of my school, and the outbreak of the war so reduced my pupils that, in the winter of 1862-'63, I accepted an offer from the friends of emancipation (Maj. G. L. Stearns, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, and Francis W. Bird) to edit their weekly newspaper, the Boston *Commonwealth*, only remaining in that capacity seven months, however, when Governor Andrew called me away to be first secretary of the Massachusetts board of state charities, October 1, 1863. This was the first organization of the kind in the country—there are now twenty or more—and everything had to be begun and carried through without pattern. It was an able board, and I was its youngest member; Doctor Howe soon became its chairman, and its very efficient general agent was Henry B. Wheelwright. Between us—these three being the most active members—we gradually reorganized the Massachusetts charities, and set the fashion for other state boards, which began to be appointed in 1867.

I was thus withdrawn from active participation in the war, having the interests of many thousand persons to look after, and worked as I have never done before or since to understand, explain and reform the charitable and statistical work of Massachusetts. Much that we did remains still in force, much became obsolete by its own success, and something of our work has been perverted by indolent or selfish successors. In the midst of all, I continued to write for the *Commonwealth*, the New York *Independent*, the Springfield *Republican*, and other journals, as well as for the *North American Review* and magazines. At the end of five years' service as secretary, I accepted the invitation of Samuel Bowles to become a resident editor of his *Republican*. This took me to Springfield and Ashfield for four years, and brought me into closer friendship with George William Curtis and other literary men. I was for a few months managing editor of the *Republican*, in 1871, and had much to do with organizing the successful opposition to Gen. Benjamin F. Butler's ambitious attempt to become governor, as the Republican candidate. He was finally chosen, eleven years after, as the Democratic candidate.

I had married in 1862 (August 16) my second wife, Louisa Augusta Leavitt, of Woburn, but born in Boston, where we were united at the small church of our friend, James Freeman Clarke, after which we lived for a winter in Cambridge, and one spring with my dear old friend, Mrs. Sarah Ripley, in the Old Manse at Concord. My two oldest sons, Thomas Parker and Victor Channing, were born in Concord, the latter in my house on the Sudbury road, where the kidnappers had found me, seven years before. My youngest son, Francis Bachiler, was born in Springfield, overlooking the lovely Connecticut valley, in February, 1871. My children were all educated in the schools of Concord (to which I returned in the spring of 1872), except for a year spent by Tom in my former school at Exeter.

After resigning my secretaryship, in 1868, I had been appointed a member of the state board in 1870, and in 1874 succeeded Doctor Howe as its chairman, for two years. I there originated or cooperated in legislation or administration affecting public charity throughout the country, and joined, in May, 1874, with Doctor Hoyt and Mr. Letchworth, of New York, Mr. Elmore, of Wisconsin, and Mr. F. H. Wines, of Illinois, son of my good friend, Dr. E. C. Wines, of New York, with whom I had been active in prison reform, in founding the National Conference of Charities, at New York city. Previously (October, 1865) I had united with Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, Doctor Howe, Col. Thomas W. Higginson, Joseph A. Allen and his brothers, Presidents Rogers, of the Technological Institute, and Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, my brother-in-law, George Walker, Gov-

ernors Andrew and Boutwell, Mr. R. C. Winthrop and many others in founding the American Social Science Association, of which I have been an officer for nearly thirty-three years, and was secretary more than twenty-five years.

I was associated with General Hayes, afterwards president, with Dr. E. C. Wines, Mr. Brockway, then of Detroit, but for twenty-two years at the head of the Elmira Reformatory, and many other friends, at Cincinnati, in 1870, in forming the National Prison Association, which we afterwards revived at Saratoga, in 1882. This connection with such organizations has led me to write and publish several thousand pages on the topics generally included under "Social Science," while my state reports for Massachusetts on charities, prisons (of which I was an inspector for five years), insane asylums, reformatories, etc., must cover some 8000 pages. While chairman of the state board, I carried on an important legislative inquiry into the management of the Tewksbury State Almshouse by the Marsh family, resulting in great reformation of the system there, especially after the sensational action of Governor Butler, in 1883, gave the board, of which I was then an officer, opportunity to complete the work begun by me in 1876. In 1877, in place of the attorney-general, and with the support of the board of state charities, I carried on a similar inquiry into the extravagant cost of the new Danvers Lunatic Hospital, which resulted in much economy of money, and an exposure of the futility of such building of palace hospitals for paupers. In consequence of these services, for which I received no compensation but much abuse, I was asked, in 1879, by my friend, Thomas Talbot, then governor of Massachusetts, to assist in a second reorganization of the charities and prisons, which he carried through; then selecting me for the place of general inspector of charities, which I held from July, 1879, to November, 1888, when, by an intrigue, I was illegally, but effectively, deprived of it. My measures had been found too reformatory, and my successors fell into a comfortable routine, which has accomplished little.

In all, my official service to Massachusetts was about twenty-five years; and I have continued since 1888, as a private citizen and publicist, to aid in the promotion of better systems in my own and other states. It might also be mentioned that I took an active part from 1865 till 1878 in establishing oral instruction for deaf children in schools at Northampton, Boston, and Mystic, Conn. I have been for thirty years one of the twelve trustees of the Clarke School for the Deaf, at Northampton—one of the best in the world—and had much to do with obtaining its charter from the legislature in 1867. The same year I obtained the charter and assisted in the organization of the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, which first in America showed practically how to prevent the extreme mortality among motherless infants, and which still continues to do its good work near Boston.

In 1879, besides beginning my work as deputy lunacy commissioner of Massachusetts, under the new board of health, lunacy, and charity, I aided my neighbor, Bronson Alcott, and his friends, W. T. Harris and Mrs. Ednah Cheney, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, and others, to carry out a long-cherished plan of Alcott and Emerson—the opening of a summer school of philosophy and literature at Concord, in the grounds of Mr. Alcott's picturesque Orchard House, where we soon built the small Hillside Chapel, and there continued to hold sessions during the summers of nine years, closing the enterprise with a memorial service for the founder and dean of the school, in 1888, a few months after Mr. Alcott's death. This involved the arrangement and delivery of some fifty lectures by ten or fifteen professors and scholars in each year, to audiences ranging from 20 to 300, and usually followed by a free debate. I was secretary and treasurer of the fac-

ulty, and also lectured from two to five times each summer. In some years 1000 different persons attended during some part of the courses. It was the first of such schools, but has since been often imitated.

As a contributor to the *Atlantic* and other magazines and reviews, I had published much before 1882, when my first literary book appeared—the life of my neighbor and friend, Henry D. Thoreau, in the Boston series of American authors. The same year I edited for Mr. Alcott his unique volume of “Sonnets and Canzonets,” and in 1887 his political autobiography, entitled “New Connecticut.” These were followed up in 1893 by his “Memoirs,” in two volumes, chiefly written by me, but edited in concert with Doctor Harris. In 1885 I published, after long preparation and some preliminary work, in the *Atlantic Monthly* and Orcutt’s “History of Torrington” (1872, 1875, 1878), the authentic “Life and Letters of John Brown,” making use of the papers of the Brown family and that invaluable collection of the State Historical Society, at Topeka, which I examined in 1882. All these books, except the first named, were published by Robert Brothers, Boston. For the school of philosophy, I edited its two volumes of lectures there delivered, in 1885 “The Genius of Emerson,” and in 1886, “The Life and Genius of Goethe,” to both of which I contributed chapters. In 1891, after my first visit to Greece (in 1890), I published in a New York biographical series (Funk & Wagnalls) a “Life of Dr. S. G. Howe,” in which many of the facts concerning his connection with John Brown were first made public.

In 1892-’93 I resided in Greece again for more than four months, sailed along the shores of Attica, Bœotia, Eubœa, and Thessaly, and ascended Mt. Pelion, after traversing the plains of Thessaly and the pass of Tempe; also sailed to Constantinople, rowed on the Bosphorus, saw the sultan pass from his palace to his mosque, and sailed in broad daylight between Tenedos and the plain of Troy. I examined with Doerpfeld and his students the ruins of Grecian temples and theaters; saw Waldstein begin his excavations at Sparta and continue those at the Argive Heraion; and in the rare library of George Findlay, at Athens, read again the story of the Greek revolution and the romantic fortunes of his friend, Trelawny, making use of this knowledge in some recent articles in *Scribner’s Magazine* on Byron and Trelawny (1897). In 1895, having long had them in my hands, I published through Houghton & Mifflin the “Familiar Letters of Henry D. Thoreau,” which was virtually a new and better biography of him. And I have now completed the “Memoirs of Pliny Earle,” with whom I was long associated in the improvement of the treatment and cure of the American insane. In preparation for this task, I visited many European asylums for the insane in 1890 and 1893—in Austria, Belgium, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Saxony, and Scotland.

Besides these books, I have edited or had some share in several others, drawn from the copious writings of Theodore Parker, with whom for seven years, while in college and in my Concord school, I was on the most intimate terms. He desired me to be his literary executor, as I was one of the executors of his will, but his purpose was frustrated by untoward circumstances following his death, in 1860. However, his manuscript and copyright came into my hands long afterwards, upon the death of his widow. At present I am writing for my latest publisher, Mr. Goodspeed, of Boston (who has published two books of mine on Thoreau), a small book—somewhat larger than my “Emerson” of 1901—“The Personality of Emerson,” to appear in April, 1903.

On the invitation of my friend, Dr. A. D. White, now ambassador to the German empire, but then president of Cornell University, I began, in April, 1885, the first course of college lectures on applied social science of which I ever heard in America—though they are now common enough—visiting, after a lecture,

with a large class of students, the model reformatory of Mr. Brockway, at Elmira, the great Willard Asylum for the Insane, and other establishments for the poor and vicious in New York. I then required my pupils to pass an examination on the features observed at these different establishments, as well as on the general principles of the system upon which they were conducted and justified. I continued these lectures four years, with many hearers, and such have since been had at other universities. I thus received the courtesy title of "professor," by which the Cornellians and others addressed me, but with no real claim to it.

I have lectured repeatedly at other colleges and before many societies and clubs for the past forty-five years, beginning at the Westford Academy, in 1853, with a college essay on King Arthur. My journalistic beginnings were even earlier, for I contributed verses to the *Independent Democrat*, of Concord, N. H., in 1849, since when I have printed verse or prose in more than forty periodicals, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, and to the extent of many, many thousand book pages, for which I hope to be forgiven at the day of judgment. I have at least escaped the sin of indolence, and have seldom avoided the frank expression of deliberate opinions.

Thomas Parker Sanborn, eldest son of F. B. and Louisa, was born in a house overlooking the Concord battle-field, and close by the Old Manse, February 24, 1863. He accompanied the family in their migration from Concord to Ashfield and Springfield, and had for playmates there the younger children of Mr. Bowles. His school education began there, but was seriously undertaken only after the return to Concord, in 1872, where he studied in the primary schools, and was taught Latin and Greek by his father. He was a sensitive and original child, much noticed by his elders, especially by Mr. Emerson and Ellery Channing, going to walk with the latter and with his father and brother, Victor, as soon as he was able to keep up with older persons in the wood roads and pastures of Concord—their custom on Sunday afternoons for many years.

His interest in nature and his poetic eye for the beauties of the various seasons were noticeable from early childhood, and appear gracefully expressed in such of his serious verses as have been published here and there by himself or by his father since his death. His love of books was equally marked, and thus he seemed designed and equipped for a literary career, had his days been prolonged. He studied at home with his brother and father, and in the excellent town schools, graduating from the high school with distinction, and entering Harvard college in 1882 with few conditions, at the age of seventeen. He took no high rank in college, but devoted himself largely to reading and journalism, having for social companions in his large class those youths who have since been prominent in literature and were then active in the satirical and critical journalism of the students. He was one of the editors of the *Lampoon* and the *Advocate* (of the latter his uncle Joseph was one of the founders), and wrote constantly for such publications in his junior and senior years. After graduating, in 1886, he joined the staff of the *Springfield Republican*, with which his father had long been connected, and was qualifying himself by various forms of journalistic work for more extended usefulness as editor elsewhere, when, in 1888, it was found needful for him to give up his position and return home to Concord, his health being seriously affected and his power of application weakened. This state of things continued, with alternations of hope and despondency, until in the winter of 1888-'89 his state of mind gave his family much alarm, and finally culminated in suicide, in March, 1889.

Under more fortunate circumstances—this being the very time when his

father's efforts to improve the condition of the insane poor had brought upon him the animosity of persons in office, and the loss of his own government position—it would not have been difficult, perhaps, to ward off the approach of insanity in this brilliant and sensitive youth. But such a result was not to be, and a life of more than ordinary promise was thus cut off. No collection of his writings has been published, but it is the wish of his father to include the select verse of his son with such of his own as may be thought worthy of preservation in a volume. He is buried in the pleasant Concord cemetery, and above his grave a tablet of Pentelic marble, chiseled and carved in Athens, with its emblems of aspirations and genius, recalls his memory in a line of Greek verse, copied from an antique tomb in Thebes.

REMINISCENCES OF FREDERICK CHOUTEAU.

From notes taken by FRANKLIN G. ADAMS, at Westport, Mo., April 24, 1880, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I CAME to Randolph, Clay county, Missouri, about two miles below Kansas City, on the opposite side of the Missouri river, in the fall of 1825, October or November. I was fifteen years old. My brothers, Francis* and Cyprian, were trading there. The United States Indian agent, Barnett Vasquez, bought annuity goods of my brothers, and took the goods in my brothers' boat across the Missouri river and up to the yellow banks, just above where Wyandotte is. The goods were landed on a sand-bar there. Thirty-five hundred dollars was the amount of the goods. That was the first annuity ever paid the Kaws. The next three payments, I suppose, were made somewhere about there.

The first payment at the Kaw agency, † on the reservation, near Grasshopper, was made in 1829.

Barnett Vasquez was the first agent of the Kaws. He was agent from 1825 till 1828. In the summer of 1828, coming up from St. Louis, in July or August, he took the cholera and died. He went down in a buggy, and was coming back in a buggy when he took sick and died. He was a hard drinker.

His family was at my brothers' agency at Randolph, where he had lived since 1825. The family remained till March, 1829. My brother then loaded a large keel-

* ARTICLE 8.—And whereas, the Kansas are indebted to Francois G. Choteau for credits given them in trade, which they are unable to pay, and which they have particularly requested to have included and settled in the present treaty: it is therefore agreed on, by and between the parties to these presents, that the sum of \$500 toward the liquidation of said debt shall be paid by the United States to the said Francois G. Choteau. (Am. St. Papers, Ind. Affairs, vol. 2, p. 590.)

† "In a letter from Mr. Boone, under date of August 11, 1879, he says: 'The agency was located nearly on a line between the Kaw half-breed reserve and the Delaware reserve land, mainly, however, on the Delaware lands. We lived one-half mile east.' Upon examining the original field-notes of the survey of 1856, the first sectional survey of the territory, I found a reference made to an 'old well' on section 4, township 12, range 19 east, on the north side of the river. A letter received from Thomas R. Bayne, who owns survey No. 23, Kaw half-breed lands, which joins the original Delaware reserve on the west, says: 'Just east of my prairie farm was an old well, near the bank of the river, when I moved here in 1854. The remains of quite a village can yet be seen in the vicinity. There are stone chimneys of quite a number of houses, and remains of an old blacksmith shop. When I broke the prairie I found the charred remains of a rail fence that had enclosed over 100 acres of land. The well is about in the center of the old village, and is walled with hard limestone. The stone is cut to fit a perfect circle, and was one of the finest pieces of masonry I ever saw. This well only furnished water when the river was high, showing that the channel of the river is deeper than when the well was first dug. This old village is seven miles above Lawrence, on the north side of the river.'"

(From the *Topeka Weekly Capital*, August 27, 1879.)

boat, of forty or fifty tons burthen, with peltries, 400 packs, for St. Louis. The numbers of skins in packs of the different kinds of peltries are as follows:

Beaver skins.....	65
Otter skins.....	100
Deer skins (20 buck and 20 doe).....	40
Raccoon skins.....	120
Muskrat skins.....	500
Wolf skins.....	100
Badger skins.....	100
Buffalo-robos.....	10

(Buffalo are killed for robes from November to the 1st of May.)

Mrs. Vasquez* with her children took passage on this boat. There were four children, all small, the oldest not over ten or twelve years. The following persons were on board to go down to St. Louis: Mr. Hughes and John Dougherty, Indian agents; two pilots, and a daughter of one of them; Mrs. Vasquez and her four children; eight hands; ten Kaw Indians, and myself—twenty-nine in all.

My brother had hired an old mulatto pilot, named Baptiste Datchurut, to pilot the boat. The boat was all loaded and Baptiste was drunk, and could not be found; so I hired his brother pilot, Frank Zabette, also a mulatto, to take the steering oar and steer the boat. Two miles above Prime's ferry, where Independence now is, the old rascal overtook us in a canoe, with a discharged soldier by the name of Kennedy. He showed me his papers, and says he, "Your brother sent me to take charge of the boat." I said, "I am very sorry; I wish you had not overtaken us."

The wind was blowing very hard from the south, so that we laid by for a while against the southern shore, and when we started again we kept as near the southern shore as we could. Between the place where we were detained by the wind and Prime's ferry was a large rock, which was in the bank at low water, but out in the current in high water, as it was now. I saw that we were running towards the rock. I told the men to row away. They did, and threw the bow of the boat away out from the rock; but the old man was not stout enough, as the brother was, to throw the stern out, and the boat struck its side against the rock, breaking the side in. We turned right toward the shore, but the boat began to sink fast. We threw the anchor, but it would not catch. Then seven hands and myself jumped in and swam ashore. Three of the hands, Kennedy and two Canadians, were drowned. Myself, Frank and three of the hands got safely ashore. The others all remained on the boat. The boat's anchor soon got a hold and stopped the boat.

I hastened to Prime's ferry, a mile below, and got a flatboat and went to the rescue of the party remaining on the keel-boat. I got them all off in safety.

Next day we got all of the packs out. We cut a hole in the deck. Joe Lulu dived down and brought out all the packs, one at a time, and we took them ashore and dried them.

Mrs. Vasquez lost \$300, which she had in the little cabin that I had made for her near the stern of the boat.

Kennedy's body I found three or four days after, and had the men bury it. I

*"SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, ST. LOUIS, February 17, 1830.

"SIR: I take the liberty of enclosing to you herewith a letter just received from Captain Vashon, the Indian agent for Shawnees, Delawares, etc. (of the 27th ult.), with the receipts to Major Campbell, the sub-agent for those tribes, for expenditures made by him, and which Captain Vashon recommends the payment of. The claim also of the widow Vasquez, which he recommends, is a just one. This claimant is the widow of the late sub-agent, and has lost everything she possessed in moving to this place from the Kansas sub-agency, the boat in which she embarked having been wrecked in descending the Missouri. She is therefore in much need of her due, and I would particularly recommend the payments due her for house rent. Be pleased, sir, to instruct me as early as convenient whether I shall pay those accounts or not. With high respect, sir, I am your most obedient servant, WM. CLARK.

"To the Honorable Secretary of War."

paid them five dollars which I found in his pockets. Prime's landing was Independence landing, twelve miles below Kansas City. We hauled all the pelts up to Kansas City, where my brother had a house, and packed them again and shipped them on a steamboat.

Mrs. Vasquez went down on the steamboat with Mr. Dougherty.

Joseph Lulu, a mulatto who belonged to my father, took the peltries out of the keel-boat, diving down in the water for every pack, except a few which we could get out when we first cut the hole in the deck. He went under water no less than 375 times, taking out a pack each time. He was worth his weight in gold.

Joseph afterwards claimed his freedom because of some Indian blood in his veins on his mother's side, and my father gave him his freedom. He became a fireman on a Mississippi steamboat, and some years afterwards was killed, with other firemen, by the blowing up of a steamboat going down to New Orleans. He was with me at Horse Shoe lake as cook.

My brother Francis had built his house at Kansas City in 1828—a frame house—where he lived with his family. In 1828 and 1829 we built some trading-houses four or five miles above Wyandotte, on the north side of the Kansas river. These were not the "four houses," so called. The "four houses" were built about 1820, by my brothers. The houses built in 1828, in the fall, were for trading with the Shawnees and Delawares.

The next agent was Daniel D. McNair, a special agent to make payments, in 1829.

In 1830 General Clark was appointed full agent and made a payment. These two payments were made at the stone house near Grasshopper, north side of the Kaw river.

CHOUTEAU'S TRADING-HOUSES—THE KAW VILLAGES IN 1830.

I built my house at Horse Shoe lake in the fall of 1829. I remained there two years.

In 1830 I made my house on the American Chief creek, on the south side of the Kansas river, about fifteen or twenty miles above Topeka. American Chief had a small band living there, twenty lodges. They were permanent dirt lodges, good size. They were down on the creek bottom, about two miles from the Kaw river, on the west side of the creek. They built their lodges there the same year I went, 1830. They remained there until 1845. I remained there till that time; then I went with them to Council Grove. I remained at Council Grove till 1852 or 1853; then I left. I sold out to Price Kelly, who remained there a few years as trader. Mr. Huffaker was there when I left, a missionary. There were three trading-houses. Seth Hays had one of them.

Hard Chief had his village, in 1830, about a mile above the American Chief, away from the creek, and nearer the Kaw river, on the highland. His people got their water from the Kaw river. The village was not far from the Kaw river. These two bands built their villages there because I was going there to trade, as I told them.

Fool Chief had his village on the north side of the river, about a mile above Papan's ferry. This was the largest village. Fool Chief's village numbered 700 or 800 people; Hard Chief's village numbered 500 or 600 people; American Chief's village numbered 100 people; they averaged six, eight or ten to a lodge.

HUNTING.

The Indians would generally start out on their buffalo hunts about the first week in September, and would return about Christmas, and remain in their villages all winter. They kept their horses in the creek bottoms.

I went out to my trading-house about the 1st of September, and the agent would come and make the payment. Then I would give them credit and they would start out on their hunting. I went out again about Christmas, to get my pay in peltries—otter and beaver skins and buffalo-robos. In the spring they planted their corn, and then went out hunting in June, getting back the first week in August.

BAPTISTE AND ZABETTE DATCHURUT.

Baptiste Datchurut had been living among the Kaw Indians for a good many years, and could speak their language well, and was the interpreter for the Kaws. He had a Kaw wife. He came from St. Louis a free negro. His daughter,* a half-breed, between the mulatto and Kaw woman, which he was taking down to St. Louis at this time, afterward married in St. Louis a mulatto man, John Boudon, who was born in France. His father was a Frenchman, his mother a negress. John was well educated, a fine violinist, and gave lessons in dancing to the children of the best families, private lessons, and made lots of money. He became dissipated after a while, but lived very well in his younger days.

Datchurut stayed among the Kaws until about 1846, when he got down with the consumption. His brother, Zabette, came along and, seeing how he was, brought him to my house, then near where Chouteau station is now, and asked me to take care of him, and told me he would pay me for doing so. I told him I would. I gave him a place to lie in near my houses, and went every day to see him, and gave directions to have him well taken care of. One morning I found him dead. I buried him there on the hill, just out on the prairie from where the station now is. I never saw any more of Zabette. He never paid me anything.

Zabette followed the river keel-boating, sometimes for the American Fur Company, going way up on the Yellowstone. He was a rough fellow.

FOOL CHIEF AND WA-HO-BA-KE.

When I went to build the house at the Horse Shoe lake, I became acquainted with the Fool Chief in the fall of 1828. His village was then above Papan's ferry. His band would go and hunt on the Republican and Big Blue and bring their peltries down to my trading-house—beaver, otter, elk, deer and buffalo skins. He was a hereditary chief, a smart fellow, but not brave. He was peaceable when sober, fond of feeling his authority and of having the younger Indians about him to bring him the choice pieces of game to eat. He had only two wives and three or four children.

After Mr. Johnson † established his mission at the American Chief's creek, within a mile or two of my trading-post, the Fool Chief was converted and became a Methodist for two or three years. Rev. J. Thompson Peery, a missionary at Mr. Johnson's mission, took the Fool Chief to Baltimore during that time, to attend some missionary convention. It was hot weather. The Fool Chief was given a bed in the parlor. Very early in the morning Mrs. Peery looked out of her window and saw a crowd of people on the street around the Fool Chief, who was stark naked; he was cooling himself, Indian fashion.

When he drank liquor he became drunk and crazy: hence he got the name "Fool Chief." Such names are given to the Indians by their associates, after they grow up and develop their peculiar characteristics. He was a fine-looking

*"Elizabeth Datcherute, the daughter of Baptiste Datcherute" was one "of the half-breeds of the Kansas nation" to whom a half-mile square on the north side of the Kansas river was given by treaty of June 3, 1825. (Am. St. Papers, Ind. Affairs, vol. 2.)

† For account of the Rev. William Johnson's missionary labors among the Kaws, 1830-'32, 1835-'42, see Historical Society's Transactions, vols. 1, 2, page 276.

fellow. He was a very young man when I first saw him. The villages had no other names than that of the principal chief living in them. He killed, in one of his drunken sprees, a few years after I went up there, a young Indian. He had killed one before.

In about 1846 or 1848, after I had moved on the hill near where Chouteau station now is, the Fool Chief came along with nearly all of his band, going to Missouri on a begging and stealing expedition. They camped near my place, and remained there two or three days. After a while an Indian, Wa-ho-ba-ke by name, came along, alone, from up the river. I gave him something to eat, when he inquired where the Fool Chief was camping. I told him, and he went over there. Entering the chief's lodge, the women gave him something to eat. While he was eating the Fool Chief came in and slapped him. The Fool Chief had been drinking and was half crazy. Then the chief took out his knife and took off Wa-ho-ba-ke's scalp. When Wa-ho-ba-ke saw the blood from his head he jumped up, took out his knife, seized the chief's hands, and cut the tendons of his wrists, so that his knife fell to the ground, both hands becoming powerless. He then took a club of wood, a rough, split stick, and mashed his head, scattering the brains all around the lodge, killing him at once. Wa-ho-ba-ke then ran away to the Osages, for fear that he would be killed by the Fool Chief's relatives. The body of the Fool Chief was buried right there on the prairie, near my house where I afterwards lived at Shawneetown.

The band then went off and camped at Wm. Park's house, where Shawneetown now is.

Wa-ho-ba-ke stayed among the Osages about a year. Then Supt. Richard W. Cummins and agent General Rains sent word for him to come back. Rains made the payment about 1840 and 1842. He was afterwards a general in the rebel army. They sent for him because they approved his act of killing the Fool Chief. They were glad of it, and they gave notice that they would protect Wa-ho-ba-ke and punish any Indian who should harm him.

This Wa-ho-ba-ke was a noted brave. Some years before, when the Kaws were out on a hunt, Wa-ho-ba-ke was surprised when alone bathing in a creek, and shot through the body by two Pawnees, two bullets passing through his body the same instant, large thirty-two to the pound bullets. He fell and floated down stream. The two Pawnees sprang in and clubbed him. A blow on his head reanimated him so that he sprang to his feet in the shallow water, startling his two enemies, and causing them to flee. He then mounted his horse, which the Pawnees had left in their panic, and rode to the camp; reaching it, he fell to the ground exhausted. Having been brought back to the Fool Chief's village, he lay a long time nearly dead in his lodge. Finally he was about to die, as he supposed, and it came into his mind that before he died he must have one more ride on his best hunting horse. He called for his horse to be brought to his lodge. The Indians placed him in his saddle. He was so weak and emaciated that he could not sit upon the pony by his own strength. The Indians tied him on, strapping his legs under the horse's belly. He then started off, the pony running carelessly over the prairie. The agitation and shaking up, in this race, caused the bursting and discharge of an abscess, which had been formed in connection with his wounds. Returning to his wigwam, he immediately began to recover, and finally he became fully restored to health. This circumstance, together with his many acts of bravery, gave him great prominence in his tribe, as well as respect among the white men and officers of the government. He died at Council Grove, of the smallpox, about 1850.

Wa-ho-ba-ke means "the one who carries the nat." The "nat" is a roll of

stuff of horses' hair, about two feet long and eight or ten inches wide. Interwoven in this are bird skins, wings, and feathers, and some small rods running lengthwise. This thing is rolled up in a snug roll. It is a talisman, necessary to be present to secure the success of any enterprise. Hence, when the band of Indians to which it belongs goes out to war, or on a hunting expedition, it is carried on the back or shoulders of a man who is selected for that duty. This Indian, Wa-ho-ba-ke, had this duty to perform in his band, and hence his name.

PIROGUES AND KEEL-BOATS.

A pirogue was a craft sixty or seventy feet long, made like a canoe, out of cottonwood trees of the largest size found in the Missouri bottoms, sometimes four feet through. Two of these were placed together side by side, tied solidly together. They would carry from ten to fifteen tons.

The keel-boat which my brothers had in 1828, I think, was the first which navigated the Kaw river.

After I came, the keel-boat was used altogether on the Kaw river. We would take a boat up with goods in August, and keep it there till the next spring, when we would bring it down loaded with peltries. At the mouth of the Kaw we shipped on steamboat to St. Louis.

The keel-boats were made in St. Louis. They were rib-made boats, shaped like the hull of a steamboat, and decked over. They were about eight or ten feet across the deck and five or six feet deep below deck. They were rigged with one mast, and had a rudder, though we generally took the rudder off and used a long oar* for steering. There were four rowlocks on each side.

Going up the Kaw river we pulled all the way; about fifteen miles a day. Going down it sometimes took a good many days, as it did going up, on account of low water. I have taken a month to go down from my trading-house at American Chief (or Mission) creek, many times lightening the boat with skiffs; other times going down in a day. I never went with the boat above my trading-house at the American Chief village. No other traders except myself and brothers ran keel-boats on the Kaw. We pulled up sometimes by the willows which lined the banks of the river.

The Southern Methodist mission at the American Chief's village was the first mission established there. William Johnson started it about the year 1835. He was uncle of Alex. S. Johnson, and a brother of Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the mission near Westport. Mr. Cornetzer took charge of the mission after Mr. Johnson died, for two or three years, about 1838 or 1840. The property was soon taken away to the Shawnee Mission, near Westport.

There was no other mission among the Kaws. Eight or ten of the Kaw children were sent to the Shawnee Mission, near Westport, after the closing of the mission at American Chief's creek. Several of these children, after returning home from the mission, soon died. Hard Chief would not allow any more to go after that, because, as he said, they at the mission smelled the big knife so much that when they came back to the tribe they soon died.

*Such an oar was found while removing the island east of the present Melan arch bridge, in Topeka, in 1897. The oar was embedded in the sand, ten feet beneath a large cottonwood tree which stood at the upper end of the island, and a few feet east of the old bridge. The oar which is twelve feet long, has the rusted iron oar-lock attached, and the paddle blade is patched with a shake. The oar is now in the Historical Society's museum.

DEATH OF A MEMBER OF THE TRIBE.

Statement made by Frederick Chouteau, at Westport, Mo., May 21, 1880.

When a member of a family dies, a warrior of the band to which the family belongs is chosen to make propitiation with the Great Spirit. He smears his face with mud and ashes, goes out in the morning to a high, lonely place, and sits there all day, crying and moaning, and blowing smoke toward heaven; eating and drinking nothing from morning till night. This he does every day for a month. The warrior then takes a body of warriors, sometimes to the number of 100, and goes out on a war expedition against some hostile tribe. If he is successful in taking scalps or stealing ponies he returns, and the widow can put aside her mourning and is at liberty to marry again.

If a woman dies, the husband selects the one to make propitiation; the father, if a child dies.

The idea which this superstition embodies is, that the affliction which the Kaws have been made to suffer has been an act indicating the displeasure of the Great Spirit, and intended to humble the tribe in respect to its standing with the Great Spirit, as between the Kaws and a hostile tribe. The sacrifice which the hostile tribe (against which the incursion is made) has been made to suffer in this way results in placing the Kaw family, and the band to which it belongs, on an equal footing before the Great Spirit with the hostile tribe which had not suffered the infliction imposed by the Great Spirit by the hand of death.

The ceremony of monthly penance—mourning, moaning, and smoking—is for the object of propitiating the Great Spirit, and obtaining favor in the effort to be made to bring the tribe at enmity in equal standing before the Great Spirit. Success in the warlike expedition is taken as full proof that the Great Spirit accepted the penance.

At the same time that the chosen warrior is performing his acts of mourning, the members of the family of the deceased, every morning just at break of day, go through similar mourning exercises at their lodge. If it be winter, or in a season of the year unfavorable for the warlike expedition, the family mourning takes place only at that time, but when the time approaches for the war expedition, the chosen warrior has his month of propitiatory mourning. The chosen warrior is always given a horse at the beginning of his mourning ceremonies, by way of compensation for the service he is to perform.

When Hard Chief's brother, Sans Oreilles, Ne-ru-ga nin-ga, died, the Hard Chief sent out 200 warriors, and told them not to come back until they had killed 100 Pawnees. Some of his brothers led the band. They only killed one Pawnee. Said he, "One scalp! What does that amount to? I want you to go again, and do not stop until you have got 100 scalps."

The chiefs are regarded as characters of great dignity. To speak with them or to have social intercourse with them is regarded as a great favor. To obtain such favor a present of a horse is always to be made, sometimes of many horses. I have known as many as 150 horses to be distributed by one man to three chiefs in order to gain their favor. The name of the man who made these presents was Ne-ca que-ba-na (the one who runs down men). This Indian ran down and killed with a knife eighteen Pawnees, at different times, during the time that I was trading among them. Every time he went on one of these killing expeditions he returned with a drove of horses which he had captured. The 150 horses given by him at one time were distributed among the Hard Chief, the Fool Chief, and the Broken Thigh. This warrior was by far the most successful Indian fighter I ever knew among the Kaws. He was murdered, while lying dead drunk, by a member of his tribe, at Council Grove, about the year 1850.

The murderer's name was Que-ba-co-mo-ne (the one who walks mad). The dastardly murderer was immediately shot and killed in his own lodge by the members of the tribe and his lodge burned over him, consuming his body.

INDIAN MARRIAGE.

If a young man takes a fancy to a girl, he goes to her father and asks for the girl, but the father refuses. Then the young man goes to a priest of the tribe, or medicine man as he is called, and asks him to go and intercede for him with the father of the girl. The priest takes a pipe to the girl's father, but perhaps he will not smoke, but turns his head away, refusing. The medicine man repeats the offer of the pipe, going perhaps several times for that object before the request is granted. When granted and a favorable answer is reported to the young man's father, the young man's parents then bring many presents to the parents of the girl—horses, household goods, kettles, guns, etc. In return, the parents of the girl select some of their oldest broken-down ponies and some trifling goods, which are presented to the bridegroom's parents. The young man then repairs to the lodge of the parents of the bride and remains there as a member of the family. He becomes the hunter of the family and nothing else. He has the use of the best horses, those perhaps presented by his parents, and performs the duty of supplying the family with game.

Returning from his hunting expeditions, he gives himself up to idleness in the lodge, not even doing so much as to unload his pony of the game brought in. He is not privileged to have any communication with the parents of his wife, not being permitted to speak to them until a child is born to his wife, even if it be ten years. After he has acquired a family of two or three children, he may set up housekeeping separately. The oldest girl is always first married. Her husband marries the younger girls successively as they become old enough, he being entitled to the privilege of marrying all the daughters for the family, a privilege which is almost universally taken advantage of. If, however, a young man declines to marry all the daughters, a second son-in-law may be taken into the family. I have seen some men have six or seven wives—sisters. They never have wives that are not sisters. If there be but one daughter, her husband has but one wife.

I employed at my trading-house on American Chief's creek a medicine man as soldier or policeman. His name was Ne-co-he-bra. He was called by us Wa-con-da-ga-ton-ga, or big medicine man. This name was given him because he was in possession of a little red morocco box of vials of medicine, similar to a doctor's pill-bag. It had been given him by some white man. This medicine-box, the contents of which perhaps he himself was ignorant of, was an object of superstitious fear to the other members of the tribe, investing him with unlimited authority, even over the chiefs. He was supposed to have the power to kill or save as he might choose. I have seen him whip the Hard Chief, Fool Chief, and others. He was always ready to go and whip any Indian who was careless about settling up accounts with me or refused to pay his debts. Sometimes the Indian women would cut down trees around the post, and not being strong enough to cut up the trunks and large limbs, would leave them in convenient places, only stripping the smaller branches for fuel. This was an annoyance to me, as the trees had to be cut up and hauled away by my men; so I told the medicine man to go and whip the Indian women, which he did. This soon put an end to that trouble. The young men also came in for a share of chastisement at the hands of the big medicine man. They took a fancy to picket their horses on my feeding-grounds, thinking no doubt that where Chouteau picketed his horses

would in all probability be the best place to picket theirs. I had the big medicine man teach them better manners. He was exceedingly useful to me.

It was the custom at payments, for the object of preserving order, for a warrior to be selected to act as a policeman. For instance, whenever the Indians would crowd around the payment table or window and refuse to fall back when directed, the policeman might use his whip freely, slashing away at the faces of any members of the tribe, chiefs or others, except my big medicine man. No one dared strike him on any occasion.

The Hard Chief had two brothers — His-til-lis-sa, Blue Eyes (we called him "La Soupe," on account of his relish for that dish), and Ne-ru-ga-nin-ga, No Ears, or, as he was known in French, "Sans Oreilles." He would have his own way. He was a great warrior, and was finally killed by the Pawnees while on a war expedition to one of their villages. His brother, Hard Chief, told the Kaws to kill a hundred Pawnee braves as a compensation for his loss, but I think there was only one killed.

During the Mexican war the Kaws were troublesome, stealing horses, oxen, mules, etc., from the Santa Fe trail. The Hard Chief and his two brothers were arrested by the United States troops and taken to Fort Leavenworth, where they were kept prisoners for two or three weeks.

The Kaws had many games of chance. These games were played in the lodges of the chiefs. Here a policeman was on duty to watch after the welfare of the game, and to see that no cheating was done. If he happened to see an Indian taking an advantage of another, crack would go the whip, and the offender would be brought to justice without delay. All of the well-to-do Indians, those who possessed horses, robes, guns, trinkets, or other articles of any kind that could be put up as stakes in gambling, were expected to join in the games. If they did not wish to play, they were obliged to, or else lose favor with the chief, and at the same time be excluded from the chief's house. The poor Indians, on the other hand, were allowed to enter the chief's lodge and entertain the guests by music from their rude instruments, such as the drum, besides performing any other service which might be required of them.

INDIAN KETTLES.

Conversation with Frederick Chouteau, Westport, Mo., June 30, 1880.

We used to sell copper, brass and iron kettles to the Indians. There were ten sizes of kettles in a nest. The largest were as big as a tub at the top and tapered down, and would hold about fifteen gallons. This was true of all the different kinds, brass, copper, and iron. The copper kettles have lids to them. Copper kettles were even all the way from the top to the bottom. The copper and brass kettles were sold at a dollar a pound; the sheet-iron were cheaper. The brass kettles were of a single piece, not riveted or soldered together, like the copper and iron ones.

TIME OF TRADE, HUNTING, AND PAYMENTS.

When I was trading at the American Chief's creek (Mission creek), I was part of the time away. I would take the boat up about August with goods and give the Indians their credit; that is, sell the goods to them on credit; and they would start out about the 10th of September on their hunt. I would stay there until the next spring, then go down to the Missouri river for two or three weeks. I was up at the trading-post most of the time. The agent never lived there, or at any of the other Indian villages. He only went there once a year, to make the payment — about Christmas — when the Indians returned from their hunt. All the Indians of the tribe of all the villages traded with me. I was the only trader.

WHITE PLUME — NO-PA-WA RA.

I do not know what year White Plume's house was burned, near the Grass-hopper. But after it was burned he left there and came up to the Fool Chief's village and stayed there. He died there, some time between 1835 and 1840.

Fool Chief's name was Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ne-ga.*

Hard Chief's name was Ka-he-ga-wa-che-ha.

The name of Broken Thigh, a brave of the Fool Chief's band, was Koo-sa-ma-ne.

STEALING AND ITS PUNISHMENTS.

During the Mexican war the Kaws would steal a good many horses belonging to the army. They would not stop their stealing. A company of soldiers were sent to the villages to arrest the chiefs for not stopping the young men from stealing. They took the Hard Chief, Ka-he-ga-wa-che-ha, and his two brothers, Sans Oreilles and the White Eagle. They were the very Indians who had done the stealing, and that was why they took them. They kept them about a month. When they came back Hard Chief was very mad. He said he would kill any Indian who would steal any more horses. He had been sleeping between logs

* COUNCIL GROVE, April 16, 1904.

Geo. W. Martin: DEAR SIR AND FRIEND — Your letter, with inquiry relative to the matter of the Fool Chiefs of the Kaw Indians, received. There will be no discrepancies in the Indian stories of Captain McClure and the writer. There were two Fool Chiefs, who at different times were well-known head chiefs of the Kaw Indians — father and son.

Fool Chief I, Ca-ega-wa-tan-nin-ga, was prominent as a great chief away back as early as 1819, when Major Long's exploring expedition held a council with the Kaws on the Missouri river, and when a part of the expedition visited their large village near the mouth of the Blue. The Kaws had three villages on the Kansas river, the largest one governed by the Fool Chief and the other two presided over by Hard Chief and American Chief. It may here be mentioned that the Kaws governed, and usually operated in all things, by threes. They were always divided into three villages or tribal divisions, and when they lived on their reservations near this place kept up the three-village scheme. Fool Chief I came here with the Kaws in 1847, and during the year 1848, while on a visit into Missouri, was killed in a difficulty in Johnson county, in the manner you relate in your address.

Fool Chief II, Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, was a son of the former, and seemed to inherit the rank from his father. He was Fool Chief during the residence of the Jribe here, and went with the Kaws, in 1873, to their present home in the Indian Territory, where he died, a very old man, a few years ago. During most of his life he was a great and wise counselor, and in his younger days a brave warrior; but once, a few years before the tribe went to the territory, he became crazed by liquor, and in a quarrel killed a Kaw brave with little or no excuse. It caused a grand council of the tribe to be convened, and after full investigation he was only allowed to save his life by paying a heavy fine — a large number of ponies, robes, and many valuable relics. He was also required to surrender his chiefship for a time, and was considered in disgrace.

Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah was a peculiar hereditary title, and had important and historical significance. Some claim that there was always a Fool Chief, or a Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, in the tribe. At different times and by different writers it was spelled Ca-ega-wa-tan-nin-ga, Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga, and Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, the latter being the spelling authorized by those who lived with the Kaws here, and, according to our old mutual friend, Judge Huffaker, the most expressive. *Kah-he-ga* means chief, and *wa-ti-an-gah* means brave and courageous, even to rashness. The title "Fool Chief" was a high and honorable distinction and became hereditary, but it could only be maintained by brave and warlike qualities, coupled with good conduct and wisdom in council. Originally, it was obtained by some remarkable act of personal bravery or daring Indian prowess which brought advantage and renown to both the individual and the tribe. The spelling of Indian names varies, and is not very important, but that which gives best representation of the pronunciation should be used. Having no written language, this is manifestly so.

The latter-day Fool Chiefs in Kansas are in no wise followers of the methods of those dusky worthies of long ago, but now, as then, all dynasties in Kansas, whether of the Fool character, or otherwise, come to an end — and so must this letter. I think this will harmonize the discrepancies you mentioned, for there were at least two Fool Chiefs among the leading historical characters of the Kaws.

Very truly,
GEO. P. MOREHOUSE.

long enough. He was very sore, and he would not do that for any man who would steal horses. He would kill them. They never stole horses after that.

BRANDSVILLE, Mo., June 23, 1901.

Geo. W. Martin, Secretary State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

MY DEAR SIR—I enclose with this some letters relating to early times in Kansas. They are soiled and worn, and ought to have been deposited with the Society years ago, where they would have had better care. They consist of six letters from Mr. Frederick Chouteau; two letters from Daniel Boone; one letter from John C. McCoy, and one letter from W. S. Chick—ten letters in all. They ought to be preserved in different form, either in newspaper articles or in the Collections, as they all relate to the *earliest settlement of Kansas by the whites*. Much stress is laid on the settlement of Kansas in 1854. Here is a record of the settlement of the territory commencing more than twenty-five years before that time, and written by men who KNEW what they were writing about, and all thoroughly trustworthy. You were probably acquainted with them. I had another letter from Daniel Boone, but do not now find it. I may have deposited it with the Society. However, you will find a copy of it in the Andreas's History, under "Jefferson County," and also in the *Capital*, in 1879, but the enclosed letters have not been published. Yours truly, W. W. CONE.

P. S.—I have a letter written by Col. Albert G. Boone, in which he says he never lived in Kansas, written in Dakota territory in 1879; partly biography and partly relating to Kansas, but in general not very valuable matter, which letter would not be of much use to the Society. It is written with pencil. It corroborates the statement made by Daniel Boone regarding Napoleon Boone, etc.—W. W. C.

WESTPORT, Mo., August 11, 1879.

Mr. W. W. Cone: DEAR SIR—Fred. Chouteau's brother established his trading-post across the river from my father's residence the same fall we moved to the agency, in the year 1827. The land reserved for the half-breeds belonged to the Kaws. The agency was nearly on the line inside the Delaware land, and we lived a half-mile east of this line on the bank of the river. I suppose a copy of the *Journal* that contains that sketch can be had at the *Journal* office, but I do not know. I will try and get one, for I did not keep the one I had. I know nothing of my grandfather's travels through Missouri. All I know is that he lived some time with his son Nathan in St. Charles county.

Yours, etc.,

DANIEL BOONE, SR.

P. S.—Doctor Lykins's son has a position in the post-office at Kansas City. Perhaps he can give you some information on the subject. A. G. Boone can give you more information than I concerning my grandfather's travels in Missouri. I send you a short sketch, which you will please return as soon as convenient.—D. B.

JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI, February 18, 1879.

W. W. Cone, Esq.: DEAR SIR—Yours of the 16th has been received. In reply thereto I would state, that my father (not my brother) was appointed, in 1827, farmer of the Kansas Indians, by General Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs. The Kansas Indians were then located at the mouth of the Big Blue, in Kansas. My father settled seven miles west of where Lawrence now stands, on the north bank of the Kaw river, at which place his son Napoleon was born, in 1828, August 22. Napoleon died single, May 20, 1850, in California. Col. Daniel Boone trapped for a time on the Kaw river, at what time I cannot say, but think it was before I was born. Col. A. D. Boone should be written A. G. Boone. He is a cousin; never lived in Kansas, but used to live in Westport, Mo. He now

resides in Denver, Colo. Col. Daniel Boone was my grandfather. I know J. C. McCoy. He lives in Wyandotte county, Kansas. I was born in St. Charles county, Missouri. I have never received any word from L. C. Draper. The following are the names of the children of my father and mother, Daniel Morgan and Sarah Griffin Boone:

John W. Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, December 19, 1806.

Nathan Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, February 17, 1808.

Daniel Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, March 27, 1809.

Lindsey Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, October 22, 1811.

Edward H. Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, July 30, 1813.

Elizabeth Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, April 22, 1815.

Alonzo H. Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, March 22, 1817.

James Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, —, 1819.

Milton Boone, born in St. Charles county, Missouri, March 11, 1820.

Cassandra Boone, born in Gasconade county, Missouri, November 3, 1821.

Morgan Boone, born in Gasconade county, Missouri, August 3, 1824.

Napoleon Boone, born in Kansas territory, August 22, 1828.

I am the only surviving member of my father's family. I presume my cousin at Denver could give you more information of the Boone family than I, as he is older. If your letter is not satisfactorily answered you can write again.

I am, yours respectfully,

DANIEL BOONE.

WESTPORT, the 1st, 1880.

Mr. W. W. Cone, Topeka: DEAR SIR—In regard to the Indian name of the American Chief, I do not remember the Indian name. In regard to White Plume,* he was always looked upon by the agent as the head chief of the nation. You want to know about the age of the chiefs when I first went among them. White Plume was about fifty or fifty-five. The American Chief was about seventy-five; he lived but a few years after I went among them. Hard Chief was about forty or forty-five, and the Fool Chief was a young man, about eighteen years old. Clement Lessert was United States inspector at the time the treaty was made, in 1825. He had two half-breed children—a boy and a girl. The boy died and the girl married a man by the name of Bellmar, and gone to the Osages.

Well, now, about [the] Johnson mission. I refer you to Samuel Cornatzer. He lives in the Indian Territory. He was employed at the mission when Johnson died, and took care of the farm for some time after his death. If you write to Sam. Cornatzer, address your letter, Samuel Cornatzer, Vinita, Indian Territory, care of William Beatty. My respects to you, and also Mr. Adams and family. Hoping what little information I give you may prove satisfactory, I remain,

Yours truly,

FRED'K CHOUTEAU.

* He was tall and muscular, though his form, through neglect of exercise, was fast verging towards corpulency. He wore a hat, after the fashion of the whites, a calico hunting shirt, and rough leggings. Over the whole was wrapped a heavy blanket. His face was unpainted, and, although his age was nearly seventy, his hair was raven black and his eye as keen as a hawk's. (John T. Irving's *Indian Sketches*, vol. 1, p. 64.)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JUDGE RUSH ELMORE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JOHN MARTIN, of Topeka.

HON. RUSH ELMORE was born in Autauga county (now part of Elmore county), Alabama, on the 27th day of February, 1819, and grew to manhood in that locality. He received a liberal education at the University of Alabama, and at the close of his collegiate life chose the law for his profession. Soon after arriving at his majority he was admitted to practice in Montgomery. He continued the practice until the commencement of the Mexican war, by which time, by constant and steady application, natural ability and great personal popularity he had acquired a lucrative practice. At the beginning of the Mexican war, he raised a company of young men in Montgomery, of which he was elected captain. The services of this company were tendered to and accepted by the federal government for service in the Mexican war, and they were mustered into the service of the United States as a part of its military forces, for operation in Mexico. Captain Elmore, with his company, immediately left for Mexico and continued to serve until the expiration of their enlistment. He made a gallant and efficient soldier and was popular with his command. After the war he returned to Montgomery, formed a partnership with his older brother, the Hon. John A. Elmore, and Hon. William L. Yancey, and again commenced the practice of his profession in that city. Soon after his return from Mexico he was elected brigadier-general of the Alabama militia, and continued to hold that position until he came to Kansas.

Upon the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, in 1854, he was appointed one of the associate justices of the supreme court of Kansas. He first visited the territory in the fall of 1854, and in the spring of 1855, with his family, he moved to the territory and located at the town of Tecumseh, in what is now known as Shawnee county. He continued in the discharge of his official duties until the fall of 1855, when he was removed at the same time that Governor Reeder and Judge Johnston were, for the alleged reason that he, in company with these gentlemen, had made contracts for the purchase of certain Indian lands from the Kansas half-breed Indians. The fact is that the president, for political reasons, had determined upon the removal of Governor Reeder and Judge Johnston and included the removal of Elmore in order to justify himself in their removal. The whole thing was a mere pretense, for neither of the three gentlemen was guilty of the slightest impropriety. In the spring of 1857 Judge Elmore was reappointed to the same position by President Buchanan, confirmed by the senate, and assigned to the second judicial district of the territory of Kansas. From that time until the admission of Kansas into the Union, in January, 1861, Judge Elmore continued to discharge the duties of his office in the second judicial district with distinguished ability and fairness and to the entire satisfaction of the people of the district of every political faith. After the admission of the state into the Union he located in the city of Topeka, and in connection with Mr. John Martin engaged in the practice of law, and so continued until his death, which occurred August 14, 1864.

In 1857 Judge Elmore was a member of the Lecompton constitutional convention, having been elected from the county of Shawnee. In that body he exercised his influence to the fullest possible extent to have what is known as the Lecompton constitution, as a whole, submitted to a direct vote of the people for their

approval or rejection. In this he was defeated. He then made an effort to have the slavery cause submitted as an independent proposition to the people, for their acceptance or rejection, and in this he succeeded.

He was a lawyer of great ability and learning; not an orator in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but a clear, strong and logical reasoner. As a judge, he was just, prompt, and fair, and distinguished for his courtesy and urbanity upon the bench. His decisions were sound and just, and commanded the respect of the bar. Although politically opposed by a large majority of the people of the territory, by his uniform courtesy and kindness he won his way to great personal popularity. No suspicion of dishonor ever rested upon him, and no unworthy or unmanly act, as a public officer or as a private citizen, was ever imputed to him. Although a native of the South, and by the civil war cut off by correspondence with a large circle of relatives and friends in his native state, he never forgot or in the slightest degree evaded his duty, but was at all times and under all circumstances faithful to the constitution and laws of his country and steadfast in his devotion to the union of the states. As a public officer, as a lawyer, as a neighbor and friend, he commanded the confidence and respect of all who knew him. His life was useful, honorable and upright in every respect. At his death he left a family consisting of his wife and five children. His wife died many years ago, but the children are all living. Two of them reside in Missouri, one in Texas, one in Oklahoma, and one in Kansas.

ISLE AU VACHE.

Written by GEORGE J. REMSBURG,* of Oak Mills, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN the Missouri river bottom, about midway between Atchison and Leavenworth, and directly opposite the village of Oak Mills, in Atchison county, Kansas, and Iatan, in Platte county, Missouri, is a fertile accretion of land in which is embraced what was at one time an island of more than 1000 acres,† and which is one of the most historic island tracts along the entire course of the longest river channel in the world. Noted by Lewis and Clark in 1804; a conspicuous stopping-point in the famous journey of Major Long in 1819-'20; the scene of important Indian councils; occupied as a military post by Col. Henry Leavenworth and other soldiers who afterwards became famous; one of the most frequented rendezvous for boats in the golden era of steamboat traffic on the "Big

*GEORGE JACOB REMSBURG was born in Atchison county, September 22, 1871. He resides near Oak Mills, Atchison county. His father is J. E. Remsburg, lecturer, author, and horticulturist, and his mother, Nora M. Eiler, daughter of Jacob Eiler, a free-state pioneer. His father is of German-English extraction, and his mother of German-Irish. George J. Remsburg was educated in the common schools, and is a newspaper man by profession, but ill health compelled him to suspend newspaper work, and he now resides on a farm a few miles north of Leavenworth, engaged in horticultural and archaeological pursuits. He has served as a justice of the peace, and is now clerk of the district school board, elected thereto as a Republican, although in a strong Democratic neighborhood. He is vice-president of the American Society of Curio Collectors, the largest organization of its kind in the world. He is a thorough student along archaeological and prehistoric lines, early travels, and Indian lore, and an interesting writer for magazines and newspapers.

† Previous to the big flood of 1881, the main channel of the river was on the Missouri side of the island, while on the Kansas side was a wide slough, connecting with the main channel at either end of the island, thus making this body of land completely surrounded by water. This same condition prevailed when the earliest white settlers found it. The flood of 1881 threw the main channel to the Kansas side, and left the island practically nothing more than a broad tract of bottom land adjoining the Missouri side.

Muddy"; in the vicinity, just a century ago, was fired the first gun in commemoration of the Fourth of July in Kansas; incidents here occurring materially changed the designs of the Yellowstone exploring party; a flood disturbing the troops on this island, it is said, made Fort Leavenworth possible—in fact, the silicious and salicacious shore of Isle au Vache is encircled by a wreath of memories of historic incidents and traditions that combine to make a story of absorbing interest to students of early Western history.

It is now known as Cow island, which is derived from the name Isle au Vache, given it by the early French who discovered it, and which signifies isle of the cow. It was so named, as near as can be ascertained, from the fact that a lone cow was wandering about on the island when the first French explorers came up the river and discovered it. Whether this solitary bovine was a buffalo cow or a domesticated animal is yet a question. Phil. E. Chappell, of Kansas City, Mo., a recognized authority on the early history of this region, informs me* that the cow from which the island took its name is supposed to have been stolen by the Indians from the early white settlement at St. Charles, Mo., and placed on the island to prevent her escape. This tradition is disputed, however, by others well posted on Western history, who contend that the island was named for a stray buffalo cow which had in some unaccountable manner become thus isolated from the vast herds which thronged this region at that period.† Doctor Coues, in his "Lewis and Clark,"‡ cites these early explorers as giving the name in the plural, *Isle des Vaches*, though Clark himself, in his manuscript journal, gives it in the singular, *Isle de Vache*. Doctor Coues adds in a foot-note (p. 37) that Buffalo island used to be sometimes given when female buffaloes were the only cows in the country. An anonymous Missouri correspondent of the *Atchison Globe* had the audacity to come out in a bit of would-be historical reminiscence, a few years ago, and declare that the island was named for General Cow, who camped there at one time.

The date of the discovery of this island is probably not known, but it was perhaps at the beginning of the eighteenth century, or previous to the Bourgmont expedition of 1724. Lewis and Clark, as above stated, mention the island in the journal of their expedition in 1804, as follows: "July 3, a gentle breeze from the south carried us eleven and one-fourth miles this day, past two islands, one a small willow island, the other large, and called by the French *Isle des Vaches*. At the head of this island, on the northern shore, is a large pond (Bean lake) containing beaver and fowls of different kinds." On the night of July 3 they camped on the south side of the river, a short distance above Cow island. The morning of the Fourth was announced by the discharge of their gun—the first shot ever fired on Kansas soil in honor of Independence day. Though it has been set down as an established historical fact that the first Fourth of July celebration on Kansas soil was by Lewis and Clark, at the mouth of Independence creek, I feel it my duty, as an impartial student of early Western history, with a desire for historical accuracy, herein, incidentally, to correct an erroneous impression, and pilot this pretty tradition across the river to Missouri, where it rightfully belongs. If we accept the account in Lewis and Clark's journal as a reliable record of the expedition, we are compelled to accord to our

* Letter from Phil. E. Chappell, dated January 19, 1902.

† Horace Kephart, librarian of the Mercantile library at St. Louis, says: "Capt. Joseph Fecht, of 5603 Virginia avenue, told me that when he was running on the Missouri his steamer was held back a few days because buffalo crossing the river were so thick he could not run his steamer through them." (Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 574.)

‡ Dr. Elliott Coues's "Lewis and Clark," p. 21.

old neighbor, Missouri, the honor that has heretofore been unwarrantedly harbored at the mouth of Independence creek, on the Kansas shore.

While it is true that these early explorers passed the mouth of Independence creek on July 4, and named it in honor of the day, they sailed on a little above this creek and landed at a point on the "north" (Missouri) side, where they spent the night, and "celebrated by an evening gun and an additional gill of whisky to the men." On the morning of the 5th they "crossed over to the south and came along the bank of an extensive and beautiful prairie, interspersed with copses of timber and watered by Independence creek." Kansas, however, can still boast of a goodly share of these Fourth of July observances, which began near Cow island and ended at a place called "The Narrows," just above the present town of Rushville, in Buchanan county, Missouri. The memorable day was ushered in on the Kansas shore, above Cow island, by a shot from the gunboat. After passing "the mouth of a bayou or creek coming from a large lake (Sugar lake) on the north side," they stopped at "a creek on the south side, about twelve yards wide, coming from an extensive prairie which approached the borders of the river." To this creek they gave the name of "Fourth of July creek." This was what is now White Clay creek, and the site of Atchison. Here they dined and rested a short time. Joe Fields, a member of the party, evidently wanted an extra "snort" of whisky to wash his dinner down; so he went out in the thick grass which once covered the site of Atchison and got snake-bitten. Whether or not he got the whisky is not mentioned, but the journal says that a "poultice of bark and gunpowder was sufficient to cure the wound." According to Sergeant Floyd's diary, the prairie on which Atchison now stands was named "Joe Field's Snake Prairie."

Above Fourth of July creek was a "high mound where three Indians paths center and from which was a very extensive prospect." This was perhaps the high elevation on which the Soldiers' Orphans' Home is situated, and which is the most commanding eminence in this vicinity. The early French must have maintained a trading post in the vicinity of Cow island, on the Kansas shore,* for Lewis and Clark, in their journal, mention having observed the ruins of such a post in that locality. Therefore, Paschal Pensinau, the Frenchman who married a Kickapoo Indian squaw, and settled on the bank of Stranger creek in 1839, was not the first white settler of what is now Atchison county, as has hitherto been supposed.

Maj. Stephen H. Long, in his report† of his expedition to the Yellowstone in 1819-'20, says that Isle au Vache, which lies about 100 miles above Fort Osage, was the wintering post of Captain Martin's detachment,‡ destined to proceed in advance of the troops ordered to the Missouri. Captain Martin, with three companies of the rifle regiment,§ left Bellefontaine in September, 1818,

* Prof. E. L. Berthoud, of Golden, Colo., one of the best authorities in the West on the early French history of this country, in a letter to the writer, dated May 16, 1903, says that he remembers having read somewhere in the accounts of early explorations on the Missouri that the French had a trading-post on Cow island, but he is not certain whether it was Perrin Du Lac who mentioned this post or not. Du Lac went up the Missouri to the Blackbird Hills very early last century.

† Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 1, 2, 1875-1880, pp. 280-301.

‡ WYLY MARTIN, of Tennessee, was third lieutenant Twenty-fourth infantry August 9, 1813; first lieutenant Thirty-ninth infantry July 29, 1813; captain Third rifles March 17, 1814; honorably discharged June 15, 1815; reinstated December 2, 1815, in rifle regiment; transferred to Sixth infantry June 1, 1821; resigned July 21, 1823. (Heitman's Register United States Army, 1903, p. 693.)

§ Judge W. B. Napton, of Marshall, Mo., informs me, in a letter under date of January 16, 1904, that he has some old manuscripts of Brig.-gen. Thomas A. Smith, who commanded the

and arrived at Isle au Vache in October, with the expectation of resuming his march as early in the following spring as the weather would permit. But not having received the necessary supplies of provisions as anticipated, they were obliged to remain until the time of Major Long's arrival, in the latter part of July, 1819, subsisting themselves principally by hunting. Fortunately this part of the country afforded so much game that a competent supply was easily obtained. Between 2000 and 3000 deer, besides great numbers of bears, turkeys, etc., had been killed by Captain Martin's men. The arrival of Major Long's boats* furnished them the means of continuing their ascent. Accompanying Major Long's party was Major O'Fallon, the Indian agent, who had arranged a council with the chiefs of the Konzas Indians, who then resided on the Kansas river, near the present site of Manhattan. This council was held on Isle au Vache, August 24, 1819.† The chiefs and principal men of the Konzas nation assembled under an arbor prepared for their reception. Major O'Fallon made a speech, in which he set forth the causes of complaint which the Konzas had given by their repeated insults and depredations upon the whites, giving them notice of the approach of a military force of sufficient strength to chastise their insolence, and advising them to seize the present opportunity of averting the vengeance they deserved by proper concessions, and by their future good behavior to conciliate those whose friendship they would have so much occasion to desire. The replies of the chiefs were simple and short, expressive of their conviction of the justice of the complaints made against them, and of their acquiescence in the terms of reconciliation proposed by the agent.

There were present at this council 161 Konzas, including chiefs and warriors, and thirteen Osages. "The most distinguished men were Na-he-da-ba (Long Neck), one of the principal chiefs; Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga‡ (Little Chief), second in rank; Shon-ga-ne-ga, who had been one of the principal chiefs but had resigned in favor of the second chief; Wa-ha-che-ra (Big Knife), a partizan or

Western military department from 1815 to November, 1818. These papers show that the three companies of the rifle regiment sent up the river from Fort Bellefontaine in September, 1818, established on Cow island a cantonment composed of houses built of logs, and which was called "Cantonment Martin," from the ranking captain of the troops. The other captains were Bennet, Riley, and McGee. Col. John O'Fallon, afterwards a prominent citizen of St. Louis for many years, was the sutler. Col. Henry Atkinson, of the Sixth regiment (whose grandson is, or was, a captain of that regiment at Fort Leavenworth), was in command of the fleet which transported the Long expedition up the river, although Major Long, topographical engineer, had command of one of the steamboats. The troops got only as far as Council Bluffs, where they built a log fort, and Colonel Atkinson left Major Morgan, of the rifle regiment, in command during the winter, Atkinson returning to St. Louis. He became a brigadier and major-general afterwards, and remained in command of the Western department for many years—until 1842, when he died at Jefferson Barracks. Captain Riley also became a major-general in the Mexican war. Fort Riley and Riley county were named in honor of General Riley, who died in 1853.

*The fleet of the Long expedition originally consisted of four steamboats. One of them, the "Jefferson," according to Mr. Chappell, came in contact with a snag at the mouth of the Osage and sank, being the first of many hundreds of steamboats wrecked on the Missouri. The remaining three boats, after many delays and breaks in the machinery, reached Cow island. Two of them were unfit to proceed further, and returned to St. Louis after spending the winter at the island. The "Western Engineer" was the only one of the boats fit for the purpose. She proceeded, and reached Fort Liza, near Council Bluffs, as before stated, where she spent the winter, returning to St. Louis in the spring, it being apparent that the rest of the journey could not be accomplished.

†The Sac and Fox and Iowa Indians also held their councils on Cow island for many years.

‡See story of two Fool Chiefs, by George P. Morehouse, pages 206-212, with pictures, and Frederick Choteau, pages 423-434; also foot-note by Mr. Morehouse, page 432; and mention, by J. R. McClure, page 248, this volume.

leader of war parties; Wom-pa-wa-ra, he who scares all men, more commonly known to the whites as Plume Blanche or White Plume, a man who was then rising rapidly in importance in his tribe." In addition to the Indians, the officers of the garrison and a few gentlemen were present. The ceremonies were commenced by a discharge of ordnance from the steamboat. The flags were hoisted in their appropriate places, a council flag being placed near the chair of the agent. The Indians appeared gratified at the displays made on the occasion, but their attention was more particularly aroused by the exhibition of a few rockets and shells, fired for their entertainment. At the departure of Major Long's party, on August 25, many of the Indians were present and manifested some surprise at the operations of the steamboat "Western Engineer," which was the first to ascend the Missouri river above Chariton, Mo.*

It was thought advisable to make some addition to the force at Isle au Vache, as Major Long's party would be in advance of the troops on the Missouri, and might be exposed to insults and depredations from some of the numerous tribes of Indians. Accordingly, on application to Colonel Morgan, a boat and fifteen men, under command of Lieutenant Fisher, were detailed for this duty and directed to regulate their movements agreeably to the orders of the commanding officer of the exploring expedition. These men were furnished with provisions for sixty days, and, having embarked on board a keel-boat called the "General Smith," they sailed in company with the "Western Engineer."

A detachment of Major Long's party, under command of Prof. Thomas Say, the naturalist of the expedition, had left the steamboat at Fort Osage, on August 6, 1819, for the purpose of extending the examination of the country between that place and the Kansas river, and also between that river and the Platte, in what is now Nebraska. They were instructed to cross the Kansas at the Konzas Indian village, then traverse the country by the nearest route to the Platte, and descend that river to the Missouri, where they should join the main party. Professor Say's party arrived at the Konzas village August 19.

The Indians had just returned from a big hunt on the plains, and were making preparations for the journey to Isle au Vache, where they were to meet the agent in the council already described. Many reports had been circulated among the Indians respecting the invitation to council their chiefs had received. They were conscious of having recently offended by firing on Major O'Fallon, and by insulting and plundering several soldiers of Captain Martin's command. For these offenses they had been in some measure punished at the time, Major O'Fallon having returned their fire, and not without effect, as was supposed: several, also, had been flogged, by orders of Captain Martin, yet they did not consider themselves secure from the vengeance of the whites. Many believed at the time of the anticipated council on Isle au Vache that barrels of gunpowder were to be placed in the earth to destroy them at once. Two runners who had been dispatched from the village to Isle au Vache to notify Major O'Fallon

* Phil. E. Chappell, of Kansas City, Mo., who was for thirty years a steamboatman on the Missouri, in a paper entitled the "Rise and Fall of Steamboating on the Missouri River," read before the Nebraska Historical Society, at Lincoln, January 13, 1903, thus describes the "Western Engineer": "The 'Western Engineer' was of such unique construction as to be worthy of description. She was a stern-wheeler, probably the first boat of that kind built, seventy-five feet long, thirteen feet beam, and drew nineteen inches of water. She was built expressly for the expedition, and was intended to impress the Indians with awe. On her bow, running from her keel on forward, was the escape-pipe, made in imitation of a huge serpent with its mouth open and its tongue painted a fiery red. The steam escaped through the mouth of the serpent at intervals, making a loud, wheezing noise, like the dying groans of a great sea monster. The noise could be heard for miles, and we can well imagine that the Indians who saw this wonderful boat recognized in it the power of the great Manitou and were overcome with fear."

that his summons had been received quarreled before they had gone far, one saying the things that had been told them by the interpreters were lies, for which assertion he was struck to the ground by his companion. In this situation the advancing chiefs found them. Finally a dispute arose between the chiefs respecting rank, in consequence of which ten or twelve returned to the village.

Mr. Say's party left the Konzas village August 24, and had not proceeded far when a rencounter with a war party of Pawnees* frustrated their design and made it necessary for them to return to the Konzas village. They then decided to strike across the country by the most direct route to Isle au Vache, for which place they departed August 25, having sent Indian messengers ahead to apprise Major Long of their trouble. Upon their arrival at Isle au Vache, they found that the boat had proceeded up the river five days previous, and before the arrival of Mr. Say's messengers. Messrs. Say and Jessup, the latter a geologist of the party, were sick, and remained at the island, while other members of the party struck across the country to intercept the boat, which was overtaken near the mouth of Wolf river, on September 1. Mr. Say's party was hospitably received by Colonel Morgan † and the officers of his command at Isle au Vache.

Mr. Say and Mr. Jessup rejoined the main party at the winter camp, near Council Bluffs, on September 26, having come in the flotilla from Cow island, where they had been entertained by Colonel Morgan, Doctor McGee, and others, who now accompanied them.

Father De Smet, a Roman Catholic missionary among the northern Indians at an early day, in response to inquiries from the secretary of the Old Settlers' Association of Omaha, in 1867, regarding the location of "old Fort Crogan," says ‡ that after the evacuation of Fort Atkinson or Calhoun, above Omaha, in 1827 or 1828, or thereabouts, the troops came down and made winter quarters on Cow island. According to Joseph La Barge, the old Missouri river explorer, it was called Camp Crogan. In the spring a flood came and again caused the troops to evacuate. This time they moved on down the river and established Fort Leavenworth. It is evident that Father De Smet is slightly mistaken in regard to the date. It is known that Fort Leavenworth was established in the spring of 1827; therefore, if the troops occupied Cow island the previous winter, Fort Atkinson must have been evacuated about 1826. Col. Henry Leavenworth, the founder of the fort that bears his name, and whose dust now reposes in Kansas soil, § must have been in command at Cow island during the winter of 1826-'27, for, according to Father De Smet, he was commandant at the breaking up of Fort Atkinson.

During the many years of active steamboat traffic on the Missouri river, Cow island was a favorite night harbor for boats. Mr. Chappell says, "I remember

*The Pawnees, numbering about 130, swooped down upon Mr. Say's party and deliberately robbed them of their horses and supplies. This nation was at war with the Konzas.

†Rev. Samuel Allis, a missionary among the Indians, who spent the summer of 1834 at Fort Leavenworth, mentions a Major Morgan, who was then sutler at the fort. This was, in all probability, the same Major Morgan who had the command at Cow island fourteen years before. (Transactions Nebraska Historical Society, vol. 2, p. 135, 1887.) Willoughby Morgan, Virginia, captain Twelfth infantry, April 25, 1812; major, June 26, 1813; brevet colonel, November 10, 1828, for faithful service in one grade; died April 4, 1832. (Heitman's Register United States Army, 1903, p. 726.)

‡Transactions Nebraska Historical Society, vol. 1, 1885, p. 43.

§The remains of General Leavenworth were removed from Delhi, N. Y., and reinterred in the national cemetery at Fort Leavenworth, May 30, 1902. For a sketch of this distinguished soldier, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 577.

it well in my steamboating days." It is claimed that previous to the big flood of 1844 Cow island contained 1100 acres, and that it was at one time owned by Maj. John Dougherty, the pioneer Indian agent.* This island has been a productive farming tract since the early settlement of Kansas and has yielded splendid crops. Mr. and Mrs. R. M. King, of Oak Mills, Kan., who were among the earliest settlers of that locality, say that their first recollection of the island, in the early '50's, is, that while it showed much evidence of former occupancy, the periodical floods had swept away all remains of its long military occupancy, only a very small patch being above high-water mark, and that was doubtless submerged during the flood of 1844. They recall that volunteer pumpkins and pea vines flourished in abundance on the island when the first settlers found it. The pea vines made excellent cattle feed, and the pumpkins were cultivated by the inhabitants for food after the first settlement of Kansas.

Cow island, or what was once Cow island, belongs to Kansas soil, although the channel of the river is now between the Kansas mainland and this accretion, and the latter attached to or contiguous with the mainland of Missouri. This question was tested and decided in a Missouri court in 1900, when one Charles Keane was arrested and tried on a charge of selling intoxicating liquor in Platte county, Missouri. His saloon was situated in the river bottom, on land which was formerly embraced in Cow island. The circuit court at Platte City convicted Keane, whereupon the case was taken before the court of appeals, at Kansas City. This court reversed the judgment of the former court and discharged the defendant, on the ground that his saloon was located on Kansas soil. The findings of this court were substantially as follows: † "Where a river forms a boundary between two states, the exact line is the center of the navigable channel, rather than of the river from bank to bank. If there is a gradual or imperceptible change in the course of such stream, the 'river as it runs'—that is, the channel of the river as it runs—will remain the boundary. But if there is a sudden avulsion, the river seeking a new course and leaving the old bed as dry land, as in this case, the new course of the stream will no longer mark the boundary; the boundary will remain as it was before the sudden change—that is, in the middle of the navigable channel as it existed just before the sudden shifting of the course."

As the big flood of 1881 suddenly shifted the channel from the Missouri to the Kansas side, and, as the saloon in question was located west of the center of the deserted channel, it was in Kansas, and the circuit court at Platte City had not jurisdiction. And furthermore, as Cow island, prior to the flood of 1881, was west of the main channel, it is unquestionably in Kansas. As to what is the actual boundary of the two states at this point, and as to which is the rightful possessor of the famous Cow island, has been a much-mooted question, though there has been but little litigation over the matter. The matter now seems to be practically settled, and it is believed that the verdict of the Kansas City court of appeals will be final. The men who live on this land cast their votes in

*In reply to inquiries concerning the alleged ownership of Cow island by Major Dougherty, his son, Col. L. B. Dougherty, now living at Liberty, Mo., writes, under date of January 9, 1904: "I am sorry to say I do not know much of my father's early life. About the time I was of the age when family history interests one I was separated from my family." Colonel Dougherty has no knowledge of his father's ownership of the island, but has in his possession certain papers transferring land in the immediate vicinity of Cow island, in Platte county, Missouri, which his father owned in 1839.

† Missouri Appeal Reporter, St. Louis, vol. 3, No. 8, April 20, 1900, pp. 362, 363.

Kansas, coming across the river in boats to Oak Mills, which is the nearest voting precinct.*

To the secretary of the Kansas Historical Society I am much indebted, for his pains in copying and transmitting valuable data in the archives of the Historical Society, and which circumstances prevented me from looking up personally.

THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS AND JOHN BROWN'S EXIT FROM KANSAS.

Written by L. L. KIENE,† of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

“**M**OTHER, John Brown has started for Canada with the Missouri slaves. Are there plenty of provisions in the house?” The speaker was Daniel Sheridan, who lived on an elevation two miles southeast of Topeka, the house commanding a view of the town and country for miles around. He had just returned from the village below, where, by some mysterious system known only to the men who conducted the underground railroad, he had heard of the movements of John Brown, which were guarded with careful solicitude by his friends and associates. The Sheridan home was the headquarters for John Brown when he was in the vicinity of Topeka. It was a small stone house, scarcely adequate for the Sheridan family of two members, but there was always room for Brown and as many fugitive slaves as were brought that way on their long journey to the country where the driver's whip and the strong hand of the United States government could not reach them.

The time was the latter part of January, 1859. The month had been an unusually mild one, with frequent rains and little snow, but the nights were by no means comfortable for travelers, and, where there was danger of detection, slaves were always moved in the night. The Sheridans, like other New England pioneers, had done their share in winning the struggle for race freedom in Kansas. But while Kansas had been saved from the slave-traders, the institution still existed, and these courageous reformers stood ready to give up their lives if they might by that means advance the cause of universal emancipation. John Brown knew that he could trust the Sheridans. He had no fear that he would be betrayed while he was under their roof, and the house was so situated that the approach of officers of the law could be observed in time to get out of their reach, for not a day passed that there were not people on the lookout for John Brown and planning to secure his arrest. The aged emancipator had reached the period in life when his very name was a terror to the slave-owners and also to the local officers under the United States or the provisional government of Kansas. The president of the United States had set a price upon the head of Brown, and this

*In this matter of the legal history of Cow island I am indebted to Judge H. M. Jackson, of Atchison, for information cheerfully tendered.

†LLEWELLYN L. KIENE was born on a farm in Putnam county, Ohio, in 1868. He came to Kansas with his parents in 1882, and settled on a farm near Valencia, Shawnee county. He was educated at the Kansas State Normal. He was employed for three years as reporter and city editor on the *Topeka Daily Capital*. For ten years past he has been engaged on the *Topeka State Journal*, and now holds the position of associate editor. He married Miss Martha Jaqueth, in 1892, at Sycamore, Ohio. They have a family of three children, two boys and one girl.

had been supplemented by rewards* by the governors of Missouri and Kansas. To the slavery sympathizers he was the red-handed murderer of innocent men who opposed him, but to the Sheridans and other anti-slavery advocates he was a benign, fatherly individual, whose voice was seldom raised except in denunciation of human slavery.

It was therefore with no degree of fear, but rather a feeling of joyful duty, that the Sheridan home was made ready for visitors. The light was kept burning and an extra supply of wood was secured, so that a roaring blaze might be kindled in the expansive fireplace at a moment's notice. Mr. Sheridan then notified two of his intimate friends to be ready to receive visitors. One of these was Jacob Willits, who lived about a mile west of the Sheridan place, and the other was Col. John Ritchie, one of the most intrepid men that ever lived, whose home was in the village, at what is now Eleventh and Madison streets. Both these places were used as retreats for runaway slaves, as was also the William Scales residence, which stands in the heart of Topeka, near the corner of Fifth and Quincy streets.

The gray streaks of dawn were visible in the east on January 28 when the Sheridans were aroused by a pounding on their door. To the inquiry, "Who is there?" a voice answered "Friends. Are you ready to receive visitors?" The man who awakened the Sheridans was George B. Gill, who had left Garnett on January 20 as the only escort of John Brown and the ten negroes who had been captured in a raid into Missouri on December 20, 1858.

When the wagon which carried Brown and the slaves arrived the Sheridans were waiting for them. The vehicle was what was known as a prairie-schooner, the type used by freighters, and which, while it served to conceal the contents, at the same time attracted little attention. The wagon was drawn by four horses, which had been substituted for oxen at Maj. J. B. Abbott's farm, five miles south of Lawrence, where a stop of several days was made for the purpose of selling the cattle and securing provisions for the long journey. There were twelve negroes in the wagon when it drew up in front of the Sheridan home, a child having been born to the Daniels family while they were on the road. The negroes had all been taken from the Hicklan, Cruise and LaRue farms, in Missouri, and Cruise had been killed in the raid. It was Jim Daniels, one of the Hicklan negroes, who had told Brown that he with his family was to be sent South, which information had moved Brown and the anti-slavery men in his party to make a stroke for the relief of Daniels. The rescue and capture of the other negroes had apparently been an afterthought. The slaves had little clothing when they were taken, and their condition had not been improved. When they arrived at the Sheridan place they were shivering with cold, as they were half-clad and some of them were without shoes. They huddled down around the fireplace while Mrs. Sheridan prepared breakfast, and negroes and whites gath-

*The following correspondence will show Gov. Samuel Medary's efforts to arrest Captain Brown. In a letter to President Buchanan, dated January 5, 1859, relative to troubles in south-eastern Kansas, he says: "Old Brown has started on the underground railroad for Canada. I am pretty well assured that he has at least slipped off for the present."

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE, LAWRENCE, K. T., January 31, 1859.
Col. E. V. Sumner, Commandant, Fort Leavenworth: You will furnish Deputy Marshal Colby, the bearer of this, with such military forces as he may think necessary to secure Captain Brown, who is now in Calhoun county, Kansas territory, on his way to Nebraska and Iowa. Very respectfully, S. MEDARY, (Governor Kansas T)."

Extract from another letter to President Buchanan, dated February 2, 1859:

"The attempt to arrest old Brown and the negroes with him on their way to Canada has produced some excitement, but I think it will soon be over. He was overtaken at Holton, in Calhoun county, K. T. Mr. Colby immediately went up there, and will, I hope, be able to prevent bloodshed between the factions gathering around him and bring him back for trial."

ered around the little table and partook of a hearty meal. There was no caste at the Sheridan board.

After breakfast the fugitives were distributed among the trusted anti-slavery homes, and Sheridan, Ritchie and Gill went into the town to solicit shoes and clothing for the negroes. Brown was careful not to expose himself, and he remained all day at his retreat, where he paced the floor impatiently. He spoke occasionally to Mrs. Sheridan, and to her inquiry as to when he would leave, he replied: "We must be gone to-night. There is a great work before me—greater than I can tell, and you may never see me again, but you will hear." Mrs. Sheridan did not press the gray-bearded captain for more information, and did not know that a raid into the heart of the slave territory had been planned for the year before, and had been postponed because Brown had been betrayed by Hugh Forbes, who had acted as military instructor of the insurrectionists.

At dusk the horses were hitched to the wagon, and the negroes, who had been made more comfortable with clothing secured from the anti-slavery people, were gathered up. The sky was overcast and the wind was cold and chilling. It was not a pleasant night for a journey, but Brown would not wait for more propitious weather. J. H. Kagi and Aaron Dwight Stevens joined the party at Topeka and followed Brown to Virginia, where, with him, they gave up their lives—one, like him, on the gallows; the other a victim of the bullets of the infuriated people of Harper's Ferry.

Jacob Willits accompanied the travelers a short distance, and helped ferry them across the Kansas river. He stood beside Brown on the ferry-boat. The wind blew along the water from the north, rippling the surface and causing the aged emancipator to shiver. Willits noticed this and said: "I don't believe that you have enough clothes for this weather." "Do not bother about me. There are others not so well supplied," replied Brown.

Willits then took hold of Brown's trousers and found that he wore no under-clothing, and after they had crossed the river he induced Brown to take those he wore, the exchange being made by the roadside.

A stop was made at the home of Cyrus Packard, four miles north of Topeka, where the negroes were unloaded and the refugees and their escort ate lunch. Holton was reached without incident at noon the following day, and the party took dinner at a hotel. They supposed that they had passed the danger point and no longer feared to travel in daylight. That afternoon, January 29, the prairie-schooner arrived at the log house of Albert Fuller, on Straight creek, six miles northwest of Holton. This was one of the stations on the underground railroad, and was situated in a community known to be in sympathy with the rescue of the slaves. It was agreed that the night should be spent at the Fuller cabin. The roads were bad on account of the rains, and the horses were jaded. Stevens went down to the stream after the negroes were safe in the cabin and was watering his horse, when he was suddenly confronted by two youthful deputy United States marshals on horseback.

"Have you seen any slaves around here?" asked one of the men.

"Yes," said Stevens. "There are some over there at the cabin now. I will go over with you."

The apparent frankness of Stevens threw the men off their guard, and one of them accompanied him to the cabin, while the other remained in charge of the horses. Stevens spent some time looking after his horse, to give the occupants of the house time to prepare an appropriate reception, and then he moved toward the cabin and threw open the door, saying, as he did so, "There they are. Go and take them."

The officer moved forward and found himself looking into the muzzles of two revolvers. A gruff voice said, "Come in here, and be quick about it," and he lost no time in obeying the summons. The young man was made a prisoner. The slaves were frantic with fear. After all, their sufferings had been for nothing, and they were to be recaptured and taken back to Missouri. Brown did his best to reassure them. "You won't be caught; we will take care of you," he said. But even then horsemen were gathering about a quarter of a mile off, near the creek, and the situation was far from reassuring. The invaders were careful to keep out of rifle range, but it was evident that their purpose was to capture Brown and his charges. The two men who accosted Stevens were a part of a posse under the leadership of John P. Wood,* a deputy United States marshal from Lecompton. The company was made up principally of young men from Atchison and the surrounding country, and they were probably actuated quite as much by love of adventure as hope of reward. They were on the lookout for Brown, and were notified of his arrival at Holton. The terror with which the aged abolition warrior was regarded was never better illustrated than at this time. There were thirty or more men in the Wood posse, all well armed and vested with authority of law. Opposed to them were Brown and his three associates and a few unarmed negroes. Still the officers were afraid to attack, and Wood drew up his forces in the shelter of the timber on Straight creek and sent for reinforcements.

Meanwhile Brown was not idle. One of the men crept out of the cabin under the cover of darkness, and went to the home of a farmer named Wasson, whose anti-slavery sentiments were well known, and he was requested to go to Topeka at once and tell Col. John Ritchie that John Brown was surrounded in the Fuller cabin, on Straight creek. Wasson lost no time in complying with the request. It was Sunday morning when Wasson reached Topeka. The little congregation was gathering in the schoolhouse, which stood at Fifth and Harrison streets, and which served as a meeting-place for the Congregationalists. Colonel Ritchie was already there and was waiting with his family for the opening of the services. A commotion at the rear of the building caused the people to turn their eyes toward the door as John Armstrong, one of the Topeka anti-slavery contingent, walked in excitedly and went to Ritchie's seat and whispered in his ear. Ritchie sprang to his feet and said audibly, "There is work for us," and strode out of the church with Armstrong.

The preacher, a young man named Lewis Bodwell, who had assisted in piloting more than one load of slaves out of the state, knew that something unusual had occurred, and he followed Ritchie and Armstrong. He soon returned to the church and made this strange announcement: "There will be no service to-day at this place. We will adjourn to the river bank."

The people filed hurriedly out of the schoolhouse and it was not long until the village was the scene of suppressed excitement and activity. The women were busy preparing provisions and clothing, while the men made a hurried canvass to find who could best leave home on what they knew to be a perilous

* JOHN P. WOOD died at Thomas, Okla., March 28, 1903, aged 101 years. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, January 4, 1802, and came to America in 1810. He graduated from Augusta College, Kentucky, in 1819. In 1823 he graduated from Transylvania Medical College, Lexington, Ky. He served as a surgeon through the Mexican war. In 1845 he settled at Danville, Ill., and in 1854 came to Kansas, settling at Lawrence. He was the first probate judge of Douglas county. As a United States commissioner, John Brown was twice brought before him. For many years he lived at Lecompton, and then at Perry, and the latter years of his life were spent at Coffeyville. He celebrated his 100th birthday at Coffeyville January 4, 1902. He was at Thomas on a visit when stricken with paralysis. He was a practicing physician for seventy-five years.

journey. There were no protests from the women, though they knew that when they said good-by to their husbands and brothers it might be for the last time. Some degree of secrecy was maintained, because there were government officers in Topeka, and it was not deemed wise to let them know that a party was being organized to go to the rescue of John Brown, or even that John Brown was in the country. Much difficulty was experienced in finding enough horses, and when the dozen men left Topeka for Holton, some of them were on foot. In the party were Thomas Archer, John Armstrong, and Maj. Thomas W. Scudder, who still live in Topeka. They traveled all night, and the next forenoon, January 31, they arrived at Holton, where a half dozen men and boys, including T. J. Anderson,* now of Topeka, joined the Ritchie party, and they pushed on as rapidly as possible toward the Fuller cabin.

When they were within sight of the house they saw Kagi, Gill and Stevens hitching the horses to the wagon, and upon their arrival Brown was supervising the transfer of the negroes to the conveyance. Across Straight creek, a half mile away, were the horses of the Wood posse, and a line of dark mounds nearer the stream which marked the places where they had thrown up rude rifle-pits commanding the ford and the road leading to it. It had been raining, and the creek was high, and the Fuller crossing was known to be exceedingly bad.

"What do you propose to do, captain?" asked one of the body-guard.

"Cross the creek and move north," he responded, and his lips closed in that familiar, firm expression which left no doubt as to his purpose.

"But, captain, the water is high and the Fuller crossing is very bad. I doubt if we can get through. There is a much better ford five miles up the creek," said one of the men who joined the rescuers at Holton.

The old man faced the guard, and his eyes flashed. "I have set out on the Jim Lane road," he said, "and I intend to travel it straight through, and there is no use to talk of turning aside. Those who are afraid may go back, but I will cross at the Fuller crossing. The Lord has marked out a path for me and I intend to follow it. We are ready to move."

*THOMAS JEFFERSON ANDERSON was born at Atwater, Portage county, Ohio, May 29, 1839. He was the son of Martin Anderson and Ellen Houcke; of Scotch-Irish descent on his father's side and of German on his mother's side. Came to Kansas, settling at Valley Falls with his parents, May, 1857. In 1858 he was elected county surveyor of Jackson county on free-state ticket. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in company A, Fifth regiment, Kansas cavalry, volunteers, being mustered in August 2, at Fort Leavenworth; he was made lieutenant of engineers, on the staff of Gen. James H. Lane. February 27, 1863, he was appointed by President Lincoln assistant adjutant general, with the rank of captain, and assigned to the staff of Gen. James G. Blunt. He was mainly instrumental in organizing the Fourteenth Kansas cavalry and the Second Kansas Colored infantry. May 25, 1863, he was promoted to the rank of major, and served with Generals Blunt, McNeil and Thayer in the army of the frontier. In March, 1865, he was brevetted a colonel. Soon after he resigned his position in the army, and was appointed adjutant general of the state of Kansas by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford. In 1866 he resigned his position to become agent of the Kansas Pacific railroad, at Topeka, which place he held until March 1, 1873, when he became general freight and passenger agent of the Kansas Midland railroad. When that road was purchased by the Santa Fe, in 1875, he was made general passenger agent of the latter road, and in 1878 was made general agent for Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, and was in command of the Santa Fe forces in the fight with the Denver & Rio Grande road for the possession of the Grand Canon of the Arkansas. He resigned his position with the Santa Fe in May, 1881, and was appointed postmaster at Topeka, serving four years; was appointed general agent of the Rock Island at Topeka in 1887, and assistant general passenger agent for lines west of the Missonri river in 1892; resigned in December, 1897, and has served as secretary of the Commercial Club of Topeka since that date. He was mayor of Topeka in 1875 and 1876, a member of the Kansas house of representatives in 1879 and 1881, and of the state senate in 1899; was a delegate to the national Republican convention in 1880, and voted thirty-six times for General Grant. He was also a delegate at large to the Republican national convention in 1896.



The members of the party exchanged glances of uneasiness, but when their eyes turned to the old leader he had already started toward the ford, and one by one they fell in behind him, and not a member of the party turned back. There were forty-five entrenched men waiting in their rifle-pits across the creek. Their guns were in their hands and directly in front of them, and not 100 yards away was the road leading to the Fuller crossing. They saw the little cavalcade of twenty-one men leave the cabin, preceded by a tall, lank figure, and they waited in their entrenchments for their coming. The abolitionists moved out into the road and went straight toward the ford. Did the men who were waiting know that with a single volley they could wipe John Brown and his guard from the face of the earth? They certainly did, but what force was it that kept their fingers from their triggers? Perhaps the moral courage of the old man had paralyzed their arms.

John Brown appeared utterly oblivious of the presence of Wood and his forces. He looked straight ahead, and if the deputy marshal and his men had been ants they could not have received less attention from him. On toward the ford went the little company of Kansans. They did not fire a shot and not a gun was raised. As

the advance-guard reached the ford there was a commotion in the rifle pits on the opposite bank. A man or two sprang up and ran toward the horses, which were tied not far off, and in less time than it takes to tell it the entire marshal's party was in a wild panic, each member trying to outstrip the others in an effort to reach the horses. In their terror one or two of the men grasped the tails of the horses and were dragged over the prairie to a safe distance by the frightened animals.*

*HIAWATHA, KAN., October 9, 1900.

Geo. W. Martin, Secretary of the State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

DEAR SIR—The "Battle of the Spurs" was fought on the northeast quarter of section 34, township 5, range 15, then of Brown (but now of Jackson) county, Kansas, at what was known as the crossing of the Jim Lane road, on Spring creek. I was but a boy at that time, and am not quite clear as to the year it occurred. My father located his claim in the fall of 1856, and we moved there in the spring of 1857. Our house was located right at the crossing in the timber, and I remember very distinctly that on the morning of the battle father and myself were hauling a load of wood to the house from the timber with a yoke of oxen, when we saw Marshal Wood and his men come up to the house. He had about fifty or sixty men. When we drove up to the house Marshal Wood came up to my father and commenced handing him handfuls of buckshot, and seemed to be very much excited. About this time Brown and his party came in sight from the South. Wood looked up and saw him coming and said, "My God! There is 500 of them. Conceal yourselves, men! Conceal yourselves! Where is a horse?" And he went to a lot where the horses were hitched, got on one of them, and started eastward. That was the last that we ever saw of him. He lost his hat in going through the timber. We afterwards heard of him going through Muscotah, thirteen miles east of us, without a hat. The old patriarch had with him, I think, two covered wagons and eleven negroes, mostly women and children, and twenty-one men on horseback. I remember that one of the men was Colonel Ritchie, of Topeka. I remember this as my father was acquainted with him in Indiana. Wood's men had got behind trees, and as Brown came nearer they fell back and kept going. Some had gotten their horses and some

The Topeka men charged across the creek to give chase, and found four men standing at their rifle-pits, apparently waiting for them. They had thrown their guns on the ground and stood with folded arms, awaiting the charge.

"Do you surrender?" shouted Colonel Ritchie.

"Yes, you may take us," said one of the men coolly. "We simply wanted to show you that there were some men in the Wood party who were not afraid of you."

The men were made prisoners, and their horses, which were tied near by, were also taken. The heavy emigrant wagon became mired at the ford and it required several hours' work to get it through the creek. Then the march toward Tabor, Iowa, was resumed. The mounted members of the Topeka party, including Ritchie and Armstrong, accompanied Brown as far as Seneca and the rest turned back.

Thus ended the "Battle of the Spurs," which received its name from Richard J. Hinton, who belonged to the force of Eastern correspondents in Kansas. As spurs were the most effective weapons used, the title is not altogether inappropriate. Not a shot was fired on either side. If this encounter had not had its farcical termination there would have been no John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry in October of the same year, the world might never have known John Brown, the emancipator, and perhaps the institution of human slavery might have waited many years for its death-blow.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTIES IN KANSAS.

A Thesis prepared in 1903 by HELEN G. GILL,* of Vinland, in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the University of Kansas for the degree of master of arts.

THE series of maps, constituting the principal part of this paper, has been prepared for the purpose of showing the progress of county organization in Kansas. The maps exhibit the effect upon county organization of each successive wave of immigration and the disorganization of counties that followed the recession of population. They furnish a basis in studying the political history of the state, upon which to reconstruct the various congressional, judicial, senatorial and legislative districts that have from time to time existed. The periods chosen are such as render it possible to exhibit all the changes in county boundaries that have been made. One difficulty that presented itself in the con-

were afoot, but as they got out of the woods those that were afoot grabbed hold of the tails of the horses of those who were mounted and away they went sailing over the prairie; hence it was dubbed the "Battle of the Spurs." Respectfully, etc., G. M. SEAMAN.

According to Andreas' History, page 1337, the home of Albert Fuller was on the southeast quarter of section 10, township 6, range 15 east, about one mile and a half south of the location given by Mr. Seaman. Spring creek was north of Straight creek, and Andreas says the battle or the race occurred on the high prairie between the two creeks.

*HELEN GERTRUDE GILL was born on a farm near Baldwin, Kansas, July 29, 1878. She is the daughter of William H. Gill and Martha Cutter, of English descent. The father came to Kansas in 1856, and was an active free state man, having been captured at Hickory Point and held as a prisoner at Leocompton for two months. He returned to Wisconsin and served through the civil war as a first lieutenant in the 42d Wisconsin infantry. At the close of the war he came to Kansas and settled in Douglas county. The mother came to Kansas in 1859 from Lowell, Mass. Miss Gill graduated from Baker University in 1899. In 1901 she entered the Kansas State University and took a graduate course in history, and received the degree of master of arts, June 1903. In August, 1903, she was elected instructor in English and History in the Ellsworth high school, where she is now engaged. She has always lived in Kansas, and her home is at Baldwin.

struction of the maps resulted from the fact that in some cases considerable interval elapsed between the legislative creation and the actual organization of a county. As the dates of creation are more definite than those of organization, they have been chosen as the time from which the counties are represented. The result has been in some cases to present counties a year or so before their organization, at a time when they existed only on paper.

MAP I, 1855.

The first territorial legislature, held in 1855, passed three acts relative to the establishment of counties in the Territory of Kansas.

The first of these defined the boundaries of thirty-three counties. As the survey had at that time only been begun, the definition was made by distances only, the starting point being the main channel of the Kansas river at the point where it crosses the Missouri line. The counties established by this act were Johnson, Lykins, Linn, Bourbon, McGee, Douglas, Franklin, Anderson, Allen, Dorn, Shawnee, Weller, Coffey, Woodson, Wilson, Richardson, Breckinridge, Madison, Greenwood, Godfroy, Davis, Wise, Butler, Hunter, Doniphan, Atchison, Leavenworth, Brown, Jefferson, Nemaha, Calhoun, Marshall, and Riley. (Laws of 1855, pp. 205-211.)

In most of these counties the population was not large enough to justify organization, so the system of attaching the thinly inhabited counties to those able to maintain an organization was adopted, the counties being organized when they had acquired the requisite population. The counties organized at the time of establishment were Allen, Anderson, Atchison, Bourbon, Doniphan, Douglas, Davis, Jefferson, Johnson, Leavenworth, Lykins, Linn, Madison, Marshall, Nemaha, Riley, and Shawnee. For civil and military purposes, Weller and Richardson were attached to Shawnee; Butler, Wise and Breckinridge to Madison; Coffey to Anderson; McGee to Bourbon; Greenwood, Hunter, Dorn, Wilson, Woodson and Godfroy to Allen; Brown to Doniphan; Davis to Riley (id., pp. 210-215).

The second act of 1855 created two new counties: Marion, out of a tract of land one hundred miles long and eighteen wide, west of Hunter, Butler and the south half of Wise; and Washington, including all the part of territory west of Marion and east of a line drawn north from the northeast corner of New Mexico. Both counties were attached to Allen (id. p. 214).

The third act created Arapahoe county out of all that part of the territory west of the line running north from the northeast corner of New Mexico (id. p. 217). Commissioners were appointed, but the organization seems not to have been completed, for in the same session an act, providing for an annual election of a delegate to the territorial assembly, attached the county to Marshall. This act further provided that all territory west of Marshall and east of Arapahoe should be attached to Marshall, and all territory west of Riley and east of Arapahoe should be attached to Riley* (id. pp. 218, 219).

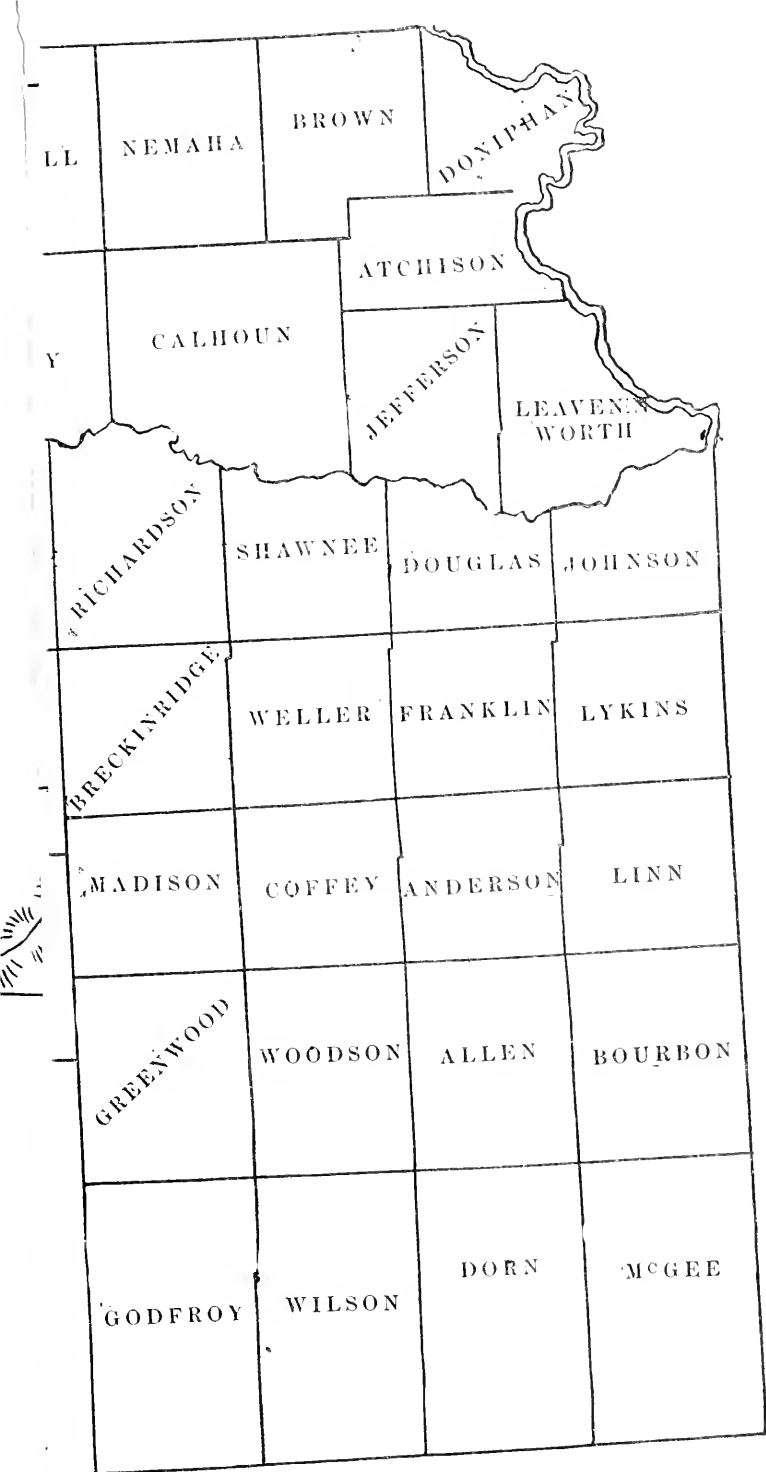
* For origin of county names as they exist today, see seventh volume, pages 472 to 474. The following gives the origin of the names that have disappeared, as near as possible to discover: ARAPAHOE.—For the Plains tribe of Indians.

BILLINGS.—For N. H. Billings, a resident of Norton Center, and representative from the 100th district, legislature of 1873, changed to Billings in jest, and restored to Norton by the next session.

BRECKINRIDGE.—For John Cabell Breckinridge, vice-president of the United States with President Buchanan, a native of Kentucky, 1821-1875; presidential candidate in 1860 of the slave-holding interest.

BRODERICK.—For David Colbreth Broderick, elected United States senator for California in 1856, served 1857-'59, when he was shot in a duel by Judge David S. Terry. He was an eminent debater and opposed the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. He became separated from the Democratic party on the slavery question in 1858.

BUFFALO.—For the bison of the plains.



THE ROCKY MTS.

ARAPAHOE

Map I, 1855.

WASHINGTON

MARION

MARSHALL	NEVADA	BROWN	DUNSMITH
REILA	CATRON	ALCHISON	JELFERTSON
DAVIS	RICHARDSON	SHAWNEE	DOUGLAS
WINSL.	BRICKENRIDGE	WHEELER	FRANKLIN
BULLER	MADISON	COTTEY	ANDERSON
HUNTER	GREENWOOD	WOODSON	ALLEN
GODFREY	WILSON	DORN	WIGLE
			JOHNSON
			LYKINS
			LINN
			BOURBON
			LEAVENWORTH

MAP II, 1857-'59.

By 1857 the survey had progressed so far that it was possible to bound the eastern counties by township and sectional lines. An act was passed February 20 correcting the boundaries of all counties established in 1855, except Marion, Washington and Arapahoe. (Laws of 1857, pp. 37-46.) The west line of Davis, Wise, Butler and Hunter was pushed four miles east of the line between ranges 4 and 5, east. The strip of land one mile wide and fourteen miles long, between Atchison and Calhoun counties, was detached from the former and given to the latter. The west line of Calhoun was placed eleven miles east of the former line, on the line between the first and second tiers of sections in range 12, east. The

- CALHOUN.**—For John Calhoun, first surveyor general of Kansas. See this volume, p. 1, foot-note.
- DAVIS.**—For Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy.
- DORN.**—For Andrew J. Dorn, United States agent for the Osages, Quapaws, and united nations of the Senecas and Shawnees, at the Neosho Indian Agency, Kansas, July, 1853 to 1861, when he was succeeded by P. P. Elder of Ottawa.
- EL PASO.**—Spanish "The Passage," "the gap."
- FREMONT.**—For John Charles Fremont, the western explorer and Union general, nominated by the first national Republican convention, Philadelphia, for president June 17, 1856. Born, 1813, died, 1890.
- FOOTE.**—Probably for Andrew Hull Foote, 1806-1863, United States naval officer war of the rebellion.
- GARFIELD.**—For James Abram Garfield, twentieth president of the United States, 1831-1881.
- GODFREY, or "frey."**
- HAGEMAN.**
- HOWARD.**—For Oliver Otis Howard, soldier and philanthropist, graduate of Bowdin, 1850, West Point, 1854, brigadier general volunteers 1861; chief of the Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-1874, because of his able services to secure to the freedmen of this country their rights as freemen.
- HUNTER.**—Probably for Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, United States senator from Virginia, 1847-1861; opposed use of United States troops to enforce the "Bogus" laws in Kansas. favored the repeal of the Missouri proslavery law making a death penalty for certain offenses against the rights of slave-holders; favored the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution; candidate for president before the national Democratic convention of 1860.
- IRVING.**—For the poet, Washington Irving.
- KANSAS.**—For the Kansas tribe of Indians.
- LYKINS.**—For David Lykins, a member of the Territorial Council of 1855, from the fourth council district, and at the time superintendent of the Wea Mission for the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, and Kaskaskias. His post-office was Westport, occupation physician, and age 34 years, nativity Iowa. He had been connected with the Baptist Mission among the Pottawatomies in 1853, and was given the title of "reverend" by the agent.
- MADISON.**—For James Madison, fourth president of the United States.
- McGEE.**—For Mabilion W. McGee, member of the Kansas territorial house of representatives, 1855, with post-office at 110 Crossing, Weller (Osage) county. He was a merchant of Westport, Mo., who took a claim near Burlingame, but did not stay long in Kansas. He was born in Kentucky in 1818, and was a brother of Fry P. McGee of Osage county.
- MONTANA.**—
- ORO.**—
- OTOE.**—For the Otoe Indians of Nebraska.
- PEKETON.**—Probably of Indian origin.
- RICHARDSON.**—For Wm. P. Richardson, senator from the eighth council district, legislature of 1855 and 1857; a native of Kentucky, 53 years of age in 1855. August 31, 1855, he was commissioned major-general of the northern division of the militia of Kansas Territory. Although a prominent actor of the proslavery party, he wrote a letter deprecating the insult offered Governor Geary by W. T. Sherrard in the territorial house of representatives in February 1857. His death occurred on the 14th of the same month. Sub-agent Great Nemaha sub-agency for the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, 1842-1846.
- SHELBY.**—For Joseph Orville Shelby, a native of Lexington, Ky., 1831, removed to Waverly, Mo., in 1850. He participated in several of the raids during the border troubles in Kansas. He served under General Price in the confederate cavalry, organized Shelby's brigade and distinguished himself at Shiloh. At the close of the war he marched his brigade to the service of Maximilian; died in 1897.
- SHIRLEY.**—For a young woman, in jest.
- SEQUOYAH.**—For Sequoyah (George Guess) the son of George Gist and a Cherokee woman, born in 1770. Abandoned by his father, his mother reared him to industry and trade. He had great mechanical ingenuity. By 1821 he had devised a syllabic alphabet of 83 letters for the Cherokee language, which was adopted by his nation.
- ST. JOHN.**—For John Pierce St. John, eighth governor of Kansas. (See this volume, page 295, foot-note.)
- WELLER.**—Probably for John B. Weller, United States senator for California, 1852-'57, defeating John C. Fremont. He was governor of California 1858-'60.
- WISE.**—For Henry Alexander Wise, governor of Virginia, 1855-1859; about his last official act as governor was the hanging of John Brown.

west boundary of Riley was moved eight miles west of the line formerly established to the line between the second and third tiers of sections in range 4 east, and the eastern boundary was changed to the Big Blue river. Pottawatomie county was created out of the territory between the Big Blue river and the west boundary of Calhoun. Washington, Clay and Dickinson counties were created with the boundaries they now have, except for eight sections which have since been detached from Morris and given to Dickinson on the east and half a section which has been included in Dickinson on the west. Pottawatomie, Dickinson, Franklin, Breckinridge and Jackson counties were organized.

During the year 1859 seven new counties were created and organized: Wyandotte out of that part of Leavenworth east of the east line of range 22 and that part of Johnson north of the north line of township 12 (General Laws of 1859, p. 362); Chase out of that part of Wise south of the south line of township 17 and that part of Butler north of the north line of township 22 (id. p. 361), and Montana, El Paso, Oro, Broderick, and Fremont, in the extreme western part of the territory, between the 104th meridian and the mountains. By the act which created these counties, Arapahoe was limited to the district between the 104th meridian and the line drawn north from the northeast corner of New Mexico (id. pp. 357-360).

Two minor changes were made in boundary lines during the year. The line between Davis and Wise was pushed nine miles north to the line between township 13 and 14 (id. p. 361). The line between Madison and Breckinridge was pushed from the center to the south line of township 19 (id. p. 357).

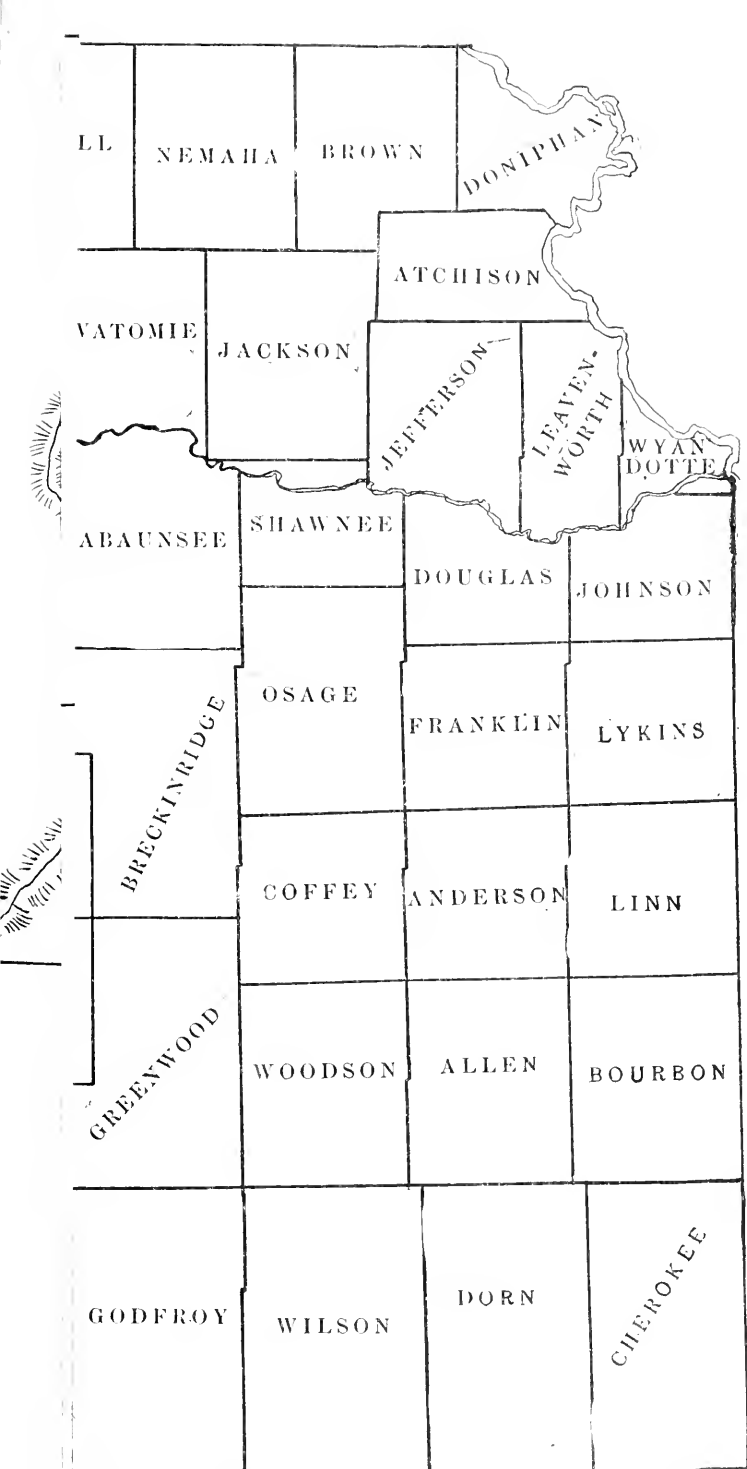
In consequence of the strong antislavery feeling which prevailed during the period of the border war, the names of several counties, given in honor of prominent proslavery men, were changed. Richardson was changed to Wabaunsee, Wise to Morris, and Calhoun to Jackson (id. pp. 376, 377, 572, 573).

Osage, Butler, Coffey and Wabaunsee counties were organized.

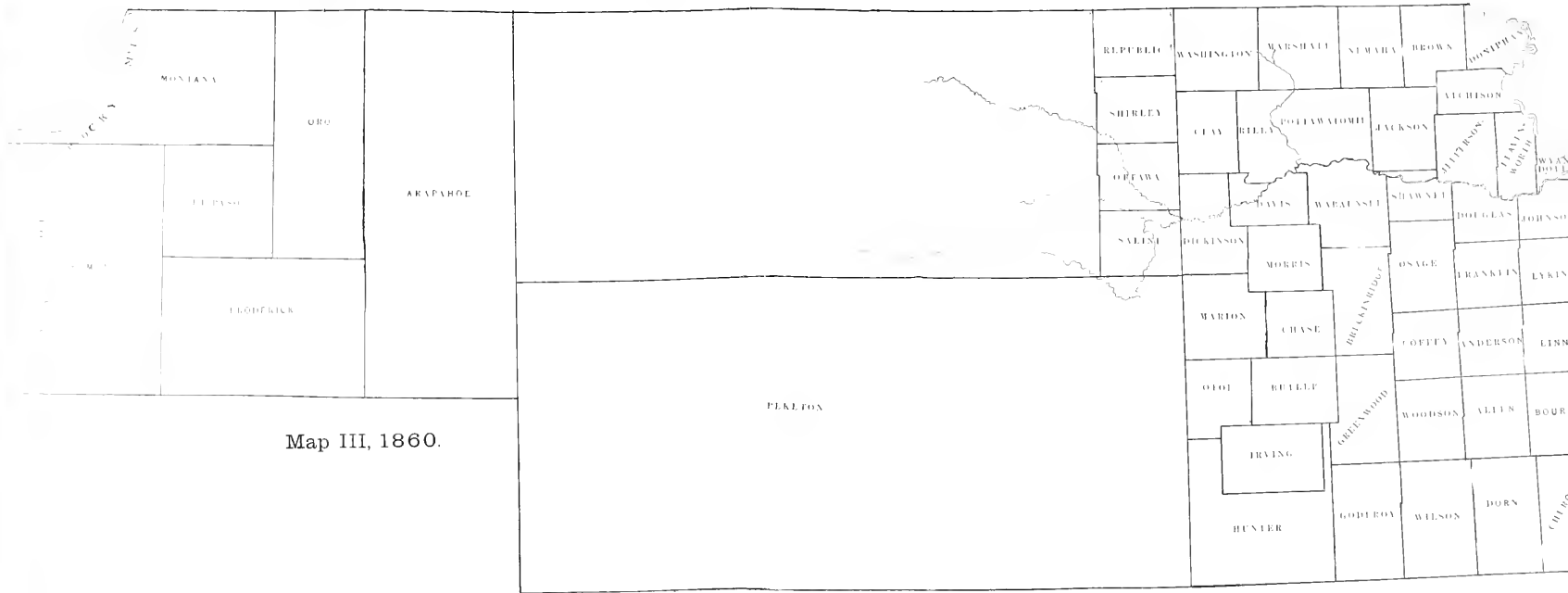
MAP III, 1860.

In 1860 eight new counties were created: Irving, out of the north part of Hunter, less a strip three miles wide on the east, and plus two ranges of townships on the west; Republic, Shirley (later Cloud), Ottawa and Saline, with boundaries as they exist to-day; Marion, south of Dickinson; Otoe, south of Marion and west of Butler, and Peketon, including all the unorganized territory south of township 16 and between the sixth principal meridian and New Mexico (General Laws of 1860, pp. 83-87). Through a discrepancy in the definition of boundaries, that part of township 26 of ranges 3 and 4 east, lying north of the Osage Trust Lands, was included in both Otoe and Irving counties.

Many changes were made in boundary lines. The south line of Butler county was pushed three miles south to the fifth standard parallel (id. p. 68). The name of McGee county was changed to Cherokee, and its western boundary was pushed two miles east to the line between ranges 21 and 22 (id. p. 68-70). The east line of Chase and Butler was pushed three miles east to the line between ranges 9 and 10, east (id. p. 70). The line between Shawnee and Jackson, instead of following the Kansas river, was fixed at the second standard parallel and the line between Shawnee and Osage was pushed nine miles north to the south line of township 13 (id. p. 88). The line between Wabaunsee and Davis was pushed four miles west to the second section line west of the east guide meridian (id. p. 89). Davis county was enlarged by cession from Dickinson and Riley counties so that the line between ranges 3 and 4 became its western boundary and the second standard parallel its northern boundary, except between the



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Map III, 1860.

Kansas and Republican rivers, where the boundary ran through the middle of township 11, south (id. pp. 72, 73).

MAP IV, 1861-1864.

In 1861 that part of township 10 of range 8 lying in Davis county was transferred to Riley (Territorial Laws of 1861, p. 16). Madison county disappeared, its territory being divided between Breckinridge and Greenwood. Greenwood received all south and Breckinridge all north of the line between townships 21 and 22 (id. p. 17). The south line of Woodson was pushed twelve miles north to the north line of the Osage lands (Session Laws of 1861, p. 107). The name of Lykins county was changed to Miami, Dorn to Neosho and Godfrey to Seward (id. p. 114). Greenwood county was organized the next year (Laws of 1862, p. 443).

In 1864 Neosho county was organized. The eastern boundary of Morris county was pushed four miles east to the line between ranges 9 and 10 east (Laws of 1864, p. 48). Dickinson county was restored to its original form plus eight sections from the eastern part of township 14, range 5 east, and the western boundary of Davis was correspondingly modified (id. pp. 48, 49). Chase county was extended south to the north line of township 23, and Butler county was enlarged so as to include Irving, Otoe, and Hunter, and all other territory east of the sixth principal meridian (id. p. 50).

MAP V, 1865, 1866.

In 1865 Douglas county took its final form by the acquisition of that part of township 12, ranges 19 and 20, lying north of the river (Laws of 1865, p. 44). The west line of Greenwood county was pushed nine miles west to the center of range 8 east, Butler county being thereby diminished by a strip nine miles wide and thirty-three miles long (id. p. 45). Wilson county was given a tract on the northeast two miles wide and twelve long, formerly belonging to Allen (id. p. 45). A verbal error in the definition of the boundary of Wilson county in this act was corrected in 1867 (Laws of 1867, p. 47). The southern boundary of Allen was pushed twelve miles north to the north line of the Osage Indian lands (id. p. 46). Washington county was enlarged to include Shirley and Republic, with the proviso that these counties should be restored whenever they acquired the requisite population (id. p. 46). "Shirley" was printed "Shelby" in this act. Marion county was enlarged to include Peketon* (id. p. 47).

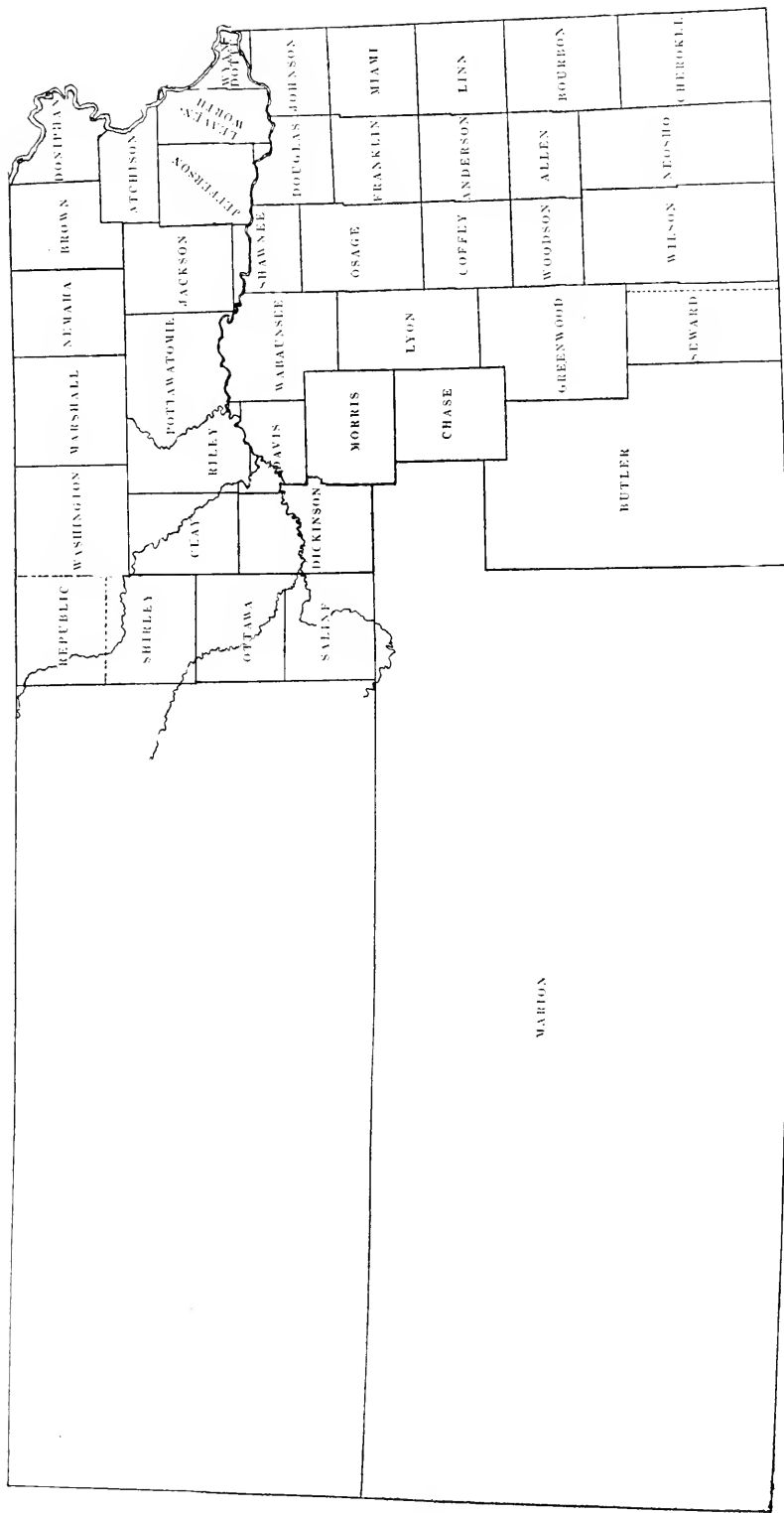
In 1866 Cherokee and Clay counties were organized and there was a slight change in boundary lines. The eastern line of Neosho and the western line of Cherokee was pushed two miles west, to a line drawn due south from the southeast corner of Allen county (Laws of 1866, p. 78).

*The following letter appears among many manuscripts deposited by Samuel N. Wood, and is the only mention the Society has of Peketon county:

"KIOWA, PEKETON COUNTY, KANSAS, May 10th, 1864.

"SIR: Yours respecting guerrillas and rebs, dated May 5th, received. Texians, or "Tehannos," as the Indians call them, were reported on the way up through the Indian country — some two or three weeks ago, and Kicking Bird, a Kiowa, assured us that we might rely upon its being so, but as they showed no disposition to move their families North, we paid no heed to it, although I am told they slept upon their arms at the Fort. Yesterday Poor Bear and Lance, head chiefs of the Apaches, were here, and informed us that a band of Comanches had scoured the country S. W., S. & S. E. of us, and came into an Arapahoe village, some 20 miles below here for food, and report no "Tehannos." There is a report that the Texians are going up the Cimarron. This I will believe as soon as I see the squaws moving their lodges to Smoky Hill, but not before. The Kiowas and Comanches, accompanied by a few Indians from other tribes, some 2 or 3 of J. L. Delashmett's Kaws being of the number, numbering in all, as nearly as we can learn, about 1000, are now about ready to make another bloody raid in Texas. The Texians believe that our government sends them down, and if they should come up, an event not improbable, as they are very desirous to punish the Indians, and rob the trains on the road — a thing

MAP V, 1865-'66.



MAP VI, 1867.

In 1867 Crawford, Ellis, Ellsworth and Labette counties were organized. Thirty-five new counties were established, and several changes were made in the boundaries of old ones.

The western boundary of Dickinson was changed to include the eastern half of section 13, township 13, range 1 west (Laws of 1867, p. 49).

Labette county was created out of that part of the state south of the sixth standard parallel and between the Osage reserve and the Cherokee neutral lands (id. pp. 48, 49). This made the western boundary of Labette fall about two and one-half miles west of the west line of Neosho, as formerly established. A little later, Montgomery county was created out of that part of Wilson county south of the sixth standard parallel (id. p. 51). With the establishment of this county, the west line of Labette went back to the old line between Wilson and Neosho, *i. e.*, the line between the second and third tiers of sections of range 17 east.

The south boundary of Bourbon was pushed six miles north to the section line two miles north of the south line of township 24, and the north line of Cherokee was pushed eighteen miles south to the middle of township 31. Out of the territory thus detached from Bourbon and Cherokee the new county of Crawford was formed (id. p. 50).

Another act provided for the division into counties of all the unorganized part of the state east of range line 26 west; the counties to be organized when they should have the requisite population. The counties created by this act were: Montgomery, Howard, Cowley, McPherson, Sedgwick, Sumner, Jewell, Mitchell, Lincoln, Ellsworth, Rice, Reno, Harper, Smith, Osborne, Russell, Barton, Stafford, Pratt, Barbour, Phillips, Rooks, Ellis, Rush, Pawnee, Kiowa, Comanche, Norton, Graham, Trego, Ness, Hageman, Ford, and Clark. By the same act Seward disappeared, and the boundaries of Greenwood, Butler and Marion were changed. Butler took its final form. The south line of Greenwood was pushed nine miles south, to the north line of township 30. Marion was confined to one tier of townships on the south, taken from Butler (id. pp. 51-57).

The name of Shirley was changed to Cloud (id. p. 68).

MAP VII, 1868.

In 1868 two new counties—Gove and Wallace—were created. Shawnee, Jackson and Brown took their final form, the line between Shawnee and Jackson being pushed six miles north to the north line of township 10, and the line between Brown and Jackson six miles north to the north line of township 5. (Special Laws, 1868, pp. 49, 50.)

The general statutes of 1868 restated all county boundaries, and made some minor changes. The line between Osage and Coffey was pushed three miles

easily done, as the Forts at present afford no protection whatever—then we and the Indians would all fare alike.

"Last week a runner came down with word that the Platte Indians, or Platte Cheyennes, and the whites were fighting on Beaver—Black Kettle and Lean Bear were here with bands numbering some 100 Lodges. They immediately pulled up and struck out for the seat of war. The Cheyennes are much dissatisfied as to the manner in which their "presents," or the goods Government gives them, are withheld, and I would not be surprised if trains suffer on the road at any time. George Bent, who is with the Cheyennes, told me a few weeks since that the Sioux came amongst the Cheyennes last summer and agreed to come over and rob on the road, but were prevented by his father. Chas. Rath is some 130 or 160 miles S. W. trading with the Comanches; he left here April 23d, and will probably be back in 8 or 10 days. His brother "Chris" left on the 12th of March with 2 wagons, one white man and one contraband, to trade with Cheyennes upon Smoky, about 175 miles distant. He wrote home by an Indian about a month since, which is the last tidings we received from him. The Indians say he will be here in 4 days. We are getting somewhat anxious about him.

"May 11th, 1864. Chas. Rath has just got in from the Comanches, and reports all quiet in the Indian boundary. Respectfully yours, &c., JOHN F. DODDS,"
To Brig. Gen'l. S. N. Wood.

north to the line between townships 18 and 19 (Statutes of 1868, p. 242). The line between Woodson and Wilson was pushed two miles south, to the south line of township 26 (id. p. 248). The line between Greenwood and Howard was pushed nine miles north, to the middle of township 28 (id. p. 236). A strip one mile wide, between the north lines of townships 20 and 23, was added to Chase on the west (id. p. 231). The act provided for an addition to Cherokee county on the west, in case the legal voters in the proposed addition approved the change at the next general election, but the question was not submitted, and the boundary remained unchanged.

Two inconsistencies occur in the general act of 1868. The first is a merely verbal error in the definition of Crawford county. "Twenty-four miles west from the southeast corner of section 13, township 31, range 25 east to the eastern boundary of Neosho county," should read "to the eastern boundary of Labette." This error was corrected in 1874 (Laws of 1874, p. 104). The second occurs in the boundaries of Wabaunsee and Shawnee counties. The triangle enclosed by the Kansas river, the second standard parallel and an extension of the line between Shawnee and Wabaunsee was included in both counties. This error was corrected in 1870 by giving the tract to Shawnee (Laws of 1870, p. 89).

MAP VIII, 1869-1872.

Montgomery county was organized in 1869. The same year the northeast corner of Morris county was squared by the addition of a tract eight miles wide and nine miles long, taken from Wabaunsee county (Laws of 1869, p. 57), but the next year a part of the tract was returned, so that the boundary between the two counties assumed its final form (Laws of 1870, p. 89).

In 1870 Cowley, Jewell, Lincoln, McPherson, Mitchell and Sedgwick counties were organized. The same year the line between Allen and Neosho counties was pushed two miles south from the north line of the Osage lands to the line between townships 26 and 27 (id. p. 88).

In 1871 Zeandale township, consisting of a tract six miles wide, extending from the Kansas river to the north line of township 13, was detached from Wabaunsee and given to Riley (Laws of 1871, p. 105).

During 1871 and 1872 Sumner, Osborne, Barton, Harvey, Norton, Pawnee, Phillips, Rooks, Russell and Smith counties were organized.

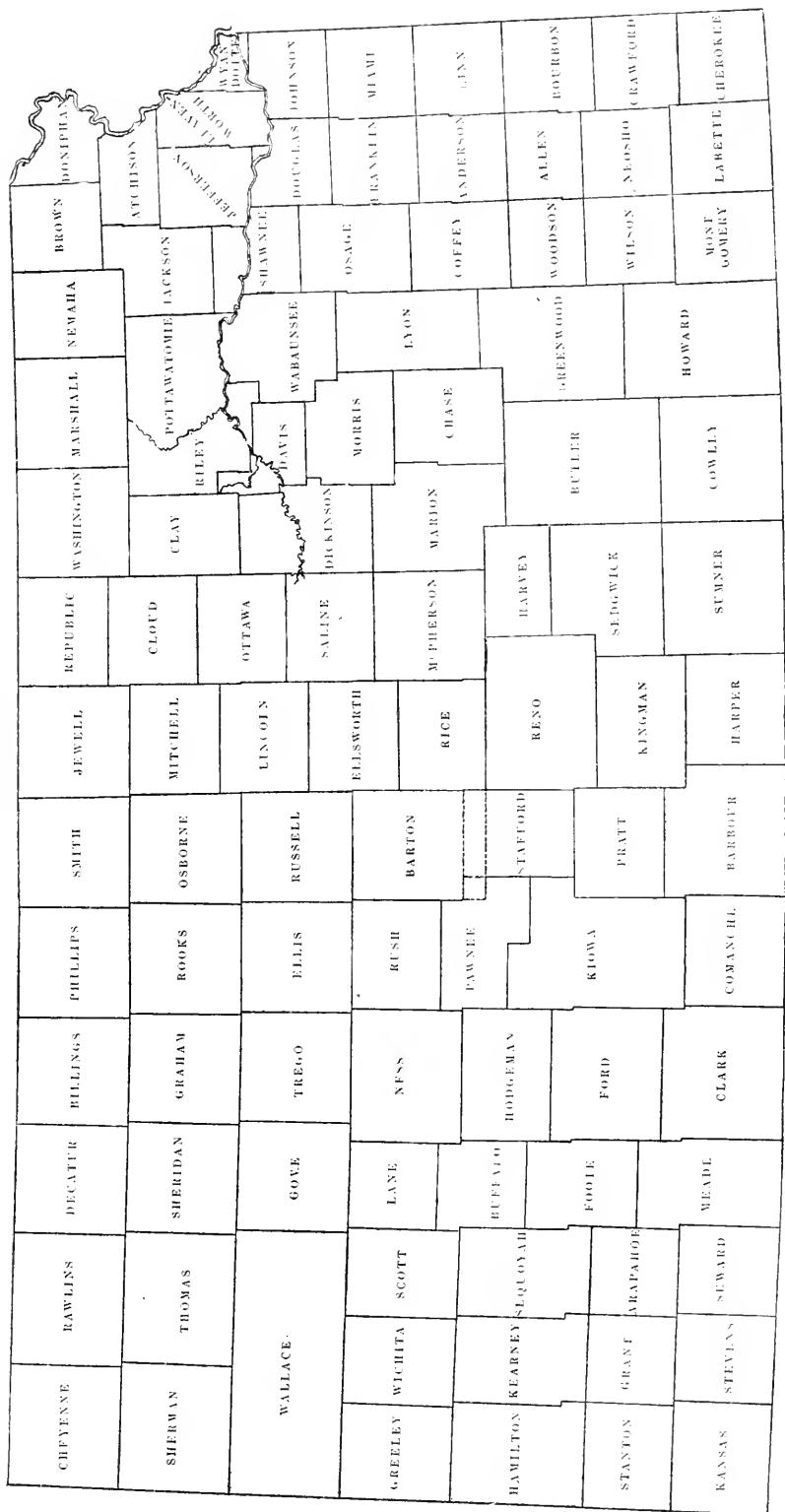
MAP IX, 1873.

In 1873 the remaining part of the state west of range 25 west was divided into twenty-two new counties and twelve changes were made in the boundaries of counties already established. The new counties were Decatur, Rawlins, Cheyenne, Sheridan, Thomas, Sherman, Lane, Buffalo, Foote, Meade, Scott, Sequoyah, Arapahoe, Seward, Wichita, Kearney, Grant, Stevens, Greeley, Hamilton, Stanton, and Kansas (Laws of 1873, pp. 146-156).

Wabaunsee county took its final form, a tract six miles square being detached from Riley county and restored to Wabaunsee (id. p. 110).

The line between Riley and Davis, instead of following the Kansas and Republican rivers, from the west line of township 11, range 8 east, to the east line of Clay county, was defined by section lines "commencing at the southeast corner of section 34, township 9, range 4 east: thence east to the southeast corner of section 34, township 9, range 5 east: thence south to the southeast corner of section 14, township 11, range 5 east: thence east to the section line in the middle of township 11, range 6: thence south one mile to the line between the fourth and

MAP IX, 1873.



fifth tiers of sections of township 11; thence east to the east line of the county as formerly established" (id. pp. 113-115).

The southern boundary of Barton was pushed six miles south to the line between townships 21 and 22 (id. p. 112).

The north line of Pawnee was pushed six miles north to the north line of township 20. Townships 21, 22, and 23, range 15 west, were detached from Stafford and attached to Pawnee on the east. The south line of Pawnee, beginning at the northeast corner of township 24, range 15 west, ran eighteen miles west; thence six miles north; thence eighteen miles west on the north line of township 23 to the east line of Hodgeman county (id. p. 152). The west line of Stafford was pushed six miles east to the east line of range 15 west (id. p. 153). As defined by the statute Barton and Stafford overlapped four townships and Barton and Pawnee one. Kiowa was enlarged by the territory cut off from the south of Pawnee and by townships 24 and 25, range 15 west, cut off from Stafford.

Barber county was enlarged by township 30, ranges 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 west, which were detached from Pratt and by townships 31-35, range 10 west, which were detached from Harper (id. p. 112).

Townships 21, of ranges 1, 2 and 3 west, were detached from Harvey and given to McPherson (id. p. 116).

The north line of Clark was pushed six miles north to the north line of township 30, and the west line six miles west to the east line of range 27 west (id. p. 147).

The north line of Ford was pushed six miles north to the north line of township 25, the south line six miles south to the north line of township 30, and the west line six miles west to the east line of range 27. The south line of Hodgeman was pushed six miles north to the north line of township 25, and the west line six miles west to the east line of range 27. The west line of Ness was pushed six miles west to the east line of range 27 east (id. p. 148).

Barber, Cheyenne, Ford, Harper, Ness, Pratt and Reno counties were organized. The name of Norton county was changed to Billings, but was changed back to Norton the following year.

MAP X, 1874.

Edwards county was created out of that part of Kiowa north of the north line of township 27, except township 23 of range 18 west, which was given to Pawnee, and townships 24 and 25, of range 15 west, which were restored to Stafford. The overlapping townships of Barton, Stafford and Pawnee were confirmed to Stafford and Pawnee (Laws of 1874, pp. 91-93).

Edwards, Kingman and Rush counties were organized.

MAP XI, 1875-1880.

In 1875 Kiowa county was extinguished, its territory being divided between Edwards and Comanche. Edwards was given all north of the north line of township 29, and Comanche all south of that line (Laws of 1875, p. 87).

By a similar act it was intended to obliterate Stafford county. Barton was to receive that part north of the north line of township 24, and Pratt all south of that line except townships 24 and 25 of range 15 west (id. p. 88). These two townships, being left out of the division, preserved the identity of the county. Four years later the supreme court declared this partition illegal and Stafford county was restored to the boundaries assigned in 1874 (State v. St. John, 21 Kan. 591).

The line between Davis and Riley, south of the Kansas river, was changed to its present position (Laws of 1875, p. 89). Howard county was divided into two new counties. Elk comprised the part north of the north line of township 32 and Chautauqua the part south of that line (id. p. 148).

Republic county was organized in 1878.

In 1879 an act was passed redefining the boundaries of most of the western counties but changing only Thomas, Sheridan, Wallace, Gove, and Lane (Laws of 1879, pp. 143-148). The south line of Thomas and Sheridan was pushed north six miles to the north line of township 10 (id. p. 143). Wallace was enlarged on the north by a tract forty-two miles long and six wide, and on the east by a tract thirty-six miles long and six wide. The west line of Gove was pushed six miles east to the east line of range 30 west, the north line six miles north to the north line of township 10, and the south line six miles north to the north line of township 15. Lane county was enlarged by townships 15 in ranges 26-30 (id. p. 144). A few days after the passage of this act, but before its publication, another act dissolved Wallace county on charge of fraud (id. p. 356.)

Decatur, Stafford, Hodgeman and Trego counties were organized in 1879.

MAP XII, 1881, '82.

In 1881 Thomas and Sheridan counties were restored to their original boundaries. The second standard parallel again became the north line of Gove and the third standard parallel the south line. The west line was pushed twelve miles west to the east line of range 32. Lane was diminished on the north by one tier of townships and increased on the south by a tier taken from Buffalo. Out of the remainder of Buffalo and all of Foote a new county was created, and named Gray. Wallace county was recreated out of that part of the original county west of the east line of range 38, and the part east of that line was formed into St. John county (Laws of 1881, pp. 131-133).

Rawlins county was organized in 1881.

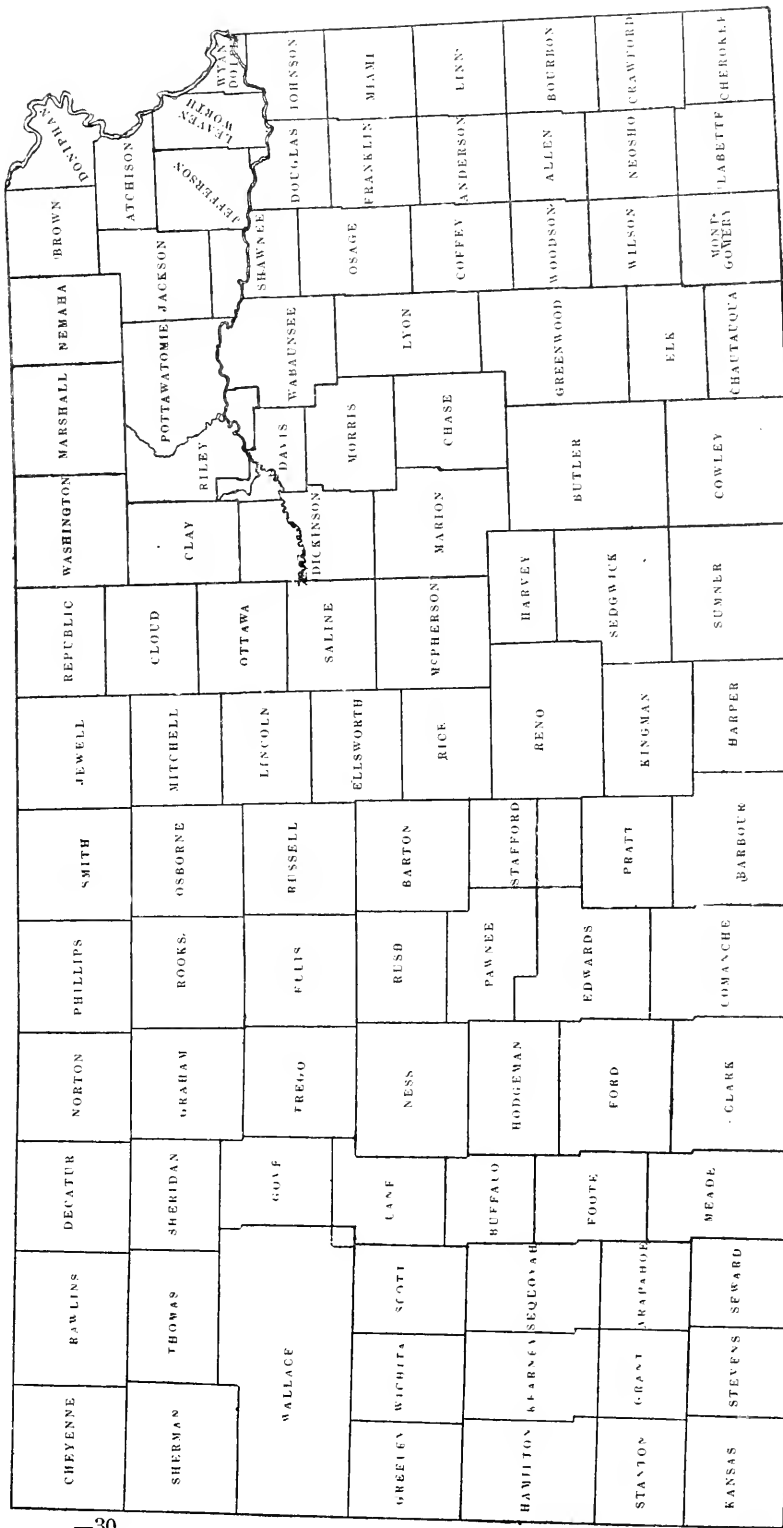
MAP XIII, 1883, '84.

In 1883 Kearney, Sequoyah, Gray, Grant, Arapahoe, Kansas, Stevens, Meade and Clark counties disappeared. Hamilton, Ford, Seward and Hodgeman were enlarged, and Finney created to include the territory of the first named counties. In the redistribution of this territory the fourth standard parallel became the north line and the sixth standard parallel the south line of Hamilton, Finney and Hodgeman counties. Hamilton extended east to the east line of range 37; Finney beginning there extended to the east line of range 29 west, and Hodgeman extended from that line to the east line of 21 west. The south line of Hodgeman was the south line of township 24. Ford occupied the district south of Hodgeman, and Seward was bounded on the north by the sixth standard parallel and on the east by the east line of range 29 west, and extended to the western and southern boundaries of the state. Townships 21 of ranges 27 to 30 were detached from Lane, and the first two were attached to Hodgeman, and the last two to Finney (Laws of 1883, pp. 113-115). Finney was organized in 1883.

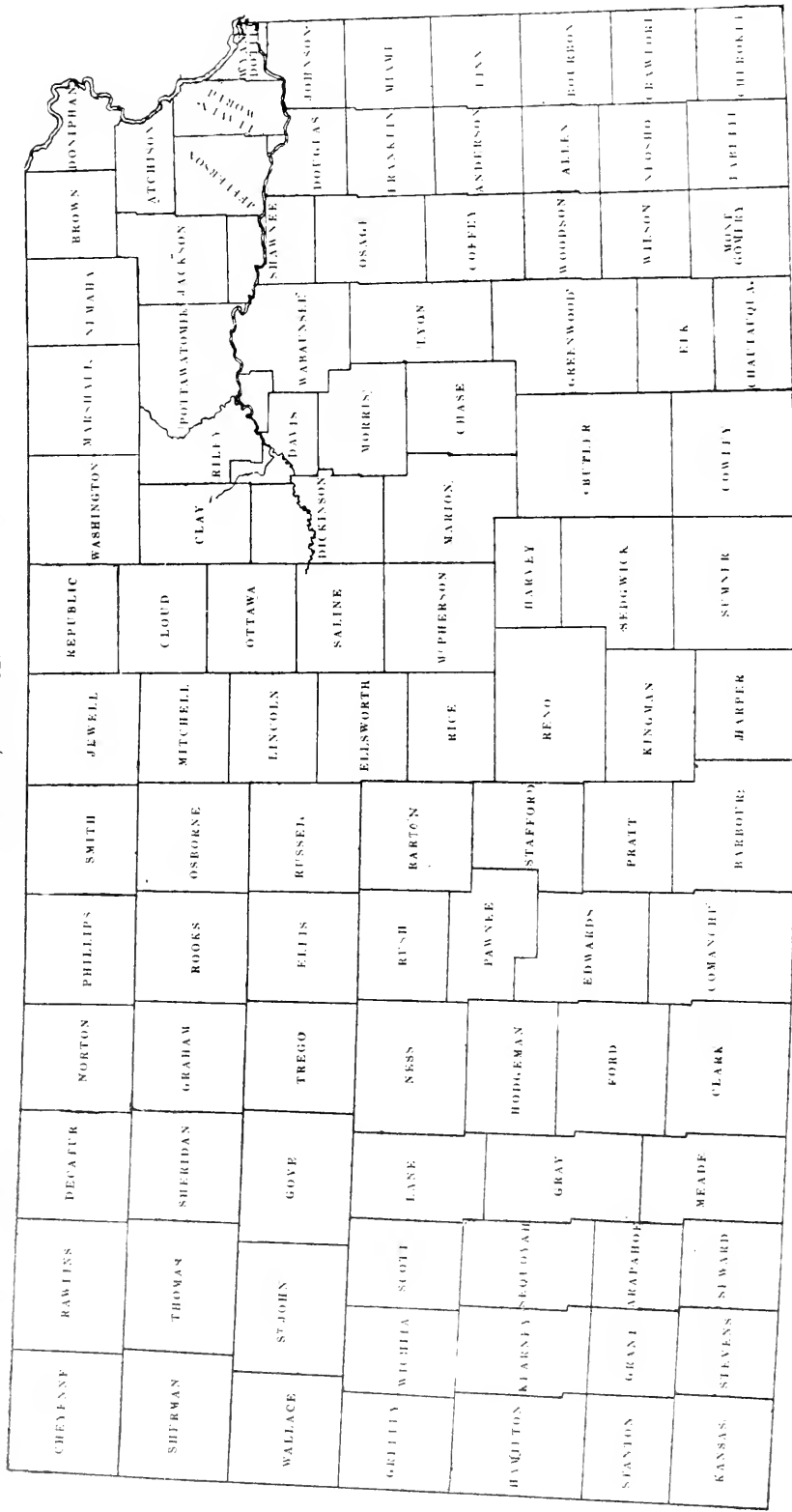
MAP XIV, 1885.

Meade and Clark counties were reestablished. The north line of township 30 was made the north line of both counties. Clark extended from the east line of range 21 to the east line of range 26 west, and Meade from the east line of range 26 to the east line of range 31. (Laws of 1885, pp. 243-249.)

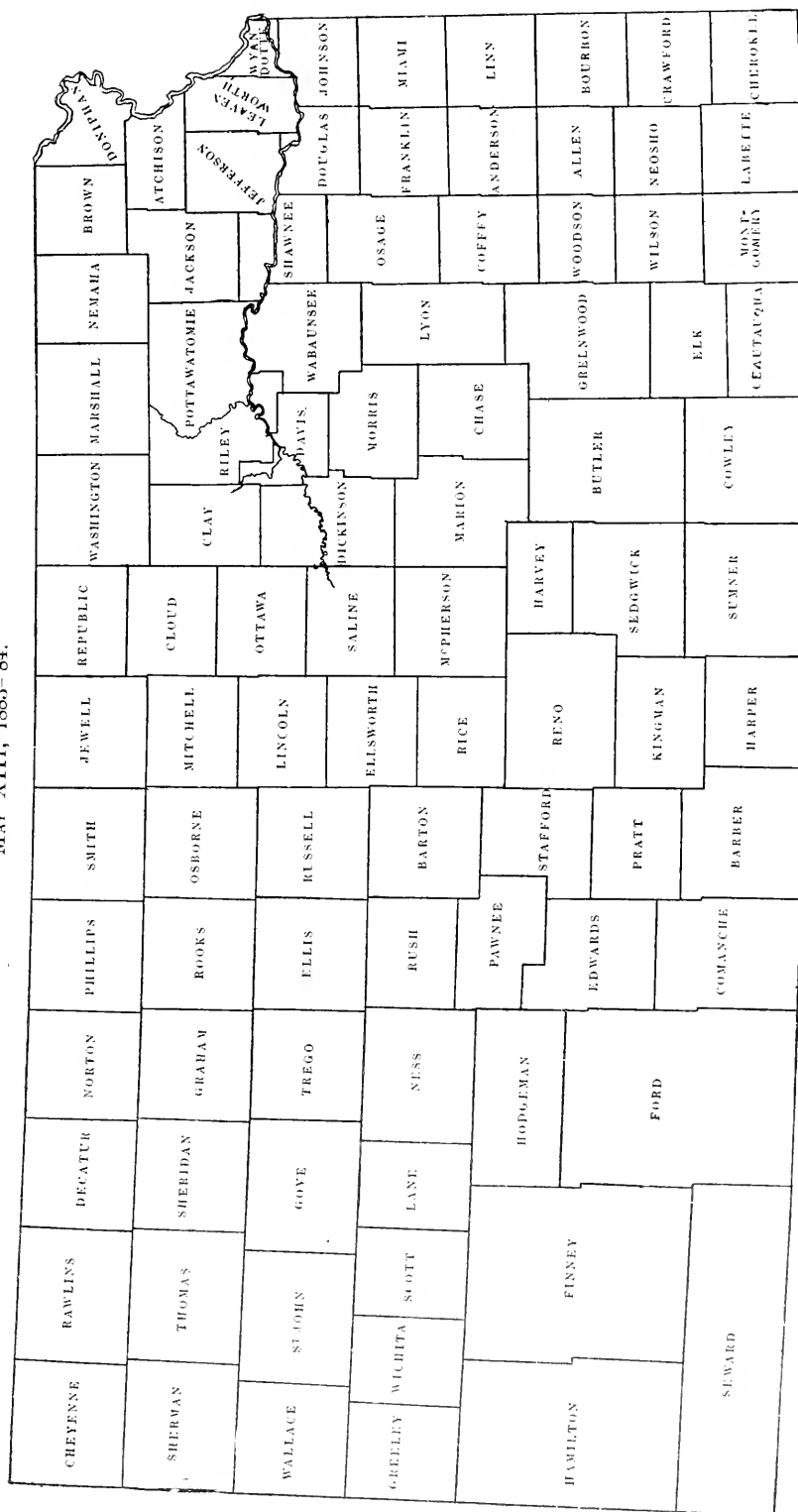
Clark, Comanche, Meade and Thomas counties were organized.



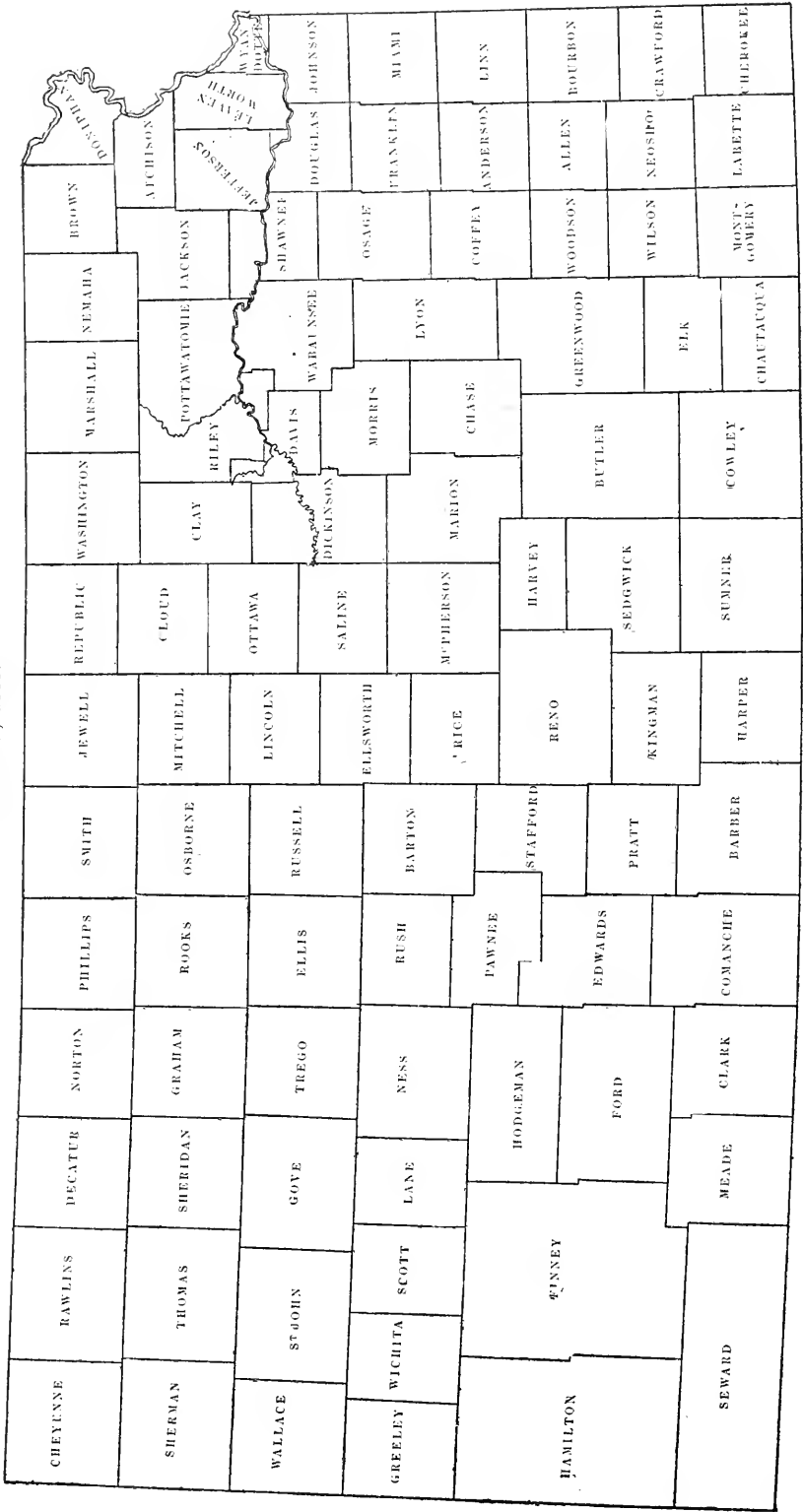
MAP XII, 1881-'82.



MAP XIII, 1883-'84.



MAP XIV, 1885.



MAP XV, 1886-1892.

In 1886 Kiowa county was reestablished out of that part of Edwards south of the north line of township 27 and that part of Comanche north of the sixth standard parallel. (Laws of 1886, p. 54.) Stevens county was reestablished with the same boundaries assigned to it in 1873, plus a strip three miles wide on the western side of the county. Morton county was created out of the territory which had been established as Kansas county in 1873, less the three-mile strip given to Stevens. Seward was reduced to the limits assigned in 1873 (id., p. 57). The south boundary of Rice county was changed slightly, to include eight sections of township 22, range 8, which were detached from Reno (id., p. 56). The boundary between Lyon and Coffey was changed to the Neosho river for a distance of sixty rods in township 20, range 13 east (id., p. 58).

Gove, Hamilton, Kiowa, Lane, Morton, Scott, Seward, Sherman, Stevens, and Wichita counties were organized in 1886.

In 1887 the area of Finney, Hamilton and Ford counties was reduced. Haskell was created out of that part of Finney which had been established as Arapahoe in 1873. Ford, Hodgeman and Hamilton again took the boundaries of 1873, and Grant, Stanton and Kearny were reestablished with their former boundaries. Gray, abolished in 1883, was reestablished with different boundaries. The north line was now the north line of township 24, the east line the east line of range 27, the south line the north line of township 30, and the west line the east line of range 31. Garfield county was created out of six townships from the northeast corner of Finney and six from the northwest corner of Hodgeman. (Laws of 1887, pp. 111-113.) The name of St. John county was changed to Logan (id., p. 255).

Garfield, Gray, Haskell, Logan and Stanton counties were organized in 1887.

In 1889, the name of Davis county was changed to Geary (Laws of 1889, p. 182.) In 1893 an act was passed providing for the restoration of the name Davis, in case a majority of the voters should decide in favor of it at the next general election (Laws of 1893, p. 88). The majority vote, however, was opposed to the change, so that the county has retained the name of Geary.*

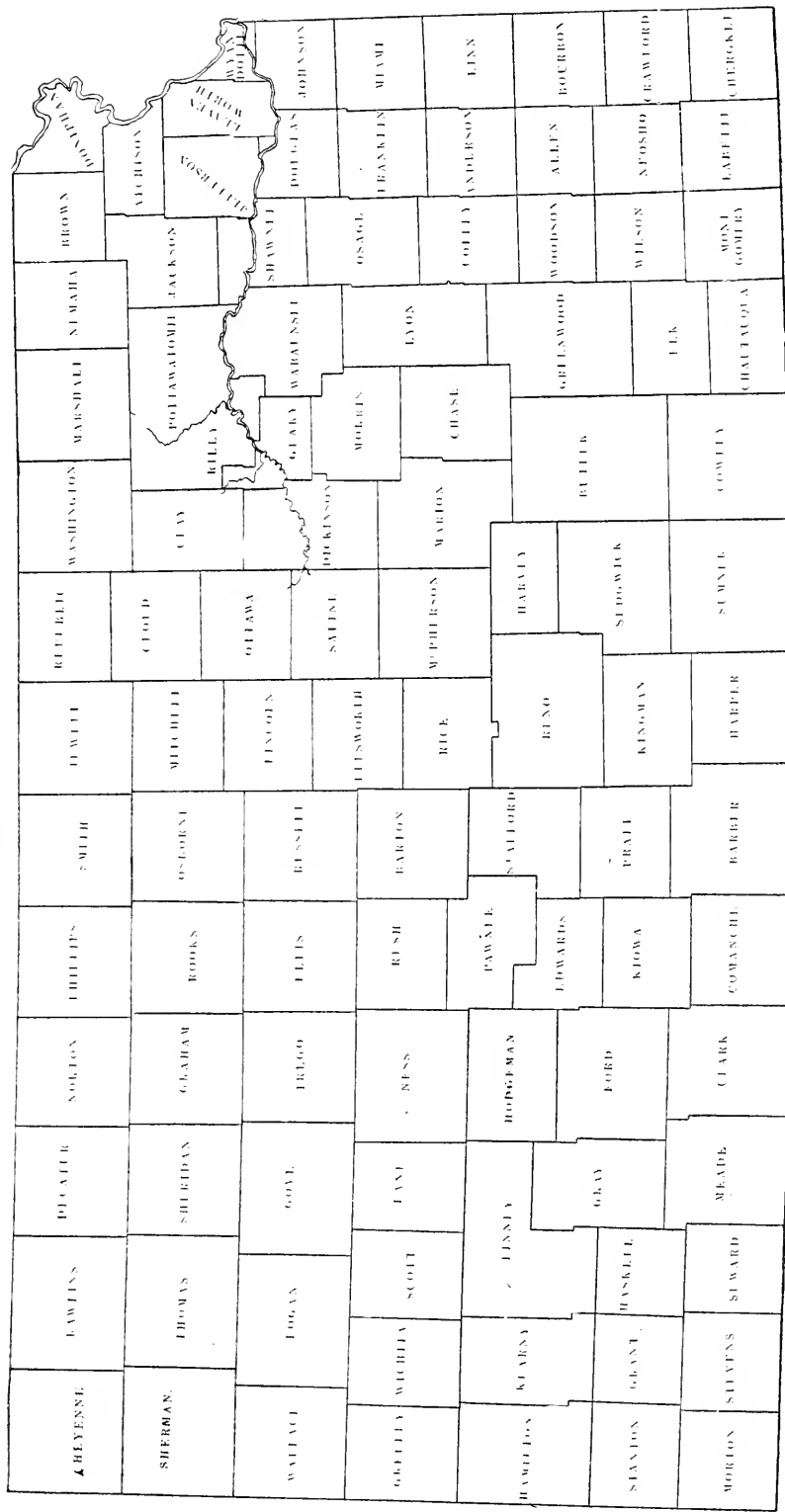
In 1889, the last of the counties—Grant, Greeley, and Kearny—were organized.

MAP XVI, 1893-1904.

In 1892, the state instituted *quo warranto* proceedings against Garfield county to test the validity of its organization. The supreme court decided that it was illegally organized, having less than 432 square miles of territory (State v. Garfield Co. 54 Kan. 372), and in 1893 it was annexed to Finney (Laws of 1893, p. 173). In 1893, the boundary between Marshall and Washington, in township 24, was modified, to give Washington access to the Big Blue river, in order to enable her to assist Marshall in building a bridge over the river. In case the bridge was not built within five years, the land detached was to revert to Marshall county (id., p. 82). The bridge was not built within the period fixed by the statute, and in 1903 the law was reenacted (Laws of 1903, p. 326). There seems to be no prospect that the bridge will be built, so that the proposed change

*The vote was taken at the general election November 1894. The highest vote cast was 1686, but 475 did not vote on the question of restoring the name to Davis. Of the votes cast upon the question, there were 523 for Davis and 588 for Geary, being a majority of 65 for Geary, in honor of John W. Geary, third territorial governor, a distinguished major-general, and twice governor of Pennsylvania. This is probably the only instance in Kansas of a name being adopted by a popular vote.

MAP XVI, 1893-1904.



of boundary will probably not take effect. Since 1893, there have been practically no changes in county boundaries. An act was passed in 1897 to define more specifically the line between Lyon and Coffey counties (Laws of 1897, p. 195), and in 1899 an act was passed to define the line between Shawnee and Jefferson (Laws of 1899, p. 121). These acts were not intended to alter the boundaries already existing.

HIGH WATERS IN KANSAS.

From the diary of REV. JOTHAM MEEKER* and other manuscripts in the collection of the State Historical Society.

MAY 7, 1844.—Rainy.

MAY 13.—It rained nearly all day yesterday and all of last night. The river rises all day, and is within four feet of overflowing the bank at evening, and is still rising.

MAY 14.—The river is all day near at a stand. Work at saving boards, rails, etc., from the flood.

MAY 15.—Raining most of the day. The river very high, overflowing its banks in many places.

MAY 16.—Attend prayer-meeting at John Holmes's. Rained nearly all of last night. The river rises still higher. Almost all of the Ottawas leave their houses, many of which are surrounded by water, and flee to the hills, where they encamp. Some of their fences are carried away.

MAY 20.—The rain and high water prevent Brothers Pratt and Barker from starting home. The rain stopped this morning and it clears off after almost constant rain and high water for the last nine days. Think I never saw such a wet time before.

MAY 21.—Frost this morning.

MAY 24.—Ride home in a great shower of rain, having two streams to swim. The rain fell nearly all of last night and to-day. The river rising very fast again.

MAY 25.—Raining. Stay at home all day.

MAY 28.—Much rain night before last, last night, and to-day. The river continues high.

MAY 29.—Still raining.

MAY 30.—Never saw such a time of rain. It has fallen almost every day in the last three weeks. The river has overflowed its banks, and the bottoms in many places have been inundated more or less for three weeks, and continues all of to-day within our dooryard. There has been no plowing nor planting done of any consequence during the rain, so that the fields not planted then still remain, and much that was planted has been drowned out. Many of the Indians fear that they will have no crops at all this year.

*Rev. Jotham Meeker located among the Ottawas as their missionary in June, 1837, building his house on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes, near the present town of Ottawa, Franklin county, Kansas. After the overflow of 1844, the mission house was erected at a point about five miles northeast of Ottawa, on the high ground. Mr. Meeker's diaries cover the entire period of his Kansas experiences, 1833 to 1854. The "Shawanoë" Baptist mission, where Mr. Meeker took refuge with his family, was situated in the northeastern part of Johnson county, among the Shawnees.

The State Historical Society has four large volumes of newspaper clippings, and 100 photographic views from Salina to Kansas City, of the Kansas river flood of May and June, 1903. See Prof. Erasmus Haworth's article in the "Mineral Resources of Kansas for 1903," issued by the State University, July, 1903.

MAY 31.—Yesterday and to-day have been clear. The river again commenced falling. About noon left our dooryard. Hope we shall again have dry weather. Plow corn all day.

JUNE 5.—Yesterday and to-day the weather has been very clear and warm.

JUNE 6.—Replant potato patch which was drowned out by the flood.

JUNE 7.—Rainy all day.

JUNE 10.—Rain falls all day. The river is very high. Fear we shall have higher water to-night or to-morrow than we have ever known. Put things away and prepare for the flood.

JUNE 11.—The river rises higher than we have ever seen it. The water covers many of the Indians' fields and surrounds their houses. The Indians who live in the bottoms near by all fled to the hills. Many of the hogs we think will be drowned, and crops and other property will be destroyed. Move our things out of our cellar and smoke-house, both of which are deep with water. River is not quite upon a level with the bank at our house, but is still rising and may surround us before morning.

JUNE 12.—At sunrise the water began to overflow the bank at our house, and continued to rise rapidly all day. At three p. m. it came into the dwelling-house, when we fled to the hills near us, the rain descending in torrents. We pitched our tent and encamped, all wet. We have been completely wet all day, having been engaged in hunting my cattle and hogs and driving them to the hills, and in gathering up things to save them. All the Indians in the country have also fled, driving and packing as much of their stock and other property as they could. Nearly half of my fences are swept away, and the water continues to rise fast. Doubtless much of the Indians' stock and other property will be lost.

JUNE 13.—We laid ourselves down last night in our tent, all wet. It continued to rain all night. The water still continues all day to rise. Our smoke-house, bee-house, chicken-houses, stable, corn-crib, and kitchen, with all that was in them; and also our dooryard, garden, orchard, cow-pen, calf pasture, potato patch, and corn-field fences, with the peach and apple trees, are, we think, all swept off, the current being very strong. Went twice to the house in a small canoe to save some few choice articles, and, apparently, was in great danger of losing my life. Many of our fowls and hogs, all of the bees—seven large hives—and perhaps some cattle, floated off, and are probably drowned. The fences of all the Ottawas, with four or five exceptions, we suppose, are carried off, and their loss must be very great in live stock, old corn, present crops, houses, household property, etc., etc.

JUNE 14.—Last evening, near night, our brother, Oshosh, in coming from his house with a canoe loaded with his articles, ran against a tree. The canoe upset and all went down. He clung to a sapling and cried for help. We heard him, but having no canoe we could render him no assistance. Before morning we obtained a canoe, and as soon as it was light two of the brethren went, found him, and brought him home, he having hung to the shaking sapling all night, with nothing but his shirt on. The river commences falling to-day.

JUNE 15.—The water falls three or four feet. Visit our house. It looks desolate indeed. The whole bottom land is still covered from two to six or seven feet deep. Immediate poverty and starvation seems to stare every one in the face. Their old corn all washed away.

JUNE 17.—The water having left our house, I wash and scrub one room and we remove into it, and gather up a few of our things which had drifted into the brush. Find that none of my crops or fences are left, and that even all the earth which had been loosened by the plow has been swept off. All my out-

houses and all that was within them are swept away. Nothing left but the dwelling house and office. Part of the cellar wall and the hearth are fallen, and the large chimney will probably soon fall. The west end of the house also is settling, being undermined.

JUNE 18.—River falling all day. Learn that the Missouri is fifteen feet higher than it was ever known to be before. If so, doubtless all the bottom is destroyed. Also, that all the towns down the Osage are carried away.

JUNE 19.—The rain descended in torrents again much of last night and today. Pack away our property in our upper chambers and prepare to leave as soon as possible for Shawanoe.

JUNE 20.—The river rises again all day—is again almost full.

JUNE 21.—Shut up our house and cross the big creek, which is nearly full, in a piece of bark of a tree six or seven feet long, with Brother Pratt and my family. We travel thirty-five miles and encamp in the prairies.

Letter to Rev. S. Peck, Foreign Secretary A. B. B. F. M.

SHAWANOE, June 26, 1844. *Dear Brother*—In haste I drop you a line to inform you of our present situation, and to ask the board to direct us what course to pursue. The Osage river, on the immediate bank of which the Ottawa Mission house stands, has been uncommonly high for about eight weeks past. But no particular damage resulted from it until the 12th of June inst. At sunrise of that day the water commenced running over its banks. At three P. M. it was two feet deep around our house and commenced running into our dwelling-rooms. The water still rising, and the current becoming very strong around the house, we fled to an adjoining hill and pitched our tent, the rain descending in torrents the meanwhile. The river still continued to rise for thirty-six hours after we left, until the whole bottom country was from six to twelve feet deep. The results were, in part, as follows: Our smoke-house, with our year's supply of pork and soap, etc., bee-house, with seven hives, hen-house, with 100 fowls, stable and corn-crib, with about 125 bushels of corn, kitchen, with all the cooking and table apparatus, etc., about 4000 rails, the dooryard post-and-rail fence, the garden paling fence, the peach and apple orchard, and all the new crops of every kind, and even the soil, as deep as the plow had loosened it, were all swept off by the current, so that the dwelling-house and office stand naked and alone, considerably injured—one chimney of the dwelling being sagged back some from the house, and part of the cellar wall and the hearth being caved in. The flood beat so vehemently upon the house that, although the foundation corner-stones were three feet deep, yet the injured end of the house has, I think, settled two or three inches. The wooden furniture in the dwelling-house is almost ruined, and some of the doors and windows broken. When the water left I and an Indian boy shoveled out the mud and scrubbed the inside of the house, and we moved back into it where we stayed two or three days. The most of the kitchen furniture has been found. Fearing that we should soon be sick, we fastened the house and left for Shawanoe. My family will remain here awhile, and I expect to spend most of my time among the Ottawas for the present.

The Ottawas have lost all of their fences and new crops, with a very small exception; some of their dwellings have been carried down the stream—many of them are lodged against trees. All their old corn has either been washed away or lying under water from five to seven days, which has sprouted, soured, and become unfit to eat. Much of their stock, viz., fowls, hogs, cattle, and horses, have been drowned. I think there is not breadstuff in the nation to subsist them one week from this time. It is now too late to make new fields for the present season, the game is very scarce, they can raise nothing to eat for twelve

or thirteen months from this time, so that extreme poverty and starvation seem to stare every one in the face. For three days past I have been working hard for them in the neighborhood of Westport, and have obtained for them four yoke of oxen, a wagon, 250 bushels of corn, some buckwheat and turnip seeds. No old potatoes to be found. The Indians all intend now, if they can only be supplied with corn to eat, to build houses and make fields back on the hills immediately. I have been interceding with the agent for them, and have to-day written to the superintendent of Indian affairs, at St. Louis, hoping that the United States government will do something for them.

The main object I had in writing this letter was to inform you that Mrs. M. and I, the Ottawa brethren, many missionary brethren with whom I have conversed, unite in thinking that we ought to remove the Ottawa Mission buildings back from the river, on the high prairies. Were we to rebuild, repair, etc., where we now are, the cost would be considerable, but we would always live in fear of another flood. The expense would, of course, be much more to remove. We think it would be more healthy on the hills: by going three or four miles back we would be in the center of the nation. My present impression is that the establishment could be completed on the hills for about \$300, including the stone chimneys and cellar. I have not yet selected a suitable site, but intend to do so soon and wait for the decision of the board, who, I think, will see the necessity of immediate action, so that we can be prepared for winter. On account of the high waters generally throughout the state of Missouri, we have had no mails lately. We have not yet received anything from the board since the convention at Philadelphia. We are waiting with great anxiety.*

*In a volume of letters written or received by Mr. Meeker is found a draft of the following letters:

"BAPTIST MISSION ROOMS, Boston, August 1, 1844.
 "Rev. J. Meeker, Shawano: MY DEAR BROTHER—I take the earliest opportunity to lay your afflicted case before the acting board, as detailed in your letter of 26th June; also the letter of Mr. Blanchard in regard to the Delawares on the Kansas river. I need not assure you of our deep sympathy, and I am sure there will be a very extensive sympathy in the churches, many of whom will make contributions for the relief of the sufferers. The board have appropriated \$300, the amount named by you, for rebuilding the mission house on the 'hills,' and we hope you will be able to complete it before winter. They have also felt constrained to add \$200 more, to help you repair the loss of furniture, stock, labor, etc.—and to give to him that is hungry. This last is in anticipation of collections which we propose to take up in the churches in this neighborhood. As to the extent of your distribution to the necessities of the Indian brethren from the above \$200, we do not fear to leave it to the dictates of your judgment and Christian charity, though the appropriation was especially designed for your own benefit. You can draw at such times as may suit your convenience, specifying the object in your letters of advice. I suppose it hardly necessary to caution you against exposure to fevers this season; they will be likely to abound, even with the best precautions. This may make it necessary to postpone your arrangements for building till the hot season is well past. With affectionate regards to Mrs. M. and sincere sympathy for the native brethren, to whom remember me particularly, truly, your brother, S. PECK, For. Sec."

"ST. LOUIS, Aug. 27th, 1844.
 "Mr. J. Meeker: DEAR SIR—We herewith send you four boxes mds., one bale do. & two bedsteads which is from Cincinnati, shipped by Mess. Bowen & Hibberd, in behalf of themselves & many others. They were brot to this place by the charity of steamer Ione. The steambot Tobacco Plant has kindly consented to deliver them to you free of charge. We yesterday forwarded twelve chairs, two tables, two bedsteads, nine boxes, four bbls., one stove & one keg received from the same source as the other articles. They was brot to this place by the charity of steamer Palestine & forwarded on the steamer Iatan, who promised them to deliver to you gratuitously. We have not charged any commissions on either lot, as we are informed they are for the benefit of the sufferers by the late flood. Hoping this may arrive safe and prove satisfactory, we remain your obdt. svts., H. N. DAVIS & Co. by W. S. Richards."

"BAP. MISS. ROOMS, BOSTON, Sept. 2d, 1844.
 "Rev. J. Meeker: DEAR SIR—I write to inform you that I have put on board the ship Almina for N. Orleans, 2 boxes containing clothing &c. for the sufferers by the late inundation in your vicinity. One of the boxes contains articles of clothing, sent to the rooms by a few female friends in Boston, with a few things found in the store room. Some of the clothing is hardly worth sending, but may perhaps be put to some use; this box is directed to yourself; the other box is from ladies of the south leading Bap. Ch. & directed to Mr. Blanchard, & I will thank you to inform him of the fact. The boxes are consigned to the care of Geo. & Robt. Buchanan, N. Orleans, with instruction to forward to Agnew & Buchanan, St. Louis, Mo., & I hope will be promptly transmitted. They are marked as follows: 'Rev. J. Meeker, Kansas Landing, Mo., Rev. I. D. Blanchard, Kansas Landing, Mo., care of Agnew & Buchanan, St. Louis, Mo.' Very truly yrs &c., THOMAS SHAW."

JULY 6.—Haul some things home which drifted off in the flood.

JULY 8.—Again lock up the house. Swim my horses over the creek, and leave for Shawanoe alone.

JULY 10.—Ride around all day hunting corn for the Ottawas.

JULY 11.—Again am busy all day hunting for corn, the price of which has just raised from ten cents to twenty-five, thirty and fifty cents. The new crops promise but little.

JULY 17.—Intend to start home, but the rain prevents.

JULY 19.—Again thought of starting home to-day with my family, but rain and other things prevent.

JULY 22.—Load up the wagon and start for home with Mrs. M. and Emiline.

JULY 23.—The bad road, flies and heat are very severe on us and the horses. Stalled once; unloaded, and carried all up a high hill. Encamped several hours on account of the flies.

JULY 24.—Stalled half a mile from home. Left wagon and rode home with my family. Get my wagon home.

JULY 30.—Plow from seven to eleven o'clock in the evening for turnips, the excessively warm weather and the flies preventing in the day.

AUGUST 17.—From about the 10th of May to the 25th of July the river was high and it was uncommonly rainy. From the 25th ultimo until now we have had no rain of account, and it is becoming very dry.

AUGUST 29.—After being pretty well wetted in a shower of rain, I arrived at home. (Found Shawanoe.)

SEPTEMBER 4.—Receive instructions from the board to remove our buildings back onto the hill this fall. They give us all the aid we wish. Also learned that the Cincinnati brethren have sent a lot of provisions, clothing, furniture, etc., to the Ottawa brethren, on account of their losses from the late flood.

SEPTEMBER 5.—Ride to the Westport landing. Employ two persons with teams to haul boxes, etc., from Cincinnati to Shawnee.

SEPTEMBER 6.—Draw on the board for \$300 for building purposes.

SEPTEMBER 7.—Receive a letter from Brother Miller and others in Cincinnati relative to their contributions to the Ottawas. Their liberality on this occasion is truly great.

SEPTEMBER 11.—Load up my wagon and start with my family for home. Somewhat rainy. Encamp in the prairie.

SEPTEMBER 13.—Arrive at home about noon.

SEPTEMBER 20.—Rainy and windy.

SEPTEMBER 21 (Fort Leavenworth Agency).—This year their crops are very sorry, owing to the abundance of rain during the spring and early part of the summer. All those farming on the bottom lands of the Kansas river and other bottom lands lost their crops entirely; not only their crops, but nearly all their stock, hogs, cattle, and some horses; all their fencing and houses swept off by the flood. In a few weeks I will make a report in detail of the damage done, as nearly as I can ascertain, to all the Indians by the high waters, etc. Many of the Shawnees tried this year to raise hemp, but their crops of hemp were almost entirely destroyed by the repeated hard rains. . . . *Konzas*.—The blacksmith for this tribe has been employed most of his time in repairing guns, making butcher-knives, arrow-points, small axes, and hoes. It can hardly be said that the *Konzas* raised any corn this year. They farm mostly on the bottom lands of the Kansas river, which was overflowed from bluff to bluff, sweeping off all of the fencing, houses, etc. As soon as they found that their crops were late, they made for the buffalo grounds, and returned home the 15th of September

last for the purpose of receiving their annuity and to procure powder, lead, etc., and left again in a few days after receiving their annuity. This tribe follow the chase. They number between 1600 and 1800. They are a stout, active people. Their crops were very promising until they were overthrown. The Konzas bottom lands are vastly fertile. I asked them how they expected to live this year; they replied that they could not tell; that their only dependence was on the buffalo and other game.—RICHARD W. CUMMINS.

SEPTEMBER 22.—Have frost on yesterday and this morning.

SEPTEMBER 24.—Rainy most of the day.

SEPTEMBER 25.—Visit Notono to make arrangements to have the Indians' goods brought out from Shawnee.

SEPTEMBER 26.—Conclude to go to the Shawnee with the Indian brethren on Monday next to divide among them contributions from Cincinnati.

SEPTEMBER 27.—Rainy most of the day.

SEPTEMBER 28.—Very cold for some days past.

SEPTEMBER 30.—Was to have accompanied the Ottawa brethren and sisters to Shawnee to-day to divide out to them the goods, etc., given to them by the brethren in Cincinnati, but my wife being very sick, I cannot go. Write to Brother Pratt for him to attend to it, and nearly all of the brethren and sisters go in on horseback.

SEPTEMBER 30 (Great Nemaha Subagency).—"The past season, you must be aware, has been a most unpropitious one for farming operations. The unprecedented fall of rain which took place in June and July, by which much of the best farming lands of the Indians was several times wholly inundated, has been a serious drawback upon the aggregate value of the farming products. Sac and Foxes of Missouri river.—S. M. IRVIN."

OCTOBER 7.—Most of the brethren returned from Shawanoe loaded with presents from Cincinnati. They received clothing, provisions, cooking apparatus, tools, medicine, furniture, and money to the amount of between \$1000 and \$1100.

OCTOBER 9.—Received from our Baptist brethren in Cincinnati a box of clothing, etc. A thousand thanks to our kind friends.

OCTOBER 17.—Received the balance of the Cincinnati contributions, and estimate the whole to be worth near \$1300, \$200 of which was sent especially to my family.

OCTOBER 19.—The snow commenced falling for this fall on the day before yesterday. It fell all the afternoon, all night, and until noon of yesterday, and about three or four inches deep, and it is melting off in the evening.

OCTOBER 20.—The snow melts off and the weather moderates.

OCTOBER 26.—Ride to Westport and other places, where I witnessed terrible destruction from a tornado which passed about a mile from us on day before yesterday evening. Nearly all the fences, trees, houses, etc., in its course are prostrated. Many people are wounded. Hear of eight lives being lost.

NOVEMBER 8.—Gather, haul and bury my turnips, twelve or fourteen bushels; also carry in and put away in the cellar my crop of potatoes, eight or ten bushels, which are the whole amount of my crops for 1844.

DECEMBER 5.—Brother Barker and I open and assort five boxes of clothing just arrived from Boston for the sufferers of the late flood.

THE FLOOD OF 1844.—"The spring of 1844 was warm and dry until May, when it commenced to rain, and continued for six weeks—rain falling every day. What is now Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., was covered with four-

teen feet of water. The Missouri backed up to the mouth of Lime creek, and Jersey creek was backed up to the crossing on the Parallel road."—Wyandotte *Herald*.

Mr. Henry Harvey, in his "History of the Shawnees," says: "In the year 1844, they were visited by a great flood, which swept off their houses and a large amount of grain; many of their farms were laid waste."

W. W. Cone, in his "Shawnee County History," says: "In the flood of 1844, all their houses and boats were washed away (Papan Bros.); and they all went back to Kansas City to live. . . . During the flood, Major Cummings, paymaster of the United States army, wishing to cross from the south to the north side of the Kaw river (at Topeka), stepped into a canoe at about the corner of Topeka avenue and Second street, and was rowed by an Indian from there to the bluffs, near the present residence of J. M. Harding, in Soldier township, the water then being twenty feet deep over the ground where North Topeka now stands. One of the Papan lived in a house on the island just above the bridge. This house stood the flood until the water came above the eaves, and then was washed away. This island at that time was part of the mainland."

The following on the same subject is from a paper prepared for the State Historical Society by O. P. Hamilton, Esq., of Salina: "The great flood of 1844, of the lower Mississippi and upper Missouri, fell upon these plains, and evidences were seen as late as twenty years ago along the Kansas river and its tributaries. Eighteen years ago we were shown by the Papan (French residents among the Kaw Indians living near Topeka) the high-water mark of 1844 of the Kansas river, which had inundated the bottoms from eight to ten feet. We do not question the above, as we found the same evidences on the tributaries. On the Solomon river driftwood and a carcass (pretty well dried up) were found lodged in trees at a height that would cover the highest bottoms several feet. Driftwood was found along the foot of the bluffs of the Saline valley, indicating the same high state of water. Evidences of great floods were also found on the Smoky Hill, and the water must have flooded the present town site of Salina, Kan., four feet deep. This great flood was seen by the Indian trader, Bent, located on the upper Arkansas river, who at the time was on his way to Missouri. He had to follow the divides as best he could. Every river was full from bluff to bluff."

Among the set of manuscript volumes from the office of the superintendent of Indian affairs, at St. Louis, is one of letters from the agents and missionaries among the Indian tribes in Kansas, covering the years 1839-'46, from which the following extract is made:

"FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY, January 6, 1845.

"SIR—I send by W. C. Cummins book of treaties; be pleased to leave it in the care of Simpson & Hunter, or Mr. Price. You will find enclosed a statement, as near as I can come at it, of the number of Shawnees, Delawares, and Munsees, including men, women, and children, that were deprived of the means of subsistence by the high waters during the last spring. Since I saw you to-day I have been meditating on the subject, and have come to the conclusion that it will be best to furnish the Kansas and Munsees with corn earlier than the 1st of March. I do not know how much corn you expect to give to the Shawnees and Delawares. One thing I feel sure of, that most of the Indians that suffered by the freshets are now in want of corn, and that if they now had all you intend to give them, they would take care of it and not let any of it get wasted, and the Kansas

more so than any of the others. There are a good many of the latter tribes now at home; when the others will return I am unable to say. If you give the Kansas 2500 bushels, I think 500 might be given to them or delivered to me at the Kansas mission or farmer's house as early in February as it can be got there. I incline to believe that corn cannot be delivered at the farmer's house for less than one dollar per bushel, if it can for that. It is at least 100 miles the wagon road, and some very bad places, tho' the road is generally good. It will be much harder on teams after the winter breaks up or after there comes a general thaw, say in the months of March and April, than while the earth is solid. If a contract is let out for the delivery of corn at the Kansas village farmer's house, I would not be surprised if it did not come under \$1.25 per bushel, and my present impression is that it will be best to let out a contract for the delivery of the corn for this tribe, say 500 bushels by the 20th February, 500 by the 1st of March, 500 by the 1st April, 500 by the 1st May, and 500 by the 1st of June, 1845. It is possible I may be deceived—I wish I may—respecting the price of corn can be delivered to the Kansas. Your instructions on the subject will be promptly attended to.

I am, respectfully, &c., RICHD. W. CUMMINS, *Ind. Agt.*

"Col. Thos. H. Harvey, Supt. Ind. Aff., St. Louis, Mo."

Phil. E. Chappell, of Kansas City, Mo., who had been a Missouri river steamboatman for thirty years, wrote as follows, in May, 1903:

"There have been many great freshets in the Missouri since it was known to the white man. The first of which we have any account in the annals of the stream occurred in 1785. There were no settlements on the river at that day; hence the only accounts possessed are those which have come down by tradition from the Indians and the early French voyageurs. The American Bottoms, on the Mississippi, opposite St. Louis, were entirely submerged, and great damage was done in the French villages of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Chartres, all located on the Mississippi below St. Louis. The freshet marked an era among these early settlers and the year was ever after known as the 'year of the great flood.' The water, it is said, came out of the Missouri.

"In the spring of 1811 the waters of the Missouri rose to an unprecedented height. The first settlement had been made in the Boon's Lick country, opposite Boonville, Mo., the previous year; hence there were no farms to be injured or crops to be destroyed. We have no means of knowing how high the water reached that year, but that it overflowed the entire bottom, in the lower part of the river, and caused great damage to the settlements on the Mississippi, is attested by the early records.

"In the spring of 1826 a very singular overflow occurred at the mouth of the Kaw. There are two or three persons now living in Kansas City who were living here then; for it was in the previous year (1825) that the Indian title to the land where the city now stands was extinguished, and the pioneers crossed the Blue. In that year the annual June rise was very high and the Missouri was flowing bank full. It so happened that just at that time there came down from the Kaw a tremendous rise, like a solid wall of water. This tremendous wave, when it reached the Missouri, could not escape, but was dammed up and thrown back over the west bottoms, which it submerged ten or twelve feet.* The entire bot-

* Rev. William F. Vail, superintendent of missions among the Osages at Harmony, from 1821 to September, 1834, writes as follows to the board, under date, Union (on the Neosho, near the south line of the state), July 14, 1827, concerning the year 1826, from which is quoted:

"The whole summer might be called a rainy season. The season before was remarkably dry; the streams were never known to be so low as during the winter. About the 1st of March our river rose and overflowed its banks beyond anything seen before. It swept away our large corn-

tom was then, of course, a primeval forest, and where now stand the immense warehouses of a city were dense thickets of pawpaw and grape-vines. The same concurrence of circumstances may never take place again, but nature sometimes repeats her strange freaks.

"But by far the most destructive flood that ever occurred on the Missouri river was in 1844. It is remembered as the 'great flood of 1844,' and will never be forgotten by those who witnessed its terrible results. It was caused, as usual, by continuous rainfall on the lower river coming on top of the annual June rise. The month of May had been attended with unusual rains and for weeks previous to the 10th of June the precipitation had been unprecedented. The downpour had been almost continuous for weeks. About the 5th of June the water began to overflow the banks, and the river continued to rise until the 18th, when (at Jefferson City) it came to a stand and began to recede. The entire bottom from the Kaw to the mouth of the Missouri was completely submerged, and from bluff to bluff the river presented the appearance of an inland sea. The destruction of property, considering the sparse population, was enormous, and much suffering ensued. The channel of the river was covered with driftwood and houses were frequently seen floating down stream with people clinging to the roofs. Steamboats no longer confined themselves to the channel of the river, but ran the cutoffs through the woods and across cornfields.

"One marked peculiarity of the flood of 1844 was the fact that it was confined entirely to the lower river. It did not extend above Kansas City, and the river above that point during the entire season was unusually low. Capt. Joseph La Barge took the steamer "Omega" to the mouth of the Yellowstone that year, and had great difficulty in ascending the river above St. Joseph on account of the low stage of the water.

"In 1845, and again in 1851, there was unusual high water in the river and all the second bottoms and low sloughs were submerged. The damage to the farms, however, was slight, and nothing to be compared to the destruction of 1844.

"The next most destructive flood in the Missouri river was in 1881. It was not, however, nearly so destructive as the great flood of 1844, and did not overflow the

field, which was near it. This field was renewed, and thirty-five acres of corn planted, and never had the mission a better prospect of a crop. Hopefield was also overflowed for the first time to our knowledge. This was also planted and promised well. But through the summer the rains continued; the ground was wet and the air chilly; sudden changes were common, and may have had great influence in producing the sickness. The most appalling scene, however, was reserved for the month of September. It was in this month, about the middle, that the earth, already overflowing, could no longer drink in the rain that came off upon it. Fresh torrents from the clouds descended; the Neosho commenced its second great rise, and it was great indeed. Mr. Fuller, our farmer, was residing on the bank of the river, near the farm. In the spring the water had risen four feet in his dwelling. They now, as then, placed their furniture in the chamber, and fled with only their wearing apparel to the mission houses. They returned, and lo! the water had swept away their house, with their little all, and it was seen no more. The field of corn, the labor of a summer, was destroyed; all went before the flood. And, also, Hopefield: for there the product of the toil and sweat of the poor Indians—their summer's work and winter's dependence, already gathered into the granaries—was swept away; their log buildings which they had rolled together, their fields and fences, all were swept away in one night, and they escaped houseless to the hills. Our brother, Requa, also, superintends the settlement, and his family were residing there. Supposing the flood could not exceed that in the spring [a foot-note says the water rose ten feet higher than in the spring], they remained till they had to escape for their lives. So rapid was the rise, that they, too, lost all their furniture, except the little they could take off in a small canoe. The loss sustained by the mission the last year, in stock and in corn, but chiefly in corn, cannot be less than \$2000. But the Osage settlers lost their all; at least, all they had gained as the fruit of civilization. It was all swept away as with the besom of destruction; yet, when I returned to the mission, I found that they had not become discouraged."

This flood destroyed the town of Hopefield, a settlement of a dozen Osage families. This Hopefield was four miles from Union, which was south of the Kansas state line. There were two other Hopefields—one about White Hair's village, and one east of the Kansas state line. The record shows that the Rev. Mr. Vail "visited the United States from March 20, 1826, to May 30, 1827."

entire bottom. The second bottoms and low places were all under water, and considerable damage was done, especially in the lower reach of the river. This flood differed from any that had preceded it, in that it occurred in March and the first part of April, and before the mountain rise had arrived in the lower river. It was caused solely by the unusual rainfall, and not from the melting of snow in the Rockies."

THE KANSAS INDIANS IN SHAWNEE COUNTY AFTER 1855.

Written by Miss FANNIE E. COLE, of North Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

MY father, Joseph M. Cole, and family started on their journey to "Sunny Kansas" from Illinois on the morning of May 10, 1855. I was a small girl then, but the memory of that bright and beautiful May morning is vividly before me.

There being no railroads we traveled by wagon, the journey occupying nearly a month.

Of that journey, so momentous and exciting to the imagination of a child, I will not speak, but will pass at once to our early Kansas experiences.

We crossed the line from Missouri into Kansas at Westport late in May (I do not remember the exact date), and journeyed to Lawrence, then only a village, where we remained several days. My mother wished to remain there, but my father having somewhere gotten a pamphlet, setting forth in glowing language the glories and advantages of a certain city named Whitfield, which was described as already possessing elegant residences, banks, schools, etc., while prospects of a university loomed up in the near future, decided not to choose a permanent home until he had visited it.

So we came to Topeka, another insignificant little village, and we wondered why any one was foolish enough to try to build a town there, when the flourishing city of Whitfield was so near, for it was said to be on the magnificent hills across the Kansas river, a few miles north of Topeka. It was indeed a brilliant example of the mendacious imagination of the author of the above mentioned pamphlet, one J. B. Chapman, for when my father visited this city, the site of which he found with some difficulty, there were neither schools, churches nor residences—not even one Indian wigwam—nothing but the vast rolling prairie.

J. B. Chapman was an Ohio man who came to Kansas at the beginning of her career as a territory, and having staked out the city of Whitfield on what is now known as Rochester, three miles north of Topeka, endeavored to create a boom in town lots by writing the pamphlet, a copy of which fell into my father's hands. Chapman's wife was much younger than himself, and was a woman suffragist, and she visited the territorial legislature in the interests of that movement. They both returned to Ohio in the winter of 1855-'56, and we afterwards heard that she separated from her husband, and some years later we heard of his death.

My father settled on a farm near the little town of Indianola, two or three miles west of "Whitfield," consisting of one store or trading-post, and one dwelling occupied by Lewis Vieux, a half-breed Pottawatomie, and quite an intelligent man.

We took possession of our new home June 6, 1855. It was situated on what was known as the "Delaware Trust Land." I suppose that when Kansas formed part of the Indian territory, this tract was a portion of the Delaware re-

serve, which, upon the organization of Kansas into a territory, was by them relinquished to the United States government, to be sold to settlers for their benefit. Our farm lay just north of the third mile of the Kaw half-breed reserve. The Kaws, being a Western tribe of Indians, I think that they once claimed all the area of Kansas, and perhaps more, as their hunting grounds, and when the government made a treaty with them, for the purpose of removing various tribes of Indians from the East to these lands—the Kaws having twenty-three half-breeds in their tribe—reserved twenty-three tracts, each containing one square mile, all lying contiguous to each other on the north bank of the river, extending from the east line of the Pottawatomie reserve, about three or four miles west of Topeka, down to the vicinity of Lecompton. As these tracts followed the course of the river, as a natural consequence some of the miles extended further north than others, and when the government surveys were made there were many fractional “quarters,” as they were called, between the northern lines of these tracts and the sectional lines.

Our farm consisted of one of these fractional quarters, containing something over ninety acres, and forty-six acres of the regular quarter section, the remainder of which formed part of the Indianola town site.

The tract of half-breed land just south of us was occupied by Moses Bellemere, a Canadian Frenchman, whose wife was Adele La Sert, one of the original half-breeds. She was the daughter of Clement La Sert, a Canadian Frenchman, whom I had supposed was a trader among the Kaws. While he lived among them he married a blanketed squaw and they had two or three children. When he left the Kaws he abandoned the squaw, but took the surviving children, a boy and girl, with him. Clement La Sert took for his second wife a woman of the Osage tribe. She was nearly white, having but very little Indian blood in her veins, and she trained his Indian daughter in the ways of the white people. Adele became a fine cook and an exceedingly neat housekeeper, which was in decided contrast to the life she would have led, had she remained with her own mother. She married Mr. Bellemere, who was considerably older than she, and came to live on her allotment several years before we came to Kansas. Her brother having died, without other heirs, she inherited his allotment. Her mother had consoled herself by marrying an Indian, whose name I never knew, but whose mouth was so immense that we always called him “Big Mouth.”

One could hardly have blamed Mrs. Bellemere if she had been ashamed of her mother; certainly she never showed it, but treated the old woman with kindness and respect, and made her children do likewise.

The Indian relatives and friends of the Kaw half-breeds came every summer from their own reservation, at Council Grove, in Morris county, and encamped in the dooryards and around the premises of the Bellemeres, the Papans, the DeAubries, and others. Among them was the chief, La Soupe. He was the tallest Indian I ever saw, and must have been six and a half feet tall. He was not especially handsome, but was imposing looking.

The handsomest Indian I ever saw was a Kaw, who called himself Thomas Jefferson. He had been much with white people, and had traveled with a show, and spoke good English. He had regular features and was certainly very fine looking.

It was related of Thomas Jefferson that he fell in love with a dusky maiden of his own tribe, and one day they strolled to the little town of Indianola, which, I regret to say, was not a prohibition town in those days. He treated her to two glasses of whisky, whereupon, to use his own expression, “she fell down,”

meaning that she became too intoxicated to stand, so he left her in great disgust at her inability to withstand the effects of such a trifling quantity.

Indian women, generally speaking, are far from good looking, but I saw one girl of about fourteen, also a Kaw, who was a beauty, and she was married to a hideous Indian old enough to be her father.

To return to Mrs. Bellemere, she lived on her allotment for many years. When her Indian mother died Mrs. Bellemere refused to allow any Indian ceremonies, but had her attired in neat burial clothes, and buried like white people. Mrs. Bellemere herself died about 1870, and is buried in Rochester cemetery. Her husband and three children survived her. The latter were Joseph, aged about sixteen, Julia, fourteen, and Leonard, seven. She possessed much influence among the Indians, who regarded her as a very superior personage. She had a half-brother, her mother's son, who was quarrelsome, and, when intoxicated, was dangerous, and though Mrs. Bellemere could generally control him, there were times when even she was obliged to keep out of his way. He died young.

After her death Mr. Bellemere married a white woman named Hetty Garmire, whose sister, Margaret, married Garland Cummins, an old Indianola saloon-keeper and an ex-Kickapoo ranger.

In the early days of our residence in Kansas, we knew a man named William Ally, or Captain Ally, as everybody called him, and I think he was a Kentuckian by birth, but went among the Indians as trader when he was a young man, and passed nearly all his life among various tribes. He finally married a half-breed Pottawatomie, who died before we knew him. He used to come to our house and relate some very thrilling adventures, of which the following is one:

He was at that time in charge of a trading-post among one of the wild western tribes—it may have been the Pawnees, but I have forgotten precisely which one—when one day the cabin, occupied as a store, was filled by a band of stern and murderous-looking Indians. One of their number had been guilty of some crime, perhaps cowardice in the face of the enemy. After a solemn trial, he was convicted and sentenced to death. Seeing that they were making preparations for his immediate execution, Captain Ally endeavored to get them out of the building, but an old chief, with a very disgusted expression of countenance, gave him to understand that the blood of the culprit would contaminate the soil of their village, and they immediately carried out the sentence of the court. Captain Ally said it was an awful scene and haunted him for years.

On some of the farms just north of Menoken could be seen, within recent years, and, perhaps, are still visible, large circles in the soil. Many years ago a large village of Kaws was established there. It was probably the village of a chief called Fool Chief, and, judging from the little I have heard of him, I imagine he was well named. Some years ago I taught the Menoken school. In the early springtime these circles showed very plainly all over the level, freshly-plowed fields.

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY TIMES IN KANSAS TERRITORY.

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A REGULAR CAVALRYMAN.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ROBERT MORRIS PECK,* late private Companies E and K, First United States Cavalry, Whittier, Cal.

“**B**UT I had heard of battles, and longed to follow some war-like lord unto the battle-field.” Or words to that effect. That’s how I came to go to Kansas. I was a 17-year-old boy, serving an apprenticeship in a printing-office in Covington, Ky., when I met a gay recruiting sergeant, one day in November, 1856, and that settled it. I then and there “jumped my job,” ran away from home and enlisted for five years in E company, First Cavalry, which regiment was then wintering at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. With a lot of other recruits, I was sent by railroad to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, whence, after being drilled and disciplined throughout the winter, until the ice broke up in the Missouri river, about the last of February, 1857, 300 of us were loaded onto a couple of steamboats—for there were no railroads reaching Kansas then—and started, running the gauntlet of snags and ice up the muddy Missouri.

Just as we neared the western line of Missouri we stopped at what seemed to me a miserably dirty little town, stuck in among hills and hollows, and this, I was told, was the Kansas City, Mo., that I had heard so much about. I volunteered the prophecy that Kansas City could never possibly make much of a town in such a location. The subsequent phenomenal growth of that great railroad center and mart of trade has long ago convinced me that I am neither a prophet nor the remotest relation to one.

As we approached Fort Leavenworth we stopped at another little village that had previously been called New Town, but was now trying to assume city airs under the more dignified title of Leavenworth City. A few business houses fronting on the steamboat landing and along Second street, was about all there was of Leavenworth City then, except the scattering residences back of these, many of which were almost hidden among the scrub-oaks and hazel-brush.

As the “wild and woolly west” unfolded before me, my boyish mind was alive to all the new and strange features peculiarly western that the panorama presented. As the steamer drew slowly in towards the Fort Leavenworth landing we all gathered on the hurricane deck, scanning the Kansas shore with anxiety, to see what our new station looked like; but seeing nothing resembling a fort—no buildings, in fact but a large warehouse near the water’s edge, in front of which an infantry sentry, in full uniform, with bright musket and fixed bayonet, paced stiffly back and forth—I asked an old soldier near me, who had been there before, Where’s the fort? Directing my gaze up over the hill back of the warehouse he pointed to Old Glory floating from the top of the garrison flag-pole, and below it the roofs of some of the buildings. “That’s the fort, about three-quarters of a mile back,” he said.

He next called my attention to the garrison water-works, which was something

* Robert Morris Peck was a resident of Kansas for a few years after the close of the civil war, living at Leavenworth and Baxter Springs. After the expiration of his term of enlistment in the regular army he served as a wagon-master in the army of the frontier. He promises the Society a statement concerning the Harper county bond swindle, which was conceived and planned at Baxter Springs. He has been for years a very popular writer for the *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C.

altogether new and novel to me, and interested me very much. The aforesaid water-works consisted of a six-mule team and wagon driven into the edge of the water about hub deep, and in the wagon eight or ten barrels, with the upper head out, set on end. The "power" was a couple of prisoners from the guard-house, guarded by a sentry with musket and bayonet. One of the prisoners stood on the hub of a wheel, clinging to the top of the wagon-box with one hand, while dipping up water in a large camp-kettle with the other, passing it to the other prisoner who stood in the wagon and emptied the water into the open barrels, which were not covered to keep the water in; and the water-wagon was doing well if it reached the fort with each barrel two-thirds full. The team was then driven around in rear of the officers' and soldiers' quarters, the prisoners dipping the water out and filling the barrels kept near the back doors for that purpose. I subsequently found that this primitive style of water-works was the only kind in use at all of Uncle Sam's frontier posts that I visited. The same system was also still in vogue in many of the towns of Kansas some years after the civil war; and in many of the "back counties" they are probably hauling water in barrels yet.

Fort Leavenworth at that time was anything but an attractive-looking place—nothing to compare with the beautiful post it has since been made—but was even then a post of considerable importance, being the depot for the distribution of supplies for many of the western forts.

On account of the prevailing disturbances between the proslavery and free-state factions a considerable force was kept there. At the time we reached it the garrison consisted of the whole of the First cavalry and Sixth infantry regiments and several companies each of the Fourth artillery and Second Dragoons,* with Colonel Sumner, of the First cavalry, in command of the post.

As many of the officers of our regiment cut something of a figure in the early history of Kansas, and also in the civil war a few years later, it may be of interest to mention the most prominent.

Our colonel, Edwin Vose Sumner, familiarly called "the old Bull o' the Woods," needs no introduction to the early settlers of Kansas. Although then (in 1857) well advanced in years, with hair and beard white as snow, he was still quite vigorous, every inch a soldier, straight as an arrow, and could ride like a Cheyenne. Sumner was the ideal veteran commander, and was idolized by his men. He was a natural-born soldier, and always seemed happiest when there was a fight in sight. He attained rank and fame in the Army of the Potomac, but died, before the struggle was ended, from injuries received in the war.

Our lieutenant colonel, Joseph E. Johnston, was a history-maker on the rebel side during the civil war. We soldiers did not admire "old Joe" as much as we did "old Bull." Johnston was too cautious: he lacked the dash and aggressiveness of Sumner.

Our majors were John Sedgwick and William H. Emory.

Our captains were Wm. N. R. Beall, Delos B. Sackett, Thomas Wood, James McIntosh, Sam. D. Sturgis, William Dessansure, William Walker, Edward W. B. Newby, George Burgwin Anderson, and George H. Stewart.

George B. McClellan had been a captain in the regiment, but had resigned before I enlisted.

*At the beginning of the civil war there were but five mounted regiments in the service: First and Second Dragoons, Mounted Rifles, and First and Second cavalry. In 1861 the designation of all mounted men was changed to cavalry, regiments ranking according to date of organization; the two Dragoon regiments becoming the First and Second cavalry, the Mounted Rifles, Third cavalry, and the former First and Second cavalry coming in as Fourth and Fifth cavalry.

Among our lieutenants were James E. B. Stuart, George D. Bayard, David Stanley, Eugene A. Carr, Frank Wheaton, Eugene Crittenden, Eli Long, David Bell, Jos. H. Taylor, Jas. B. McIntyre, Elmer Otis, John A. Thompson, and others.

Capt. Winfield Scott Hancock, Sixth infantry, who also subsequently became a prominent figure in the civil war, was post-quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth at this time. During the war he was dubbed "Hancock, the Superb," by his fellow officers, and the compliment was well bestowed, for he was one of the handsomest, most magnificent-looking officers I ever saw, and also a first-class soldier and polished gentleman.

The Cheyenne Indians had been on the war-path for a year past, committing all sorts of depredations on the overland routes through Kansas and Nebraska, and orders had been sent out by the war department for Colonel Sumner to take the field in person during the coming summer, hunt the hostiles down, and bring them to terms, or chastise them properly. I will here take occasion to remark that such orders from Washington to punish hostile Indians were generally neutralized by a clause admonishing the commander of the expedition that he must first exhaust all means of conciliation before beginning hostilities.

While waiting for the grass to come, preparatory to starting on the Cheyenne expedition, we were occasionally sent out into the territory, a company here and there, chasing Jim Lane, John Brown, or James Montgomery, and their free-state followers, dispersing or arresting them when we succeeded in catching any of them.

It was noticeable that many of our officers, being Southern men, entered into this sport with considerable zest. Colonel Sumner was a fair and just man, and I believe he tried to deal with impartiality between the factions, but his orders from a proslavery secretary of war compelled him to use considerable harshness at times towards the free-state men.

I was too young then to know much about politics, or to study the political situation deeply, but having been born and raised in Kentucky, in an atmosphere of hostility to everything that savored of free-state doctrines, where a man's life would be in danger if he advocated such principles, I had always heard there but one side of the argument and had naturally imbibed the popular sentiment of my state. But when I got out in the world where I heard both sides of the controversy fairly presented I began to do a little more thinking for myself, with the result that by the time my five years in the army was finished I cast my maiden vote for Abraham Lincoln.

In addition to the Cheyenne expedition another important piece of work was assigned to our troops for the coming summer—that of surveying and marking the southern boundary line of Kansas. Our regiment, ten companies, and six companies of the Sixth infantry, were divided into three commands, and assigned to duty as follows: Four companies of First cavalry and two of the Sixth infantry under command of Lieut.-col. Joe Johnston and accompanied by a party of surveyors, were ordered to proceed south to a designated point on the west line of Missouri, and from there to run out and mark a line westward to the Rocky mountains, as the southern boundary of Kansas territory. I don't think there was any established western limit to Kansas at this time, but the territory was said to extend west to the "divide" of the mountains.

Our Cheyenne expedition was to be divided in two commands. Four companies of the First cavalry, commanded by Major Sedgwick,* were to proceed by

*The family of Maj.-Gen. John Sedgwick published in 1902 his correspondence in two volumes, covering the period from July 23, 1845, to April 26, 1864. General Sedgwick graduated at West Point July 1, 1833, and served continuously in the army of the United States until May 9,

way of the Santa Fe road and upper Arkansas river to the foot of the mountains, unless the Cheyennes were sooner found: thence over to the South Platte and down that river till meeting Colonel Sumner's command, which, consisting of the remaining two companies of the First cavalry and four of the Sixth infantry, were to go from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, thence on to Fort Laramie, and then back across to the South Platte to form a junction with Sedgwick. If the hostiles had not been found by either command in this time, a pack-mule expedition was to be fitted out by the two commands united, to scour the country between the South Platte and Arkansas in search of them. Each of these three commands was reenforced by a couple of twelve-pounder mountain howitzers, drawn by four mules to each piece, and manned by detailed dismounted cavalrymen.

On the 18th of May, 1857, Sedgwick's command, four companies of the First cavalry, marched out of Fort Leavenworth, starting on this expedition. The company I belonged to, E, (Capt. S. D. Sturgis) was with Sedgwick, and Sturgis was the ranking captain of Sedgwick's party. Next day Lieut.-col. Joe Johnston started on the boundary-line expedition. A day or so later Colonel Sumner's command, the other half of our Cheyenne expedition, took the road for Fort Kearney.

As we (Sedgwick's command) marched westward, we found the settlements of Kansas few and scattering, generally being confined to the timber along the watercourses, most of the prairie land being yet unoccupied. Easton, on the Little Stranger creek, and Osawkee, on the Grasshopper, were mere hamlets, of probably a dozen houses each. At Hickory Point, where there was but one dwelling-house and a blacksmith shop, the property of a Mr. Lowe, a cannon-ball hole in the shop was pointed out to me by one of the old soldiers as having been recently made in a "scrap" between the proslavery and free-state men.

Passing through Indianola, on Soldier creek, we crossed the Kaw river a little beyond, fording the river on our horses, but ferrying our wagons over, one team at a time, on a flatboat, pulled back and forth by means of a rope stretched between trees on opposite banks, entering the old Santa Fe road just after crossing the Kaw, a few miles west of Topeka.

Council Grove, a small village at this time, was the farthest western settlement on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas, except Allison's ranch, at the mouth of Walnut creek, five miles west of the Big Bend (the point where the Santa Fe road first strikes the Arkansas going west), and Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas, where Fort Wise was afterwards built. Just south of Council Grove the government had established a reservation, agency and mission for the Kaw tribe of Indians, where teachers, preachers, farmers and mechanics were trying to teach them the arts of peace—more particularly, how to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows—but with indifferent success; for Mr. Lo invariably develops an inherent horror of labor, and would sooner raise hell and hair any time than corn. After passing Council Grove we were fairly on the plains and saw little more of timber, consequently had to depend mostly on buffalo-chips for fuel; and the prairie chickens, which were so numerous in the Kansas settlements that they were a great nuisance to the farmers, were seen no more after we struck the plains.

1864, when he was killed by a sharpshooter while making preparations for the battle of Spottsylvania. His service in Kansas is given as follows: "On frontier duty at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., 1855; quelling Kansas border disturbances, 1855-'56; Cheyenne expedition, 1857, being engaged in the action on Solomon fork of the Kansas, July 29, 1857, and skirmish near Grand Saline, August 6, 1857; Utah expedition, 1857-'58; Fort Leavenworth, Kan., 1858; Fort Riley, Kan., 1858-'59, 1859-'60; in command of Kiowa and Comanche expedition, 1860; and at Fort Wise, Colo., 1860-'61."

At Cottonwood creek, about fifty miles west of the Grove, we saw the first buffalo, a few scattering small bands appearing at a distance; but from there on their numbers increased amazingly, and, when in the thick of their range, we were often in great danger from the stampeding of the vast swarms of these animals that covered the prairie in every direction, for when those immense herds started on a run it was impossible either to stop or turn them out of their course. Of late years I hesitate to tell people of the vast numbers of buffalo I have seen at one sight on the plains in those early times, for when doing so I often find my listeners looking at me with an incredulous smile, that seems to say: "He is another one of those old frontier liars we've heard about." One who has never seen them can scarcely comprehend the vastness of those herds. Some seasons they would be found ranging farther east or west than others, the distance through the herds east and west varying from 150 to 200 miles. They drifted north in summer and south in winter.

The first settlement of prairie-dogs that I noticed was at the Little Arkansas, but from that time on throughout the trip we were seldom out of sight of these interesting little animals.

As we were approaching the Big Bend, crossing the level stretch of eight miles between the Plum Buttes and the Arkansas river, with our beef herd and a train of about fifty six-mule teams strung out behind us, we had an exciting bit of experience in a buffalo stampede, a description of which may assist the reader to realize the immensity of the herds of these animals near the center of their range. This stampede might have resulted in a direful calamity to us but for the prompt action of Captain Sturgis, who, having been in such a predicament before many times, knew just what to do and how to do it.

Sedgwick, though an old officer in the service, had never had much experience on the plains, having been in the artillery for nearly twenty years, and the sight of that brown mass of animals—so vast in extent that we could see no end in flank or depth—thundering towards us in an irresistible torrent, made him turn pale, as he appealed to Sturgis: "Sturgis, what'll we do?"

"Time is too precious for explanations now, major," replied the captain; "better turn the command over to me for a little while—I'll steer you through it."

"Take command, captain, take command, and give your orders," replied Sedgwick, eagerly.

Before the last word was out of Sedgwick's mouth Sturgis was giving his commands: "Orderly bugler, give my compliments to company commanders and say that Captain Sturgis is in command. Then hurry on back to the train as fast as you can go, and give my compliments to the quartermaster and tell him to corral his wagons quickly, in as small a space as possible, teams heading south, with the beef cattle inside the corral."

The buffalo were coming from the north. In another moment Sturgis had us headed about and going back to the train on a gallop. At the start of the stampede the buffalo had been probably two miles or more from us. On reaching the train, which was being hurriedly formed in corral, with the beef herd on the inside, as ordered, Sturgis halted us and commanded: "Dismount, to fight on foot!" This leaves each No. 4 holding the horses of the other three men of his set. We quickly "formed ranks," after dismounting, and were then marched out, on "double quick," about a hundred yards to meet the buffalo. Our flanks were then thrown back, forming us in the shape of a huge V, with the point towards the coming herd, and the open ends of the V enclosing our horses and train.

The stampede was now coming near, driving right at us, making the earth

tremble, presenting a solid front as far as we could see, right and left. To me it was a fearful sight, for I thought, "What will be left of us when that dense avalanche of horns and hoofs sweeps over us?" I had been told that we were to split the herd by firing into them, but could not see how they could find room to divide, they were crowded so closely together. However, when the command was given, "Commence firing," we poured into their faces such a sheet of fire and lead from our Sharp's rifles that they did the impossible, splitting, by crowding savagely to the right and left, actually climbing over each other in their frantic efforts to avoid our withering fire, thus making an opening that cleared our train and horses; but that torrent of brown wool went right on without any perceptible check in its speed.

We stood there loading and firing as fast as we could work our pieces, boxes of cartridges being brought up from the ammunition wagons and placed in rear of each company to keep us supplied, and it seemed at times that in spite of our efforts we were doomed to be overwhelmed by that living tornado: the dust they kicked up was often blinding to us, as well as to the buffalo, and we had been crowded back, inch by inch, till we were closely packed about our horses and wagons, when we were greatly relieved to perceive a thinning and straggling in the threatening mass, and were glad to hear the command to "Cease firing." The danger, with the buffalo, had passed, leaving the ground around us covered with dead and badly crippled buffalo, while many wounded ones went limping on after the stampedes. I heard one of the officers say, as he looked at his watch, that it lacked but a few minutes of half an hour from the command "Commence firing" to "Cease firing," with the buffalo going on a steady lope all the time.

We cut up and stowed away in our wagons the choicest meat from some of the young and tender buffalo, and leaving the rest of the killed and crippled for a grand feast for the wolves, we moved on to the Big Bend, camping on the bank of the river. Next morning we passed Allison's ranch, at the mouth of Walnut creek. Be it understood that these frontier "ranches," as they were called, were mere trading-posts, no efforts being made by the proprietors at any agricultural pursuits or stock raising. They were there to catch the trade of travelers and Indians, and usually kept a small stock of such goods as the trade demanded. They also made profitable speculations in trading for the lame or give-out animals of passing trains or emigrant outfits, and after recuperating, selling them again to other travelers.

As a necessary precaution against Indian attacks, these ranches were always enclosed by walls or palisades, the ranch buildings being strung around the inside of the enclosure, leaving an open court or corral in the center of sufficient capacity to contain all the animals belonging to the establishment. For traffic with Indians a long, narrow opening, about waist-high, to be closed when need be by a drop-door on the inside, was made in that side of the storeroom that formed a part of the enclosing wall, and through this slit all trade with the redskins was conducted, thus avoiding the risk of admitting them to the enclosure. A watch tower was frequently built on a prominent corner of the wall, and in dangerous times a lookout was maintained day and night.

Our road from the Big Bend westward lay along the north bank of the Arkansas river, sometimes several miles off, sometimes close in.

Old Fort Atkinson, at the western junction of the "dry route" and river road, had been abandoned by the government several years previous to our trip, and nothing was left standing of it but some of the corners of the old 'dobe walls, about as high as a man's shoulders. The nearest timber to Fort Atkinson

was fourteen miles north, on a branch of Pawnee Fork, that has since been named Sawlog creek. Previous to its occupation as a military post by the government, the site of Fort Atkinson had been held by a trading post, conducted first by one Mann, and subsequently by one Macky, and the place was frequently spoken of by old plainsmen as Mann's Fort, or Fort Macky, and these names were used to indicate the place about as often as Fort Atkinson.

About fifteen or eighteen miles west of the ruins of old Fort Atkinson was the Santa Fe crossing of the Arkansas. The crossing was opposite—almost under—a high bluff, that overlooked the ford and surrounding country for some distance. In recent historical sketches, I have noticed some diversity of opinion between writers as to the relative location of and distance between old Fort Atkinson and the Santa Fe crossing, varying from eight to twenty-six miles. I have traveled the road and camped many times at both places, and we always considered it a short day's march between them, and we usually called the distance fifteen or eighteen miles, but I never knew the exact measurement.

We had passed the western limit of the buffalo herds that season when we reached old Fort Atkinson, and saw no more of them beyond there. At the Santa Fe crossing, of course, we parted company with that famous old trail, and traveled along the north bank of the river on a well-worn road, then called the California trail.

The Santa Fe road, from the Arkansas to the Cimarron, then ran about due north and south on the sixty-mile stretch, without water, called the "journeda," for I remember to have noticed, in traveling it afterwards by night, coming from the Cimarron to the Arkansas, that we were going towards the north star all night.

All the freight for the western country was then transported across the plains in wagon trains, sometimes of mule teams, sometimes oxen. We had met several of these outfits from New Mexico, going into the states for goods, their wagons being usually empty, but sometimes carrying light loads of wool in huge sacks, that being about the only commodity that New Mexico exported. We had also overtaken and passed some freight trains going out loaded, and several emigrant outfits *en route* to California. The teamsters employed in the New Mexico trains were mostly Mexicans.

Frequent graves were to be seen along the roadside, many of them being marked by rude wooden crosses. Such almost invariably indicated the last resting place of some Mexican, who is always a Catholic. I had noticed, too, but thought it the result of carelessness in placing the crosses on the graves, that nearly all these cross-pieces were in a slanting position, but on mentioning this peculiarity to one of the old soldiers, he informed me that when the horizontal piece was slanted it meant, "died with his boots on," or a violent death—usually killed by Indians—and that where the cross-piece was fastened at right angles to the upright (and these were few, for people seldom die of disease on the plains), it signified, "died on the square," or a natural death.

Major Sedgwick had employed at Leavenworth, as guides, scouts and trailers for the expedition, a half-dozen Delaware Indians from their reservation on the Kaw river, near Lawrence. They were under the command of old Fall Leaf, a noted chief of their tribe. The Delawares had then adopted white men's garb and ways to a great extent, and were far superior to the plains Indians. They did us excellent service throughout the trip.

The Arkansas river, from where we first struck it, at Big Bend, to some distance west of the Santa Fe crossing, was a broad, shallow stream, showing many sand-bars and islands, but no timber except a few scattering trees now and then

on some of the islands, but as we approached the mountains we found more timber along the river banks, and the stream grew narrower and deeper.

Bent's Fort, on the upper Arkansas, was the second white man's habitation we struck after leaving Council Grove. It was admirably located on a high bluff that overlooked the river and adjacent bodies of timber, and commanded a view of the surrounding country for miles. It was a typical frontier trading post, and, with its motley crew of retainers and hangers-on of Mexicans, Indians, French-Canadian and white trappers, and their various equipments and appurtenances, made quite an interesting picture of frontier life. There had originally been three of the Bent brothers engaged in trapping and Indian trading on the frontier—William, Charles and Robert—and, although I subsequently became well acquainted with "Colonel" Bent,* who was the only survivor of the three, and the proprietor of Bent's Fort at the time of which I write, yet I cannot recall his Christian name. We usually addressed him as "Colonel," or spoke of him as "Old Bent." He had held the position of Indian agent under the government for several years, hence his title of "Colonel," it being customary to confer the title of "Major" or "Colonel" on Indian agents as a matter of courtesy.

Bent was then (1857) out of office, but the agency of the five tribes—Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Northern Comanches, and Prairie Apaches—was still maintained at his post, "Maj." A. B. Miller having succeeded Bent as agent.† Bent had a Cheyenne squaw for his wife, and quite a flock of half-breed children. The three older ones, Charlie, Bob and Mary were nearly grown, and had been educated in a Catholic school in St. Louis, Mo. Charlie Bent, a few years later, became notorious as a leader of the hostile Cheyennes, and gained the reputation of being one of the worst Indians on the plains.

Shortly after passing Bent's Fort, following the California trail up the river, we got our first sight of the snow-covered summit of Pike's Peak, resting on the western horizon like a small white cloud, which many of us thought it really was: but day after day, as we marched towards it, the white cloud grew larger, higher, and plainer, other mountains on each side of it coming into view, till in a few days it seemed like we were running up against the whole Rocky Mountain range.

Near the mouth of a creek called Fountain que Bouille, we turned off from the Arkansas and struck over the divide for the head of Cherry creek, passing through some fine bodies of pine timber. At a point shortly before leaving the Arkansas, a small collection of 'dobe shanties on the opposite bank of the river had been pointed out to me as Pueblo, then a small settlement of Mexicans and trappers.

Soon after reaching Cherry creek, while marching down it, we met a party of six or eight men—Missourians, and all afoot—with a little old wagon drawn by

*Wm. W. Bent was agent for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in 1859 and 1860, making a report the former year. He was also one of the commissioners for the United States in the treaty with the Comanches and Kiowas on the Little Arkansas, near Kansas, October 18, 1865. See note about the Bent brothers, Historical Society Collections, volume 7, page 327.

†Three years later (1860), the government, through Major Sedgwick, bought Bent out and we (Sedgwick's command) built Fort Wise (name afterwards changed to Fort Lyon) in the low flat, on the river bank just above, using Bent's old establishment on the hill as a commissary and quartermaster's store. The selection of that low bottom, which had only about eight feet elevation above the low-water stage, as the sight for locating a permanent post, always seemed to me to show very poor judgment in Sedgwick and his officers, for they ought to have known that the annual "June rise" in the Arkansas river was liable to inundate that low ground and compel its evacuation, which actually occurred a year or so later, and was the cause of the abandonment of the post, the government again buying Bent out, and building new Fort Lyon, twenty-five miles up the river.

a single yoke of steers, driven by a big "buck nigger," the slave of one of the men, on their way back to Missouri. *These men were the first discoverers of gold in the Pike's Peak region.* I have always been sorry that I did not ascertain their names, and more about them, in order to give them the credit to which they are entitled, for giving to the country so important a discovery. The honor of this discovery has been claimed by others, but I am satisfied that those Missourians were the first to make known to the public the presence of gold in that part of the country. Remember this was all Kansas territory then.

Those men had a wounded comrade lying in their wagon who had accidentally shot himself through the hand, in pulling his rifle out of the wagon muzzle foremost, a day or so before we met them: the wound had reached the gangrene stage, and they halted to ask surgical aid from our doctor. Our surgeon decided that it would be necessary to take the man along with us, and while halting to bring up a wagon and transfer the man, we got a chance to talk to them a little, and they told us their troubles. I think they had been in the mountains between the mouth of Cherry creek and Pike's Peak all winter and spring prospecting, and had found plenty of gold, some of which they showed us, put up in bottles and little buckskin bags.

They had originally intended to keep the discovery of gold a secret, but the Indians had run off all their stock except the yoke of steers, and had otherwise made life such a burden to them that they finally concluded the only way to make mining safe and profitable was to go back to Missouri, proclaim their discovery, make up a strong party that would be able to hold their own against the Indians, and return determined to have "the dust."

We parted company with them—they continuing on towards the States, and we moving on down to the mouth of Cherry creek, where Denver now stands, and camped, on the 29th of June, 1857. The next day being our regular bimonthly muster day, we laid over at this camp, and were mustered for two month's pay.* Our surgeons, Doctors Covey† and Brewer,‡ amputated the wounded prospector's hand at this camp, and a few days later found it necessary to take his arm off above the elbow.

The California trail, which we had been following, crosses the South Platte here, just below (north of) the mouth of Cherry creek, and seems to take through the mountains, while we leave it and follow down the right bank of the river on a dim wagon-trail that did not appear to be used much.

This part of Kansas Territory was literally a "howling wilderness," with little indication of its having been occupied or traversed by white men, except the old wagon-road we had been traveling, with here and there a stump and a few chips by the roadside, as the mark of some California emigrant. Game was very abundant, and comparatively tame. Herds of elk, antelope, and deer were frequently seen from the trail as we marched along, and occasionally a bear. Old Fall Leaf and his Delawares proved to be expert hunters, as well as good guides

* Wherever we happened to be on the last days of February, April, June, August, October, and December, we were always mustered for two month's pay at a time. This did not necessarily imply pay, for we would not get the money until we got back to Fort Leavenworth, or in reach of a paymaster somewhere else.

† Edward N. Covey, Maryland. Assistant surgeon, August 29, 1856; resigned June 1, 1861. Died September 1867.

‡ In special order No. 59 of Lieut. Stephen D. Lee, dated Fort Leavenworth, April 27, 1858, naming troops to be sent to Fort Scott, on the requisition of Governor Denver, is the following paragraph: "V. Assistant Surgeon Chas. Brewer, medical department, is assigned to duty with this command."

and trailers, for they almost kept the command in fresh game meat while we were traveling through this foot-hills country.

We had one or two desertions shortly after leaving Cherry creek, and our officers seemed to fear that the reported gold discovery had caused these men to abscond for the purpose of going into the mountains prospecting. For fear of others being led to desert to go gold hunting they caused to be circulated through the camp reports that the rumored gold discovery was a fake, and instructed the wounded prospector to contradict his first statements and deny the discovery of gold in paying quantities.

On the second day's march down the South Platte, after leaving the mouth of Cherry creek, we passed the ruins of three old abandoned trading posts, a few miles apart, which I was told were formerly called respectively: Forts Lupton, Lancaster and St. Vrain, after their several owners. They seemed to have been abandoned several years, nothing remaining but the crumbling 'dobe walls. Inside the walls of one we found a small cannon, apparently about a four-pounder, without carriage, half buried in the crumbling dirt. This piece had probably been disabled and left by the proprietor when he abandoned the place. We left it as we found it.

On the Fourth of July we laid over on the bank of the Platte, and, with our two howitzers, fired our national salute of thirty-two guns in honor of the day.

We had now got clear of the foot-hills and timbered country and were back again on the plains. We had expected to form a junction with Colonel Sumner's command somewhere in this part of the country, but had not heard a word from them since leaving Fort Leavenworth. As the echo of our last gun died away we were cheered by the answering boom of cannon from down the river, and distinctly counted thirty-two guns. Of course, we understood that this must be from Colonel Sumner, and Major Sedgwick immediately dispatched one of Fall Leaf's young Delawares to the colonel's camp, which was found to be about fifteen miles down and on the opposite side of the river, near the mouth of Crow creek.

Next day we moved down opposite the colonel's camp, and in fording the river to join him got a lot of our horses and mule teams mired in the quicksands,* but finally got over without the loss of an animal.

Sumner's command, two companies of cavalry and four of the Sixth infantry, had come by Fort Kearney, and then went on to Fort Laramie, on the North Platte, and, hearing nothing of the Cheyennes in that direction, he had come

*Here, in the middle of the South Platte, was the first time and place that I ever remember to have seen P. G. Lowe, Colonel Sumner's chief wagon-master, who there assumed control of our trains. One of Wagon-master Cecil's teams had bogged down, and Cecil was sitting there on his riding mule looking bewildered and helpless, and seemed afraid of getting himself wet. Lowe came riding up on a horse, and — well, the language he used to Cecil I'm sure he never learned in Sunday school. It was both emphatic and persuasive, for he made Cecil get down in the water, nearly waist-deep, and hold up above water the head of a mule that was about to drown, until he could get help enough to work the team out. It was a way Lowe had of exhorting bashful wagon-bosses and teamsters. I afterwards served as assistant wagon-master under him at Fort Leavenworth during the war, and got so I could understand his language perfectly.

[Percival G. Lowe still lives in Leavenworth, and has attained great prominence in Kansas public affairs. For biographical sketch see vol. 7, p. 101. He has written several chapters of early recollections for the State Historical Society, notably, "Kansas, as Seen in the Indian Territory," vol. 4, p. 360, and "Recollections of Fort Riley," vol. 7, p. 101. He is now publishing in the Journal of the United States Cavalry Association, Fort Leavenworth, a series of articles entitled, "Five Years a Dragoon." A marvellous interest attaches to the days when the solitude of these prairies was broken only by the Indian and the buffalo. Mr. Lowe's story is five years preceding Mr. Peck, or from 1849 to 1854. — SECRETARY.]

across from Fort Laramie to this camp. At Fort Kearney the colonel had hired a squad of Pawnees for guides and trailers, judging that their hereditary enmity for the Cheyennes would prompt them to a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, but they proved to be inefficient and not at all comparable to our Delawares. We lay at this camp five days, preparing for a pack-mule expedition across the country from the South Platte to the Arkansas, in quest of the Cheyennes.

On the 13th of July, with twenty days' rations on our pack-mules and otherwise lightly equipped, we crossed the river, leaving our trains of six-mule teams under charge of P. G. Lowe, chief wagon-master, escorted by a company of the Sixth infantry, to return to Fort Laramie for a supply of rations and forage, and then again to come back to the South Platte, about the old Salt Lake crossing, and there await orders from Sumner.

The wounded gold prospector, whom I have mentioned, was left with our train and I never heard of him again, but suppose he recovered and returned to his home in Missouri.

I think most of the officers and soldiers of our pack-mule outfit fully expected that we would find and clean out the Cheyennes and get back to our supply-train within the twenty days for which we were rationed. But I doubt whether Colonel Sumner and the more experienced men anticipated such an easy job, for it was said of the "old bull o' the woods" that whenever he started on such a trip he never expected to get back in twice the time of his rations, and during the last half after rations had run out, his command was liable to have to subsist on their pack-mules or horses, if he struck a warm trail.

We left all extra luggage with our wagons, such as tents, blankets, and overcoats, taking no clothing but what we wore, and no bedding but our saddle-blankets, lightening ourselves and our horses of every pound that could possibly be dispensed with. We took no wheeled vehicles except one two-mule ambulance for the use of the sick, and the four mountain howitzers, which were united in a four-gun battery under command of Second Lieut. Geo. D. Bayard, of G. company. We were *entirely* without shelter. The colonel took along a tent-fly, to use for headquarters and adjutant's office, and one fly was allowed for the hospital.

After crossing the river we followed down the south bank of the South Platte, eastward, for three or four days, and then bore away in a southeast direction. Our guides seemed to have ascertained or guessed something of the whereabouts of the Cheyenne village, and led us as though they knew where they were going: though the old lodge-pole trail we were following was by no means fresh — apparently not having been used for a year or more.

On the sixteenth day from the time of leaving our train, on the 29th of July, traveling generally in a southeast course, we found the Cheyennes, and thought for awhile that we had "found more Indians than we had lost." During the previous day our Delaware scouts, who usually kept the country explored for ten or twelve miles in advance and on each flank, had found some fresh signs. The country being somewhat broken in many places, for we were near the headwaters of Solomon river, Colonel Sumner had taken the precaution to march the command in three columns, "*en echelon*" (a sort of stair-step formation), from which they could be brought quickly into line, to meet an attack from the front, rear, or either flank. Our pack-mules were kept close in our rear. The three infantry companies, and sometimes the battery, would unavoidably drop to the rear in rough ground, but we made frequent short halts to allow them to close up. Be it remembered that this was all a treeless prairie, with seldom even a bush to be seen.

On this day (July 29), about ten o'clock A. M., old Fall Leaf sent one of his Delawares galloping back from the front to report to Colonel Sumner that his trailers had sighted a small party of Indians, some distance ahead, who seemed to be retreating as our scouts advanced. This proved to be a reconnoitering party of Cheyennes who had been sent out to watch us, and were falling back on the main body as we approached. Colonel Sumner seemed to fear that the Cheyennes were all on the retreat and might escape us; so he determined to push on with the six companies of cavalry, and try to bring the enemy to a fight, even if he had to leave the infantry and artillery behind. And it is probable that the Indians had planned to draw us out in a rapid pursuit of that decoy party, and after getting us well strung out to fall on us with their whole force and clean us up in detail; for, as we afterwards learned, they had no notion of running from us. Instead, they had come out fifteen miles from their village, selected their ground to fight on, and were coolly awaiting our approach apparently so confident of defeating us that they had made no preparations for moving their village, a precaution they seldom neglect when they are about to have a fight near their camps.

As soon as the colonel got the word that the Indians had been sighted, he halted the command and sent orders to all company commanders to see that their men were prepared for action. At the command, we dismounted, tightened up saddle-girths, and examined arms and equipments to see that everything was in fighting order. Little preparation was necessary, however, for we had frequently been admonished on the trip to keep our "kits" in good shape, and were always ready for a call. As soon as the captains remounted their companies and reported ready for action, the "old man" rode out in front of the center column and made a little speech. He had a very loud, strong voice, and I think this, together with his well-known fighting proclivities, had probably earned for him the name "Bull o' the Woods," by which sobriquet his men were fond of speaking of their old white-headed, white-bearded fighting colonel. His speech on this occasion was about as follows: "My men! the enemy is at last in sight. I don't know how many warriors the Cheyennes can bring against us, but I do know that if officers and men obey orders promptly, and all pull together, we can whip the whole tribe. I have the utmost confidence in my officers and soldiers. Bugler, sound the advance!"

As the clear notes of the bugle rang out, followed by the captains' "Column forward! march!" we again struck the trail, and all seemed encouraged by the colonel's confidence. This was the first bugle-call we had heard for several days, Sumner having dispensed with those signals lately, lest the sound might be borne to the ears of some scouting Cheyenne; but now there was no longer any use for such precaution. A few minutes after we had resumed the march, the notes of "Trot!" reached us from the colonel's orderly-bugler, and each captain commanded: "Trot! March!" Our pack-mules were also put in a trot, and kept close in our rear. The infantry, of course, now dropped behind. Lieutenant Bayard's battery kept up with us for a little while, but soon, in crossing a miry little creek, some of his mules bogged down, and we left them floundering in the mud, with Bayard swearing a blue streak at the unfortunate detention. We saw no more of the infantry or battery until after the fight.

It seemed a little reckless of the colonel to scatter his command this way, and attack an enemy of unknown numbers on their chosen ground with only a part of his force, but he had probably estimated all the chances and was so much afraid that the Indians would get away from us that he decided to try to bring them to a fight and take the risk of either whipping them or holding them till

our reinforcements came up. Deducting the "sick, lame, and lazy," who had been left behind with the train, and the men on detail manning the battery and attending to the pack-mules, we had scarcely an average of fifty fighting men in the ranks of each company of cavalry—a little less than 300 men all told—ready to go into action.

As we came down a hollow from the upland prairie, debouching onto the Solomon river bottom, and rounded a bluff-point that had obstructed our view to the eastward, before us and extending down along the north bank of the river, was an almost level valley of several miles, at the lower end of which stood a few scattering cottonwood trees. About these trees we could see a dense mass of moving animals that at first looked like a distant herd of buffalo. But we had been told by our guides that we were more than two days' march west of the buffalo range. Several of the officers halted long enough to take a look through their field glasses, and promptly announced: "They are Indians, all right, and a swarm of them, but no sign of lodges; they seem to have been halted about those trees, and are now mounting and moving this way."

Soon we began to see the glint of a rifle barrel or lance point here and there, reflecting the rays of the sun. We afterwards discovered that the Cheyennes had been awaiting our arrival several hours, in the vicinity of the trees, had coolly unsaddled and turned their horses out to graze, and they and their mounts were well-rested and fresh when the fight began, while we and our horses were quite jaded. We found near those trees, after the fight, a number of their saddles, blankets, and other impedimenta that they had discarded; for, on going into battle, the Indian warrior wants the free use of every limb and muscle, usually dispensing with everything in the way of clothing but his "gee-string," leggings, and moccasins, often doffing even his leggings, many times throwing off his saddle and riding barebacked, to give his horse more freedom of action.

When the Indians had approached near enough that we could make a rough estimate of their numbers we saw that they greatly outnumbered us, and noticed that they were advancing in a well-formed line of battle, but differing from our formation in being several ranks deep, and preserving sufficient intervals between the men to give each perfect freedom of action. And all the time they were yelling as if

"All the fiends from heaven that fell
Had pealed the battle-cry of hell."

Things happen pretty lively and thought flies like lightning at such a time. I remember to have thought, as I made a mental estimate of our chances, while we got into line, "Of course we 'll have to whip them, for it's a groundhog case; but I wish the infantry and battery were here, for I'm afraid 'Old Bull' has bit off more than he can chew." If the colonel thought anything of the kind there was no sign of it, for he never hesitated, but went right ahead as though the prospect just suited him. The men used to say they believed he would fight a buzz-saw.

Just when we were nearly in rifle range of the enemy we saw our old Delaware chief, Fall Leaf, dash out from our line till he got about midway between the two bodies, when he suddenly halted his horse, raised his rifle, and fired at the Cheyennes. As he turned and rode back, followed by several shots from the enemy, we heard Colonel Sumner say in a loud voice to Lieut. David Stanley, who was beside him: "Bear witness, Lieutenant Stanley, that an Indian fired the first shot!"

It is probable that he had been hampered by one of those milk-and-water orders from Washington, to "first exhaust all means to conciliate the Indians be-

fore beginning hostilities," and he seemed relieved to be able to establish the fact that an Indian fired the first shot, pretending not to have noticed that said first shot was fired by one of his own Indian scouts and not by a Cheyenne. Up to this time the colonel was possibly expecting that the Cheyennes might halt, display a white flag and request a "pow-wow," but now that he could establish the fact that an Indian begun hostilities, he was under no obligations to wait longer for peaceful overtures from them to satisfy the demands of the weak-kneed sentimentalists of the East.

When the Cheyennes were almost in rifle-shot they were outflanking us both right and left. Our right was moving along the bank of the river. A large party of the Indians had crossed the river, and, after passing our right, was about to recross and come in our pack-train in the rear. They were also turning our left, all the while keeping up that infernal yelling. Noticing that the Cheyennes were turning our left, the colonel ordered Captain Beall (the left company) to deploy his company to the left and head them off. He seemed to have determined to offset the disparity of numbers by a bold dash that would create a panic in the enemy's ranks, and roared out, "Sling — carbine!" then immediately, "Draw — saber!" and we knew the old man was going to try a saber charge on them.

I noticed with some surprise that when the command "Draw — saber" was given (which I then thought was a serious mistake in the colonel) and our three hundred bright blades flashed out of their scabbards, the Cheyennes, who were coming on at a lope, checked up. The sight of so much cold steel seemed to cool their ardor. The party that had started to cross the river after passing our right also hesitated, and Captain Beall, with his company deployed to the left, easily turned back those that were turning our left flank. I then said to myself, "I guess 'Old Bull' knows what he is doing, after all; he knows the Indians will not stand a saber charge." And so it proved.

At their first checking of speed, a fine-looking warrior mounted on a spirited horse, probably their chief, dashed up and down in front of their line, with the tail of his war-bonnet flowing behind, brandishing his lance, shouting to his warriors, and gesticulating wildly, evidently urging his men to stand their ground, when he saw symptoms of a panic among them. Many of us found time to admire his superb horsemanship, for he presented a splendid sight as he wheeled his horse, charging back and forth, twirling the long lance over his head now and then.

The Indians had almost ceased their yelling, had slowed down almost to a walk and were wavering. We had kept a steady trot, but now came the command in the well-known roar of "Old Bull," "Gallop — march!" and then immediately "CHARGE!" and with a wild yell we brought our sabers to a "tierce point" and dashed at them.

All their chief's fiery pleading could not hold them then, for every redskin seemed suddenly to remember that he had urgent business in the other direction, but as they wheeled to run they sent a shower of arrows toward us, by way of a "parting shot" as it were. Few of the missiles, however, took effect. They scattered as they ran, some going to the north, some east, but by far the greater number struck across the river and went south; and these, as we afterwards discovered, were heading for their village, which was about fifteen miles south of the Solomon, on the next creek.

Our men, of course, became much scattered in following them, fighting occasionally, when a party of the Indians could be overtaken and brought to bay,

but their horses were fresh and well rested, while ours were jaded. It was a running fight, mostly a chase, for about seven miles, when the colonel had "recall" sounded, calling us back to the Solomon where the fight began. Our pack-mules had been ordered halted there when the charge was made to await the result.

It was estimated that about thirty Cheyennes were killed, though they were scattered over the country so far and wide that it was almost impossible to count the dead correctly. If it had not been for the fact that a number of their horses had stuck in the quicksands while crossing the river, we would have got but few of them. Some ten or twelve Indians who had been compelled to abandon their mired horses in the river, and who had reached the further side afoot, were soon overtaken and killed on the slope of the hill after crossing. They fought like devils as long as there was breath in them, never seeming to entertain the idea of surrendering, for they generally believed that if taken alive they would be tortured to death the same as they would have served us if taken prisoner by them. It was here on the slope of the hill, after crossing the river, that most of their casualties occurred. Quite a number of the dismounted Indians escaped by being taken up behind others of their comrades who had got through with their horses, but many of these were overtaken on account of the double load.

Besides the dread of torture, Indians consider it a great disgrace to surrender while yet able to fight. As a rare instance of disregard of this rule, one strap-ping big Cheyenne, who had lost his horse, but was not wounded at all, surrendered to a party of our men, without offering any resistance, seeing that there was no chance of escape.

When I got back to the Solomon river, after the "recall" had been sounded, I found the colonel establishing camp on the south bank, about opposite the ground where we made the charge. The three companies of the Sixth infantry and Lieutenant Bayard's battery were just crossing the river, coming into camp, all cursing their luck at being left behind. The hospital tent fly had been hastily put up to shelter the wounded from the hot sun, and I went there immediately after finding my company's camp and unsaddling and picketing out my horse, anxious to learn who had been killed or wounded. At the corner of the hospital tent my attention was first drawn to two still forms, side by side, covered by a saddle-blanket, and on turning back the blanket I was shocked to meet the dead face of an intimate comrade, Private George Cade, of G company, and alongside of him Private Lynch, of A company. A small hole in Cade's breast, over the heart, showed where a Cheyenne's arrow had gone through him, which must have killed him instantly.

Lynch had been shot several times with arrows and twice with his own pistol, and a cut around the edge of his hair, with the edge of the scalp turned back, showed that the Indians had also attempted to scalp him. He had been detailed to lead his company's pack-mules for the day, and was so occupied just before we came into line to make the charge. Seeing his first sergeant passing near, Lynch called to him to ask if he could n't send another man to relieve him, as he wanted to go into the fight. The sergeant replied: "No time for any change now, Lynch; you'll have to stay and hold the mules," and then rode on to join his company. Just then the charge was ordered. Lynch was heard to exclaim, indignantly: "Hold hell in a fight! Does he suppose I've come all this way out in the wilderness to hold pack-mules when there's a fight going on?" And with that he dropped his leading strap, drew his saber and charged with his company. After crossing the river, Lynch's horse—a fiery, hard-mouthed thing—took the bit in his teeth and ran away with him, outrunning his company, overtaking a

party of the Indians who shot him with arrows until he fell off his horse: then, halting and dismounting quickly, they drew Lynch's pistol out of its scabbard, shot him twice with it, and one Cheyenne had boldly begun scalping him when our men overtook them and killed several near where he lay. His revolver was found in the hand of one of the dead Indians, but his horse had continued running with the fleeing Cheyennes, and we never saw it again.

Cade and Lynch were all the killed, but under the tent-fly were twelve wounded. Among the number, First-lieut. James Elwell Brown Stuart had received a pistol ball in the shoulder from an unhorsed Cheyenne whose life Stuart was trying to save: it is possible that the Indian had misunderstood his intentions. None of the wounded were mortally hurt. One of the most seriously injured was Private Cook, of G company, who had had an arrow through his breast, very similar to the wound that killed Cade, but, though spitting blood occasionally, Cook seemed determined not to die, and finally recovered and served out his time a hearty man. The wounded were being attended to as well as could be under the circumstances, and Colonel Sumner was circulating among them, examining their condition, speaking cheerfully to each, and giving directions for making them more comfortable.

It was estimated that there were about 900 or 1000 of the Cheyenne warriors. If Colonel Sumner had known that we were almost in sight of their village when he gave up the pursuit, it is probable that he would have gathered his men and followed them right on, but we did not discover that their camp was so near in time to take advantage of the opportunity to inflict further punishment on them. The fact was we were all pretty well tuckered out, as were our horses, also: and probably our Delaware scouts were in a similar condition, and, on that account, had failed to penetrate the country far enough in advance to detect the Cheyenne village.

Old Fall Leaf and his Delawares went into the fight with us, and did good service, but the cowardly Pawnees, that Colonel Sumner had brought with him from Fort Kearney, only followed in our wake, scalping the dead Cheyennes, and gathering up their abandoned ponies, of which they had collected about sixty head, which the colonel agreed to let them keep as part pay for their services.

As I have before mentioned, some of our men had taken one Cheyenne prisoner. On hearing of this, after the fight, the Pawnees went in a body to Sumner's headquarters and tried to buy the prisoner of him, in order to have a grand scalp-dance over him, and put him to death by torture, offering to surrender to the colonel the sixty captured ponies, and also to forfeit the money that was to be paid them on their return to Fort Kearney, if he would only give them that Cheyenne, and they seemed fairly wild with a fiendish desire to get him into their possession. Of course, the old man would not listen to any such a barbarous proposition, and promptly ordered them back to their own camp, on the outskirts of ours. They went away, very angry at his refusal. The "Old Bull" was so disgusted with the conduct of the skulking Pawnees this day that he immediately discharged them, and they started next morning back to their village, near Fort Kearney.

I have always felt sorry that we could not have managed some way to turn that Cheyenne over to the Pawnees, in order that I might have been enabled, by witnessing the "hop," to write a description of the ceremony, for few white men have seen such affairs and lived to tell it: and in such matters I have always felt that I would sooner that an Indian was given the "post of honor."

We had probably been a little improvident with our rations on this trip, at

least in my mess, for, although this was only the sixteenth day since we left our train, we ate the last of our twenty days' rations this day. It began to look like hungry times ahead. We had been driving a small herd of Texas steers along, from which to draw our fresh meat, but now, for fear we would soon exhaust that supply, Colonel Sumner thought best to cut down our allowance of beef from one and one-fourth pounds a day to the man, which is the full ration, to three fourths of a pound.

From the place where we had left our supply train, at the mouth of Crow creek, on the north side of the South Platte, to the battle-ground on Solomon Fork, we had been traveling about southeast. After the fight, we followed the Cheyennes' trail nearly due south, or a little east of south, coming out on to the Santa Fe road and Arkansas river, on the 9th of August, at old Fort Atkinson; not seeing a buffalo or any other game, except an occasional coyote, in the whole distance.

On leaving our train, Colonel Sumner had directed his chief wagon-master, P. G. Lowe, to take the outfit back to Fort Laramie, load up with commissaries and grain, return to the South Platte, and wait about the Salt Lake crossing until he heard from us, or until we joined the train there. Lowe performed his part all right, but we failed to connect with him, much to our regret; for the colonel had been disappointed in not getting to give the Cheyennes such a chastisement as he had wished to, and still hoped to be able to overtake them and give them another drubbing; and accordingly decided to make the effort to catch them again, even with the prospect of having to subsist on our pack-mules and horses.

As we had but one ambulance, that would not hold half of them, and, with no other means of transporting our wounded, Sumner determined to leave one company of infantry here on the Solomon, to take care of them until they were able to travel, and then they were to make their way to Fort Kearney.

Capt. Rensselaer W. Foote, with his company of the Sixth infantry, was detailed to perform this service; and to prepare them to defend themselves against a possible attack of a returning party of Cheyennes, we turned to and threw up a sod-and-dirt wall about five feet high, enclosing a square plot of probably about fifty feet each way—large enough to contain the little garrison and their animals.

Next forenoon, after burying the dead, and leaving Captain Foote's party a dozen head of beef cattle, as their share of the remaining subsistence, we saddled up, about ten o'clock, and resumed the Cheyenne trail southward; and about the middle of the afternoon, at the distance of about fifteen miles from the Solomon, we were much surprised to see the Cheyenne village looming up before us, lodges all standing; but our scouts soon brought back word that the enemy had vanished, and in such a panic, too, that they had left their lodges and a great deal of their other property; apparently having rushed off with what few things the squaws could hastily pack up, as the defeated and demoralized warriors had come rushing back after the fight, supposing that we were following right on their heels.

We were soon riding through the deserted village, in which we found no living thing, except a few female dogs with fresh litters of pups. The evidence of the Indians' wild panic was to be seen everywhere; buffalo robes, blankets, skins of many kinds, dressed, half-dressed, and undressed, bead-worked leggings and moccasins—in fact all sorts of "Injun fixin's" were scattered about in wild confusion. It is a custom with them for a warrior to stick a slim rod in the ground, in front of his lodge, on which he strings the scalps he has taken. We found a

number of these standing untouched—a plain indication of the extremity of their fright and wild rush to escape us; for the occasion must be one of the greatest urgency when they will abandon these trophies.

Their camp was well located in a horse-shoe bend of a little creek, having some few trees and bushes along its banks. Our men helped themselves to such of the Indian property as they could make use of or take along; but our transportation facilities were too limited to admit of carrying off anything but necessities. Many of the men supplied themselves with leggings and moccasins, which soon became useful, for we were getting very ragged already, and before we again got in reach of a supply of clothing, many of us had but little more to wear than an Indian in his "gee-string." The most valuable thing we found in the village was a lot of dried buffalo meat packed up in *parfleche* cases (receptacles made of half-dressed rawhide, patterned like huge letter envelopes), convenient packages for transportation on pack animals. We gladly appropriated this buffalo meat, but found nothing else in the way of food. After selecting such stuff as we could make use of we pulled down their lodges and made bonfires of everything left in the camp, and established our camp for the night in an adjoining bend of the creek.

I have an unpleasant remembrance of our experience for the next twenty-three days after the battle; of long and exhaustive marches in the hottest and driest part of the season, and almost at the point of starvation. Our miserable pittance of three-fourths of a pound of fresh beef to the man, of the poorest quality, issued each afternoon after camping (and in a day or so after the fight we had n't a bit of anything else in the way of food, not even a grain of salt), was sometimes eked out by using the meat of a horse or mule that chanced to give out and would be shot to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

We found frequently along the trail freshly made graves, showing that a number of the Cheyennes had succumbed from their wounds after the fight. It soon became evident that there was little prospect of our catching them again, for the trail showed that several parties had split off from the main body since leaving their village; and by the time we reached the Arkansas river the band we were following was small, and well in the lead of us.

On account of its historical interest I have been anxious definitely to locate our battle ground on Solomon fork, and had hoped that the finding of the remains of our little breastwork by some of the early settlers who went into that country after the civil war, might be the means of establishing its exact location. In 1901 I published in the *National Tribune*, of Washington, D. C., the narrative of my five years' soldiering on the frontier, including an account of the Cheyenne expedition, and hoped that it might attract the attention of some pioneer of northwestern Kansas who might have noticed the traces of our old sod corral, and would tell us about it: but not a word has ever been heard of it. I have since corresponded with several parties whom I thought might be able to give me the desired information, but have found no one who knew or ever heard anything about it.

It has been suggested that we may have been mistaken, and that the fight was on some other stream, and not the Solomon; but I have always felt confident that it was the main Solomon—the south fork—and never heard any question raised as to its being that river; all our officers and guides seemed satisfied on that point. Besides our Delawares, we had a competent guide in a white man (whose name I have forgotton), who lived near Fort Riley, and he said that he recognized the locality of our battle-ground, for he had previously been out there with a party on a hunting trip, on which occasion he had followed the

Solomon up from its mouth on the Smoky Hill. The river at the battle-ground is a broad, shallow stream, without timber, except the few scattering cottonwoods before mentioned, where the Cheyennes had been waiting for us, and it contained numerous visible sandbars and invisible quicksands.

I have understood that some settlements were made in that country as early as 1867, ten years after our sod-walled corral was built. It seems hardly possible that in that time our breastwork should have been so completely obliterated as to leave no trace. Even if leveled, it should still show an outline that would attract the attention of the first comers into that country, and excite their curiosity as to how, when and for what purpose it had been built and used.

On reaching the Arkansas, Colonel Sumner sent Major Sedgwick, with his four companies of cavalry, to follow the Cheyenne trail—which now turned westward up the river—as far as Bent's fort (with little hope of catching them, however), and at that post to take possession of anything in the way of rations that he could find among the goods sent out by the government to be distributed to the Indians as annuities. The colonel also immediately dispatched an express-riding into Fort Riley for a train-load of supplies, to be hurried out to us at the Big Bend, to which point he moved with the rest of the command, and remained there till we rejoined him from Bent's fort.

At Bent's Major Sedgwick got somehardtack, bacon, sugar, coffee and salt from Maj. A. B. Miller, the Indian agent; and we did not have to eat any more pack mule steak or dead-horse stew during the season. As we had no tents or bedding, and the weather had turned rainy and chilly, we suffered considerable discomfort from this source, partially alleviated in a few individual cases by the assistance of some Indian blankets that Sedgwick appropriated and issued to us, but which had been intended for the Cheyennes, provided they had come in and promised to be good. We were sadly in need of clothing, too, many of us being nearly naked, but there was nothing among the Indian goods that would supply this want. We heard at Bent's that a party of the Cheyennes had passed there, still on the run, making for the mountains, all broken up and badly demoralized.

On our return down the river to rejoin Colonel Sumner, at a place called Grand Saline, on the bank of the Arkansas, we were nearly surrounded by a swarm of Indians, Kiowas and Comanches, who tried to provoke us to hostilities, and seemed to be fairly spoiling for a fight. Their two villages were on the move, on the opposite side of the river, *en route* to Bent's to receive their annuities from the Indian agent, but evidently thought this was too good a chance to wipe out a few of Uncle Sam's soldiers to let slip, and were willing and anxious to do it, though living under the solemn obligations of a treaty of peace with the government.

Want of space forbids my giving details of this affair, as also many incidents of the fight on the Solomon; but, as a historical fact, I feel compelled to state that, here again Major Sedgwick showed a want of nerve, as he did at several other times and places of danger while I served under his command. On this occasion he seemed to be perfectly helpless, and eagerly turned over the command to my captain, Sam. D. Sturgis, who, by promptness and pluck, bluffed the Indians off and saved us from a probable massacre. It is an unpleasant thing to do—and I know it will be unpleasantly received by the public—to make a statement as a historical fact that casts an aspersion on the valor of one who has subsequently gained fame and gone into history as one of the heroes of the civil war; but I am one of those cranks who believe that history should be strictly true, no matter whose corns are trodden on; and during the five years that I served with Sedgwick on the frontier, on every occasion where we were threat-

ened with great danger he plainly showed—a lamentable lack of nerve. My old comrades who were there know this to be so.

When we reached Colonel Sumner's command, at the Big Bend, we found that a few teams, loaded with plenty of rations and forage, but with a scant supply of clothing and blankets, had just reached him from Fort Leavenworth, instead of Fort Riley. The messenger (or express rider, as we called them then) who had been sent on this errand was big Nick Berry, one of P. G. Lowe's wagon-masters, who had been serving in the capacity of chief of packers for our command. On arriving at Fort Riley, Berry had found that the supplies we required were not to be had there; so procuring a fresh horse at Riley he rode on to Leavenworth, 130 miles, in twenty-four hours; but his horse dropped dead at Salt creek, within three miles of Fort Leavenworth, and Nick "hiked" the three last miles, carrying his saddle and bridle. He then quickly loaded up those teams and hurried back to Sumner with the much-needed supplies. After reaching the buffalo range Colonel Sumner's party had had an abundance of meat, but nothing else to eat till the arrival of Berry's team.

A passing Santa Fe mail had brought the colonel an order from the war department to send his command across the country to Fort Kearney, there to join the forces of Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, *en route* to Utah to put down Brigham Young's rebellion, and for Sumner himself to report for other duty at Fort Leavenworth.

The evening after our arrival at Sumner's camp an "undress parade" was ordered, and it came about as near filling the bill in regard to the "undress" part as often occurs; for we had not yet received the little bit of clothing that had come with our other supplies, and many of the men were nearly as lightly clad as Indians. For instance, our dandy, Sergeant-major Arlington, the dude of the regiment, who was usually most fastidious in dress—a fine-looking soldier and proud of it—now performed his duties forming the battalion attired in a pair of moccasins, Indian leggings over a pair of dirty drawers, no trousers, an old cut-off stable frock for shirt, no jacket, and a bandanna handkerchief tied about his head in lieu of a hat: and this had been his best and only suit since we burned the Cheyenne village. Many of our men were in as bad or worse fix for clothing.

On parade the adjutant read an order from the colonel, highly commending his men for their proven pluck, prompt and cheerful obedience and patient endurance of great hardships, and saying that, ragged though we were, he was proud of us. Then came the unwelcome order transferring the command to Major Sedgwick, and directing him to proceed with it across the country to Fort Kearney and there report to Gen. A. S. Johnston for the Utah expedition.

In the morning, when we were mounted in line, before making the start to Kearney, "Old Bull o' the Woods" rode out in front of us to have a parting word with his men. He never called us "boys," nor would he tolerate any one else addressing us by such a puerile title: for he always insisted that there were no boys in his regiment—they were all MEN, and manly men, too.

"My men," he said, in that stentorian voice that could be heard all along the line, "I am truly sorry to see you start on such a trip so unprepared, but like the true soldiers that you are, I know you will obey the order cheerfully and promptly, disagreeable as it is. The War Department is not aware of our worn-out condition, or, I am confident, this order never would have been issued. I think I can safely promise you, however, that you will not have to go farther than Fort Kearney, for I shall hurry in to Fort Leavenworth and acquaint the department with the true condition of my men and horses: and by the time you reach Kearney I am positive you will find an order there sending you back to

Riley or Leavenworth to winter and recuperate. Till then, good-by, my men, and God bless you!" We felt like cheering the old colonel, but rigid military rules forbid all such hilarious demonstrations, and we knew he would not be pleased with anything that savored of lax discipline. Taking our Delawares with him, and a small mounted escort, he started down the Santa Fe road, while we moved out north across the trackless prairie for Fort Kearney.

Crossing the country here, from the Big Bend to Kearney, we found it a pleasing contrast to what it had been on the Cheyenne trail, about a hundred miles west of this route. There we had an arid desert, almost, with water and grass poor and scarce, no timber, no game. Here we find numerous streams of good water; plenty of good grass; nearly all the watercourses timbered; and we are in the heart of the buffalo range, with an abundance of other game. Although the weather had turned somewhat rainy, and we had no tents, and were still short of clothing and blankets—for the little we had received from Leavenworth was not enough to go half-way around—yet we enjoyed this trip, and, compared to the Cheyenne chase, it was a picnic. Some of the men had contracted scurvy, from our enforced protracted meat diet, but we found plenty of wild plums and grapes—excellent anti-scorbutics—at nearly every creek, and a free use of the fruit soon cured them.

We struck the old Salt Lake road two or three days' marches southeast of Kearney, at a place on the Little Blue called Tremont's Orchard, and there met Gen. Albert S. Johnston, with his staff and an escort of the Second dragoons, *en route* to Kearney, to overtake his command which had been rendezvousing there. General Johnston halted a little while, to talk with our officers, and then hurried on, while we followed on more leisurely.

When within a day's march of the fort we found that the "old Bull 'o the Woods" had fulfilled his promise, for we were then met by our company teams, coming from Kearney, and the "sick, lame and lazy" of our command whom we had left with P. G. Lowe's train up on the South Platte, when we started with the pack-mules; and these men brought with them an order, which General Johnston had found awaiting him at Kearney, for us to return to Fort Leavenworth. General Johnston, however, appropriated the rest of Lowe's train and took it on to Utah.

We were not to go directly to Leavenworth, either, for the order was accompanied by another directing Major Sedgwick, on arriving at Marysville, on the Big Blue, which was then the farthest town west on this road, to scatter his command, sending a single company here and there to several different points mentioned, for another election was about to be held in Kansas, and we were to umpire the game, and after the election all were to proceed to Fort Leavenworth. Right glad we were to take the back track for the settlements, every fellow promising himself all sorts of a good time, to make amends for our hardships, when we got back into "God's country," and had an interview with the paymaster, Major James Longstreet (afterwards a rebel general), for it was now the middle of October, and in a few days more we would have six months' pay coming to us.

After dispersing his command from Marysville, as ordered, Sedgwick, who had been messing with our company officers all summer, accompanied us (Captain Sturgis's company) to Atchison, where we lay several days, when, the election having passed off quietly, we moved on in to the fort. From our stragglers who joined us with the company teams near Fort Kearney, we heard, for the first time, from Captain Foote's little command, whom we had left in the sod corral on the Solomon taking care of the wounded after the fight with the Cheyennes.

Next day after we left Foote a party of about a hundred Cheyennes had returned and made an attack on his party, but finding them well protected behind their sod walls the Indians succeeded in doing no other damage but to drive off the garrison's beef cattle, and then withdrew and were seen no more. The loss of their beeves was a serious blow to the little command, however, and as they then had nothing left to eat but their pack-mules, and these would be needed for transporting the wounded, Foote was compelled to evacuate the works and strike out east for the buffalo range, which he did the next day after the loss of his cattle. Fortunately the Indians did not learn of the dilemma in which they had placed Foote, and probably immediately left that locality to try to rejoin their own much-scattered people.

Captain Foote now had a perplexing task to march to Fort Kearney and carry a dozen wounded men, with such poor facilities for transporting them; but he had an efficient assistant in Jeb Stuart,* for, though the lieutenant was one of the wounded, having his left arm disabled from a bullet in the shoulder, he was still worth a half-dozen ordinary men; for Jeb was always prolific of expedients for working his way out of difficult or embarrassing situations. Next to having no rations, the most serious problem confronting Foote, was how to carry so many wounded men with only one small ambulance that would not hold half of them. Some of the men had found a few old lodge-poles along the river bank, and Stuart soon had some improvised stretchers made of them by fastening a piece of stout canvas—pack-covers—across the center of each two poles, then hitching a pack-mule—one before and one behind—between the ends of the poles, which were lashed to the pack-saddles—the front mule's tail to the wounded man and the rear one's head—with a man to walk alongside and lead each mule carefully, a very comfortable litter was formed.

For a couple of days the little command suffered some from the heat and want of water, as well as for rations, as they made their tedious way across the prairie in the supposed direction of Fort Kearney; but after they got into the buffalo range they had plenty of meat, at least, and finally reached the fort without the loss of a man or mule: and also brought the Cheyenne prisoner along with them.

It will be remembered that Lowe, with our big train, had gone back to Fort Laramie after supplies, and then returned to the South Platte near the old Salt Lake crossing, to await some word from Sumner. Our men who had been with this train informed us—and a recent letter from Mr. Lowe corroborates their statement—that while camped on the Platte, on the evening of the next day after we had the fight on the Solomon (30th of July), they not having heard anything from us, did not of course know where we were, or that we had had a fight; on that evening about sunset three Cheyenne warriors rode into Lowe's camp to beg something to eat, mistaking the train for a citizens' freighting outfit. Two of these Indians were made prisoners by the trainmen, the third escaped.

The strange part of this incident is that these Cheyenne prisoners informed the trainmen, through an interpreter, that they had been in the fight with us at noon the day before (the 29th), and that the Cheyennes had been whipped and scattered in every direction: describing our command, and giving such other testimony as to leave no doubt in the minds of Lowe and others as to these Indians having been in the engagement.

*James Elwell Brown Stuart, of Virginia, is mentioned in Colonel Sumner's report of the Cheyenne expedition (Kan. Hist. Soc. Col., vol. 5, p. 299) as among the wounded. He continued to serve under Sumner until May 14, 1861, when he resigned and enlisted in the army of the Confederacy. He died May 12, 1864, of wounds received at the battle of Yellow Tavern, Va. General Stuart was a property-holder in Junction City before the war.

Making a careful and conservative estimate of the average length of our day's marches for the sixteen days we had been on the trail, up to the time of the fight: of the general southeast course we had been traveling, and the estimated location of the battle—which, after a careful scanning of the latest maps of Kansas, I would place on the main or south fork of Solomon river, somewhere in the present county of Sheridan*—we must have been, at the time of the engagement, at least 150 miles from Lowe's camp, on the South Platte.

It seems almost incredible that those three Cheyenne warriors had ridden their ponies that distance, without change, in thirty-six hours, but I think it is possible, for those Indian ponies have great powers of endurance, and we know that it was customary for a warrior to select his very best and fleetest horse to ride in battle, and we had evidence that the Cheyennes' horses were fresh and well-rested on going into the fight. The two Cheyenne prisoners captured by the trainmen, and the one taken in the fight, were all put in the guard-house at Kearney, but shortly afterward they succeeded in digging their way out of the old 'dobe one night, and made good their escape.

A few days after our return to Fort Leavenworth, Lieut.-col. Jos. E. Johnston's command came in, and reported having completed their task of establishing the southern boundary line of Kansas territory from the west line of Missouri to the Rocky Mountains.

We had scarcely got settled in our quarters when orders came for us to scatter out through the territory again, to preside at other elections. I thought it strange, at the time, that Kansas should have so many different dates for holding elections, and wondered why the territorial authorities did not make one general election do for all. On this occasion our company (Captain Sturgis's), accompanied by Major Sedgwick as commanding officer, was sent to Lecompton, by way of Lawrence.

We crossed the Kaw river at Lawrence on Baldwin's ferry, a rickety flat-boat, without guard or railing, capable of holding only one six-mule team, and pulled back and forth by means of a rope stretched between trees on opposite banks. The soldier men facetiously called it Baldwin's "steam" ferry. The ferryman carried his "steam" in a gallon jug: and our fellows "did not do a thing" to that jug but drink all the whisky and refill the jug with muddy Kaw river water, while the old man was busy pulling the leaky old tub across. I expect Baldwin made some pious remarks about "soger men" the next time he hooked his bill over the muzzle of that jug to take another "snort," but we did n't stay to hear his discourse.

As we passed through Lawrence, a cannon-ball hole in the wall of a large brick house (the Eldridge house, I think) was pointed out to me as a battle-scar made by the border ruffians in a recent "scrap" between the factions.

We spent several days at Lecompton, and though whisky was plenty and cheap, and there were all sorts of rumors of portending war between the parties, still everything passed off quietly. Lecompton, at that time, was the territorial capital, a shabby-looking village scattered through the timber on the Kaw river, and the stumps of trees that had been cut down to indicate where streets were intended were so numerous that team navigation was difficult in the main avenues of the metropolis. I remember to have noticed the foundation for a large house that had been commenced and some piles of building material, also some large cast-iron columns, all of which I was told were for a capitol building.

*Sheridan county was created by the legislature of 1873. It was organized June 2, 1880. A population of 600 was required to organize. See Sumner's official report, page 299, volume 5, Historical Collections; Sumner locates the fight on the Solomon.

But Lecompton, as a seat of government, "died a-bornin'." While promenading the streets of this capital city, steering between the stumps and stumbling over the grubs, I was attracted by the sign, "Printing Office," and on climbing a shaky stair on the outside of a two-story frame house, I found myself in the sanctum, composing-room, and press-room—all in one, and not a large room either—of the only newspaper in the place, which seemed to be a very weakly weekly.* I am sorry I cannot remember the name of this historic sheet or that of its editor, who was also compositor and pressman, or "which side of the fence" he was on. I set a stick full of type, just to see if I had forgotten how, and received a flattering offer of employment from the proprietor, but was forced to plead prior engagement with Uncle Sam.

We had again got into comfortable quarters at Fort Leavenworth, and were congratulating ourselves on having nothing worse than garrison duty for the rest of the winter, when our companies were once more sent scattering through the territory—this time in the southern part, about Humboldt and Fort Scott—to attend more elections; and particularly to look after that ubiquitous abolitionist, Montgomery, who was said to be raising hades with the "peaceable and law-abiding citizens of Missouri," who "hadn't done nothin'" but run over into Kansas once in awhile and shot or hung a few blanked abolitionists, turning their families out in the cold, and burning their houses. And now these peaceable citizens of Missouri called for Uncle Sam's soldiers to come and make Montgomery and his men behave themselves.

I escaped this trip on account of my horse being badly run down, and, with detachments from each of the other companies who were in the same fix, was left at Fort Leavenworth. But soon another call was made for soldiers to umpire an election shortly to be held at Palermo, sixty miles north, opposite St. Joseph, Mo., and as we dismounted cavalymen were the only available force that could be spared for the purpose, the various detachments were formed into an impromptu company, and, under command of Second-lieut. John Thompson, First cavalry, we "hiked" it to Palermo in two days, and returned, after the election, in the same time, which was pretty good marching for men who were not accustomed to "mud-mashing."

After returning from Palermo, I was one of twenty men sent to take a string of horses out to Fort Riley, to remount some companies of our regiment that had been sent to garrison that post. This was a bitterly cold trip, for it was now January and blizzards were ripe. Our detachment returned from Riley in a couple of six-mule wagons.

So, as the old song says: "If you want to have a good time, j'ine the cavalry."

*This was the office of the *Kansas National Democrat*. The secretary of the Historical Society was then an apprentice in the *Democrat* office. The recollections above are all right except that the paper was not a "weakly." It was edited by some of the ablest men in the territory. Robert J. Walker, Ferd. P. Stanton, William Brindle, Hugh S. Walsh and Samuel Medary contributed to the editorial columns. The *National Democrat* succeeded an intensely proslavery paper, and was anti-Lecompton until it got orders from Washington to change about, which it did. *George F. Pentecost, the noted evangelist, was a journeyman printer in that office about that time.

A ROSTER OF KANSAS FOR FIFTY YEARS.

TERRITORIAL, 1854-1861.

GOVERNORS.

- Reeder, Andrew H. Shawnee Manual Labor School; appointed July 7, 1854; arrived in Kansas, Oct. 7, 1854; served to April 17, 1855; June 23 to Aug. 16, 1855. d. Easton, Pa., July 5, 1864.
- Woodson, Daniel. Apr. 17 to June 23, 1855; secretary and acting governor, Aug. 16 to Sep. 7, 1855; June 24 to July 7, 1856; Aug. 18 to Sep. 9, 1856. Mar. 12 to Apr. 16, 1857. d. Claremore, I. T., Oct. 5, 1894.
- Shannon, Wilson. Shawnee Manual Labor School and Lecompton. Sep. 7, 1855, to June 24, 1856; July 7 to Aug. 18, 1856. d. Lawrence, Aug. 30, 1877.
- Geary, John White. Lecompton. Sep. 9, 1856, to Mar. 12, 1857. d. Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 8, 1873.
- Stanton, Frederick P. Lecompton. Apr. 16 to May 27, 1857; secretary and acting governor, Nov. 16, to Dec. 21, 1857. d. near Ocala, Fla., June 4, 1894.
- Walker, Robert John. Lecompton. May 27 to Nov. 18, 1857. d. Washington, D. C., Nov. 11, 1869.
- Denver, James W. Lecompton. Dec. 21, 1857, to Oct. 10, 1858; secretary and acting governor until May 12, 1858, when he was appointed governor. Was out of the territory July 3-30, 1858. d. Washington, D. C., Aug. 9, 1892.
- Walsh, Hugh Sleight. Lecompton. July 3-30, 1858; Oct. 10 to Dec. 18, 1858; Aug. 1 to Sep. 15, 1859; Apr. 15 to June 16, 1860. d. near Grantville, Jefferson county, Kan., Apr. 23, 1877.
- Medary, Samuel. Lecompton. Dec. 18, 1858, to Aug. 1, 1859; Sep. 15, 1859, to Apr. 15, 1860; June 16 to Sep. 11, 1860; Nov. 25 to Dec. 17, 1860. d. Columbus, Ohio, Nov. 7, 1864.
- Beebe, George M. Lecompton. Sep. 11 to Nov 25, 1860; Dec. 17, 1860, to Feb. 9, 1861. Secretary and acting governor.

SECRETARIES.

- Woodson, Daniel. Shawnee Manual Labor School. June 29, 1854, to Apr. 16, 1857. d. Claremore, I. T., Oct. 5, 1894.
- Stanton, Frederick P. Lecompton. Apr. 16 to Dec. 21, 1857. d. near Ocala, Fla., June 4, 1894.
- Denver, James W. Lecompton. Dec. 21, 1857, to May 12, 1858. d. Washington, D. C., Aug. 9, 1892.
- Walsh, Hugh Sleight. Lecompton. May 12, 1858, to June 28, 1860. d. near Grantville, Jefferson county, Kan., April 23, 1877.
- Beebe, George M. Lecompton. July 1, 1860, to Feb. 9, 1861.

AUDITORS.

- Donaldson, John. Shawnee Manual Labor School and Lecompton. Aug. 30, 1855, to Feb. 20, 1857.
- Strickler, Hiram Jackson. Lecompton. Feb. 20, 1857, to Feb. 1861. d. near Tecumseh, Kan., July 31, 1873.

TREASURERS.

- Cramer, Thomas J. B. Shawnee Manual Labor School and Lecompton. Aug. 30, 1855, to Feb. 1859. d.
- Mitchell, Robert Byington. Linn county, Feb. 11, 1859, to Feb., 1861. d. Washington, D. C., Jan. 26, 1882.

ATTORNEYS GENERAL.

- Isacks, Andrew Jackson. Louisiana. June 30, 1854, to 1857.
- Weer, William. Lecompton. 1858.
- Davis, Alson C. Wyandotte. June 5, 1858, to February, 1861.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS.

- Noteware, James H. Mch. 1 to Dec. 1, 1858.
- Greer, Samuel Wiley. Leavenworth. Dec. 1, 1858, to Jan. 2, 1861. d. Winfield, Kan., Sep. 30, 1882.
- Douglas, John C. Leavenworth. Jan. 2 to Feb. 1861.

PENITENTIARY.

- 1856, Capt. E. W. B. Newby, master of convicts.
- 1857, L. J. Hampton, master of convicts.

PENITENTIARY COMMISSIONERS.

- Pratt, Caleb S., 1858.
- Lewis, Ward S., 1858.
- Hunt, Ashael, 1858.
- Ritchie, John, Topeka, 1859.
- Prentiss, S. B., Douglas county, 1859.
- Johnson, Fielding, Wyandotte county, 1859.
- Lambdin, C. S., 1860, '61.
- Adams, M. S., 1860, '61.
- Starns, Charles, 1860, '61.

PUBLIC PRINTERS.

- Brady, John T., 1855.
- Ross, William W., 1857, 1858.
- Vaughan, Champion, 1858.
- Thacher, Timothy Dwight, 1859.
- Brown, George W., 1859.
- Medary, S. A., & Driggs, S. W., 1860.
- Medary, Samuel A., 1861.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

- Lecompte, Samuel Dexter. Shawnee Manual Labor School and Leavenworth. Oct. 3, 1854, to Mar. 9, 1859. d. Kansas City, Mo., Apr. 24, 1888.
- Pettit, John. Leavenworth. Mch. 9, 1859, to Feb. 1861. d. Lafayette, Ind., Jan. 17, 1877.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

- Johnston, Saunders W., June 29, 1854, to Sep. 13, 1855.
 Burrell, Jeremiah Murray, Sep. 13, 1855. Served but a few weeks, returning to his home in Greensburg, Pa., where he died Oct. 21, 1856.
 Cunningham, Thomas, Nov. 19, 1856, to June 3, 1857.
 Williams, Joseph, June 3, 1857, to Feb. 1861.
 Elmore, Rush, Lecompton, June 29, 1854, to Sep. 13, 1855.
 Cato, Sterling G., Sep. 13, 1855, to July, 1858.
 Elmore, Rush, Tecumseh, July, 1858, to Jan. 1861. d. Topeka, Aug. 14, 1864.

PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL.

- Johnson, Thomas, Shawnee Mission, 1855. d. Jan. 2, 1865, near Westport, Mo.
 Babcock, Carmi W., Lawrence, 1857-'59. d. Lawrence, Oct. 1890.
 Updegraff, W. W., Osawatomie, 1860, '61.

STATE, 1861-1904.

GOVERNORS.

- Robinson, Charles, Lawrence, Feb. 9, 1861 to Jan. 1863. d. Lawrence, Aug. 17, 1894.
 Carney, Thomas, Leavenworth, Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1865. d. Leavenworth, July 28, 1889.
 Crawford, Samuel J., Garnett, Jan. 1865 to Nov. 4, 1868, when he resigned to take command of the 19th regiment.
 Green, Nehemiah, Manhattan, Nov. 4, 1868, to Jan. 11, 1869. d. Manhattan, Jan. 12, 1890.
 Harvey, James M., Fort Riley, Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1873. d. Riley county, April 15, 1895.
 Osborn, Thomas A., Leavenworth, Jan. 1873 to Jan. 1877. d. Meadville, Pa., Feb. 4, 1898.
 Anthony, George T., Leavenworth, Jan. 1877 to Jan. 1879. d. Topeka, August 5, 1896.
 St. John, John Pierce, Olathe, Jan. 1879 to Jan. 1883.
 Glick, George W., Atchison, Jan. 1883 to Jan. 1885.
 Martin, John Alexander, Atchison, Jan. 1885 to Jan. 1889. d. Atchison, Oct. 2, 1889.
 Humphrey, Lyman Underwood, Independence, Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1893.
 Lewelling, Lorenzo D., Wichita, Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895. d. Arkansas City, Sep. 3, 1900.
 Morrill, Edmund Needham, Hiawatha, Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Leedy, John W., Le Roy, Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Stanley, William Eugene, Wichita, Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Bailey, Willis Joshua, Baileyville, Jan. 1903 to Jan. 1905.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OR PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE.

- Root, Joseph Pomeroy, Wyandotte, Feb. 1861 to Jan. 1863. d. Kansas City, Kan., July 20, 1885.
 Osborn, Thomas A., Elwood, Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1865. d. Meadville, Pa., Feb. 4, 1898.
 McGrew, James, Wyandotte, Jan. 1865 to Jan. 1867.
 Green, Nehemiah, Manhattan, Jan. 1877 to Nov. 4, 1868.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

- 1855.—Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Atchison county; Joseph C. Anderson, *pro tem*.
 1857.—W. G. Mathias, Leavenworth county; W. H. Tebbis, Jefferson county, *pro tem*.
 1859.—A. Larzelere, Doniphan county. d. Doniphan county, June 7, 1877. J. B. Irvin, Atchison county, *pro tem*. d. Jonesboro, Ill., Sept. 3, 1867.
 1860.—Gustavus A. Colton, Lykins county; Edward Lynde, Jefferson county, *pro tem*.
 1861.—John W. Scott, Allen county; Charles Burrell Lines, Wabaunsee county, *pro tem*. d. Wabaunsee, Kan., March 31, 1890.

DELEGATES TO CONGRESS.

- Whitfield, John W., Tecumseh, XXXIIIrd Congress, Dec. 20, 1854-Mar. 3, 1855.
 "Reeder and Whitfield both claim a seat in the XXXIVth Congress; both receive mileage"; seat declared vacant Aug. 1, 1856.
 Parrott, Marcus J., Leavenworth, 1857-'61. d. Oakwood, O., Oct. 11, 1879.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OR PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE.

- Eskridge, Charles V., Emporia, Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1871. d. Emporia, July 15, 1900.
 Elder, Peter Percival, Ottawa, Jan. 1871 to Jan. 1873.
 Stover, Elias Sleeper, Council Grove, Jan. 1873 to Jan. 1875.
 Salter, Melville J., Thayer, Jan. 1875 to July 19, 1877. (Resigned.)
 Humphrey, Lyman Underwood, Independence, Elected Nov. 6, 1877, vice Salter. Served till Jan. 1881.
 Finney, David W., Neosho Falls, Jan. 1881 to Jan. 1885.
 Riddle, Alexander Pancoast, Girard, Jan. 1885 to Jan. 1889.
 Felt, Andrew J., Seneca, Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1893.
 Daniels, Percy, Girard, Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
 Troutman, James A., Topeka, Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Harvey, Alexander Miller, Topeka, Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Richter, Harry E., Council Grove, Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Hanna, David J., Hill City, Jan. 1903—.

SECRETARIES.

- Robinson, John Winter, Manhattan, Feb. 1861 to July 28, 1862. Removed. d. Fort Smith, Ark., Dec. 11, 1863.
 Shepard, Sanders Rufus, Topeka, Appointed vice Robinson, Aug. 1862 to Jan., 1863.
 Lawrence, William Henry Wirt, Peoria City, Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1865.
 Barker, Rinaldo Allen, Atchison, Jan. 1865 to Jan. 1869.
 Moonlight, Thomas, Leavenworth, Jan., 1869 to Jan. 1871. d. Leavenworth, Feb. 7, 1899.
 Smallwood, William Hillary, Wathena, Jan. 1871 to Jan. 1875.
 Cavanaugh, Thomas Horne, Salina, Jan. 1875 to Jan. 1879.

SECRETARIES.

- Smith James. Marysville. Jan. 1879 to Jan. 1885.
 Allen, Edwin Bird. Wichita. Jan. 1885 to Jan. 1889.
 Higgins, William. Topeka. Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1893.
 Osborn, Russell Scott. Stockton. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
 Edwards, William Congdon. Larned. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Bush, William Eben. Mankato. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Clark, George Alfred. Junction City. Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Burrows, Joel Randall. Jan. 1903—

AUDITORS.

- Hillyer, George Shaler. Grasshopper Falls. Feb. 1861 to July 28, 1862. Removed. d. Valley Falls, May 13, 1874.
 Lakin, David Long. Grasshopper Falls. Appointed vice Hillyer. Aug. 1862 to Jan. 1863. d. Topeka, Oct. 8, 1897.
 Hairgrove, Asa. Mound City. Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1865. d. Del Norte, Colo., Nov. 9, 1881.
 Swallow, John R. Emporia. Jan. 1865 to Jan. 1869.
 Thoman, Alois. Lawrence. Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1873. d. St. Louis, Oct. 20, 1897.
 Wilder, Daniel Webster. Fort Scott. Jan. 1873 to Sep. 20, 1876. Resigned.
 Bonebrake, Parkinson Isaiah. Topeka. Appointed vice Wilder, Oct. 2, 1876; twice elected; Oct. 2, 1876, to Jan. 1883.
 McCabe, Edward P. Millbrook. Jan. 1883 to Jan. 1887.
 McCarthy, Timothy. Larned. Jan. 1887 to Jan. 1891. d. Larned, June 12, 1900.
 Hovey, Charles Merrill. Colby. Jan. 1891 to Jan. 1893.
 Prather, Van B. Columbus. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
 Cole, George Ezekiel. Girard. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Morris, William H. Pittsburg. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Cole, George Ezekiel. Girard. Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Wells, Seth Grant. Erie. Jan. 1903—

TREASURERS.

- Tholen, William. Leavenworth. Elected Dec. 6, 1859. Entered the army, and did not qualify. d. Leavenworth, Feb. 13, 1879.
 Dutton, Hartwin Rush. Hiawatha. Appointed vice Tholen, March 26, 1861; elected for remainder of term, Nov. 5, 1861; served March 26, 1861, to Jan. 1863. d. Zanesville, Ohio, Nov. 23, 1883.
 Spriggs, William. Garnett. Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1867.
 Anderson, Martin. Circleville. Jan. 1867 to Jan. 1868. d. Topeka, July 9, 1897.
 Graham, George. Seneca. Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1871. d. Seneca, Feb. 21, 1880.
 Hayes, Josiah E. Olathe. Jan. 1871 to Apr. 30, 1874. Resigned.
 Francis, John. Iola. Appointed, vice Hayes; served May 1, 1874, to Jan. 1875.

TREASURERS.

- Lappin, Samuel. Seneca. Jan. 1875 to Dec. 20, 1875. Resigned. d. La Centre, Wash., Aug. 4, 1892.
 Francis, John. Iola. Appointed vice Lappin; elected to office three succeeding terms. Served Dec. 21, 1875, to Jan. 1883.
 Howe, Samuel T. Marion. Jan. 1883 to Jan. 1887.
 Hamilton, James William. Wellington. Jan. 1887 to Mar. 1, 1890. Resigned.
 Sims, William. Topeka. Appointed vice Hamilton. Mar. 1 to Dec. 30, 1890.
 Stover, Solomon G. Belleville. Jan. 1891 to Jan. 1893.
 Biddle, William Henry. Augusta. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
 Atherton, Otis L. Russell. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Heflebower, David H. Bucyrus. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Grimes, Frank T. Leoti. Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Kelly, Thomas T. Paola. Jan. 1903—

ATTORNEYS GENERAL.

- Simpson, Benjamin Franklin Paola. Feb. to July, 1861. Resigned.
 Chadwick, Charles. Lawrence. Appointed vice Simpson. Appointed July 30, 1861, and served till Jan. 1862. d. Lawrence, 1900.
 Stinson, Samuel A. Leavenworth. Jan. 1862, to Jan. 1863. d. Wiscasset, Me., Feb. 20, 1866.
 Guthrie, Warren William. Carson, Brown county. Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1865. d. Atchison, Apr. 22, 1903.
 Brumbaugh, Jerome D. Marysville. Jan. 1865 to Jan. 1867.
 Hoyt, George H. Leavenworth. Jan. 1867 to Jan. 1869. d. Athol, Mass., Feb. 2, 1877.
 Danford, Addison. Fort Scott. Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1871.
 Williams, Archibald L. Topeka. Jan. 1871 to Jan. 1875.
 Randolph, Asa Maxson Fitz. Burlington. Jan. 1875 to Jan. 1877. d. Topeka, Sep. 2, 1898.
 Davis, Willard. Oswego. Jan. 1877 to Jan. 1881.
 Johnston, William Agnew. Minneapolis. Jan. 1881 to Dec. 1, 1884. Resigned to become associate justice.
 Smith, George P. Humboldt. Appointed vice Johnston. Served Dec. 1, 1884, to Jan. 1885.
 Bradford, Simeon Briggs. Carbondale. Jan. 1885 to Jan. 1889. d. Ardmore, I. T., Apr. 2, 1902.
 Kellogg, Lyman Beecher. Emporia. Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1891.
 Ives, John Nutt. Sterling. Jan. 1891 to Jan. 1893.
 Little, John Thomas. Olathe. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
 Dawes, Fernando B. Clay Center. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
 Boyle, Louis C. Fort Scott. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
 Godard, Aretas A. Topeka. Jan. 1899 to Jan. 1903.
 Coleman, Charles Crittenden. Clay Center. Jan. 1903—

SUPERINTENDENTS PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

- Griffith, William Riley, Marmaton. Feb. 1861, to Feb. 12, 1862. d. Topeka, Feb. 12, 1862.
- Thorp, Simeon Montgomery, Lawrence. Appointed vice Griffith. Served Mar. 28, 1862, to Jan. 1863. Killed, Quantrill massacre, Aug. 21, 1863.
- Goodnow, Isaac T., Manhattan. Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1867. d. Manhattan, Mar. 20, 1894.
- McVicar, Peter, Topeka. Jan. 1867 to Jan. 1871, d. Topeka, June 5, 1903.
- McCarty, Hugh DeFrance, Leavenworth. Jan. 1871 to Jan. 1875.
- Fraser, John, Lawrence. Jan. 1875 to Jan. 1877. d. Allegheny City, Pa., June 4, 1878.
- Lemmon, Allen Borsley, Winfield. Jan. 1877 to Jan. 1881.
- Speer, Henry Clay, Junction City. Jan. 1881 to Jan. 1885.
- Lawhead, Joseph Hadden, Fort Scott. Jan. 1885 to 1889.
- Winans, George Wesley, Junction City. Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1893.
- Gaines, Henry Newton, Salina. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1895.
- Stanley, Edmund, Lawrence. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1897.
- Stryker, William, Great Bend. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1899.
- Nelson, Frank, Lindsborg. Jan. 1899 to 1903.
- Dayhoff, Inley L., Hutchinson. Jan. 1903—

STATE PRINTERS.

- Speer, John. 1861-'64, 1866, 1868.
- MacDonald, S. D. & Co. 1865.
- Clarke, Emery & Co. 1867.
- Prouty, Salmon Stevens. 1869-'73.
- Martin, George Washington, Junction City. 1873-'81.
- Thacher, Timothy Dwight, Lawrence. 1881-'87.
- Baker, Clifford C., Topeka. 1887-'91.
- Snow, Edwin H., Ottawa. 1891-'95.
- Hudson, Joseph K., Topeka. 1895-'97.
- Parks, John S., Beloit. 1897-'99.
- Morgan, William Y., Hutchinson. 1899-1903.
- Clark, George A., Topeka. 1903-'05.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speakers and Speakers pro tem.

- 1861.—W. W. Updegraff, Lykins county. John W. Scott, Allen county, *pro tem.*
- 1862.—Moses Sawin Adams, Leavenworth county. James McGrew, Wyandotte county, *pro tem.*
- 1863.—Josiah Kellogg, Leavenworth county. W. R. Saunders, Coffey county, *pro tem.*
- 1864.—Josiah Kellogg, Leavenworth county. W. R. Saunders, Coffey county, *pro tem.*
- 1865.—Jacob Stotler, Lyon county. d. Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 26, 1901. N. Z. Strong, Bourbon county, *pro tem.*
- 1866.—John T. Burris, Johnson county. Jacob Stotler, Lyon county, *pro tem.*
- 1867.—Preston Bierce Plumb, Lyon county. d. Washington, D. C., Dec. 20, 1891. W. W. Updegraff, Miami county, *pro tem.*
- 1868.—George W. Smith, Douglas county. James D. Snoddy, Linn county, *pro tem.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speakers and Speakers pro tem.

- 1869.—Moses Sawin Adams, Leavenworth county. John B. Johnson, Jefferson county, *pro tem.* d. Topeka, May 18, 1899.
- 1870.—Jacob Stotler, Lyon county. d. Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 26, 1901. John Guthrie, Shawnee county, *pro tem.*
- 1871.—Benjamin F. Simpson, Miami county. S. M. Strickler, Davis county, *pro tem.* d. Azusa, Cal., Apr. 21, 1894.
- 1872.—Stephen A. Cobb, Wyandotte county. d. Wyandotte, Aug. 25, 1878. S. M. Strickler, Davis county, *pro tem.* d. Azusa, Cal., Apr. 21, 1894.
- 1873.—Josiah Kellogg, Leavenworth county. George W. Veale, Shawnee county, *pro tem.*
- 1874.—Boyd H. McEckron, Cloud county. F. W. Potter, Coffey county, *pro tem.*
- 1875.—Edward H. Funston, Allen county. Samuel S. Benedict, Wilson county, *pro tem.*
- 1876.—Dudley C. Haskell, Douglas county. d. Washington, D. C., Dec. 16, 1883. George W. Glick, Atchison county, *pro tem.*
- 1877-'78.—Samuel N. Wood, Chase county. d. Hugoton, June 23, 1891. George W. Hogeboom, Jefferson county, *pro tem.*
- 1879-'80.—Sidney Clarke, Douglas county. J. M. Price, Atchison county, *pro tem.* d. Atchison, Oct. 19, 1898.
- 1881-'82.—John B. Johnson, Shawnee county. Nehemiah Greene, Riley county, *pro tem.* d. Manhattan, Jan. 12, 1890.
- 1883-'84.—James D. Snoddy, Linn county. Geo. D. Orner, Barber county, *pro tem.*
- 1885-'86.—John B. Johnson, Shawnee county. Joseph Ralph Burton, Dickinson county, *pro tem.*
- 1887-'88.—Abram W. Smith, McPherson county. Jeffrey B. Clogston, Greenwood county, *pro tem.*
- 1889-'90.—Henry Booth, Pawnee county. d. near Larned, Feb. 14, 1898. J. N. High, Reno county, *pro tem.*
- 1891-'92.—Peter P. Elder, Franklin county. Benjamin Matchett, Osborne county, *pro tem.*
- 1893-'94.—Geo. L. Douglass, Sedgwick county. Edward Wallis Hoch, Marion county, *pro tem.*
- 1895-'96.—Charles E. Lobdell, Lane county. James Monroe Miller, Morris county, *pro tem.*
- 1897-'98.—William D. Street, Decatur county. E. C. Weiple, Cherokee county, *pro tem.*
- 1899-1900.—Stephen J. Osborn, Saline county. F. M. Benefiel, Montgomery county, *pro tem.*
- 1901-'02.—George J. Barker, Douglas county. Edwin D. McKeever, Shawnee county, *pro tem.*
- 1903-'04.—James T. Pringle, Osage county. C. D. Jones, Norton county, *pro tem.*

CHIEF JUSTICES.

- Ewing, Thomas, Leavenworth. Feb. 1861 to Nov. 28, 1862. Resigned. d. New York, Jan. 21, 1896.
- Cobb, Nelson, Lawrence. Appointed *vice* Ewing. Served Nov. 28, 1862, to Jan. 1864. d. Kansas City, Mo., June 16, 1894.
- Crozier, Robert, Leavenworth. Jan. 1864 to Jan. 1867. d. Leavenworth, Oct. 2, 1895.
- Kingman, Samuel Austin, Atchison. Jan. 1867 to Dec. 30, 1876.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

- Horton, Albert Howell, Atchison. Appointed vice Kingman. Served Dec. 31, 1876, to Apr. 30, 1895. Resigned, d. Topeka, Sep. 2, 1902.
- Martin, David, Atchison. Appointed *vice* Horton. Served Apr. 30, 1895, to Jan. 1897. d. Atchison, Mar. 2, 1901.
- Doster, Frank, Marion. Jan. 1897, to Jan. 12, 1903.
- Johnston, William Agnew, Minneapolis. Jan. 12, 1903 —

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

- Kingman, Samuel Austin, Hiawatha. Feb. 1861, to Jan. 1865.
- Safford, Jacob, Topeka. Jan. 1865, to Jan. 1871. d. Topeka, July 2, 1885.
- Brewer, David Josiah, Leavenworth. Jan. 1871 to April 8, 1884. Resigned.
- Hurd, Theodore A. Leavenworth. Appointed, *vice* Brewer. Apr. 12 to Dec. 1, 1884.
- Johnston, William Agnew, Minneapolis. Dec. 1, 1884, to Jan. 1899.
- Bailey, Lawrence Dudley, Emporia. Feb. 1861, to Jan. 1863. d. Lawrence, Oct. 15, 1891.
- Valentine, Daniel Mulford, Ottawa. Jan. 1869, to Jan. 1893.
- Allen, Stephen H., Pleasanton. Jan. 1893, to Jan. 1898.
- Smith, William Redwood, Kansas City. Jan. 1899 —
- Cunningham, Edwin W., Emporia. Jan. 15, 1901 —
- Greene, Adrian L., Newton. Jan. 15, 1901 —
- Ellis, Abram H., Beloit. Jan. 15, 1901, to Sept. 25, 1902. d. Topeka, Sept. 25, 1902.
- Pollock, John C., Winfield. Jan. 15, 1901, to Dec. 2, 1903. Resigned.
- Atkinson, Wm. D., Parsons. Jan. 1, 1904 —
- Burch, Rousseau A., Salina. Sept. 29, 1902 —
- Mason, H. F., Garden City. Jan. 12, 1903 —

Supreme Court Commissioners.

- Simpson, Benjamin Franklin, Topeka. Mar. 5, 1887, to Mar. 1, 1893.
- Clogston, Jeffrey B., Eureka. Mar. 5, 1887, to Mar. 1, 1890. d.
- Holt, Joel, Beloit. Mar. 5, 1887, to Mar. 1, 1893. d. Beloit, April 27, 1892.
- Green, George S., Manhattan. Mar. 1, 1890, to Mar. 1, 1893.
- Strang, Jeremiah C., Larned. Mar. 1, 1890, to Mar. 1, 1893.

NOTE.—The commission was created by act of 1877, for the relief of the supreme court, and its members appointed by the governor for a term of three years.

Supreme Court Reporters.

- Plumb, Preston Bierce, Emporia. 1861-'62.
- Carpenter, Louis, Emporia. 1863. Killed Aug. 21, 1863, in Lawrence massacre.
- Banks, Elliott V., Lawrence. 1864-'71.
- Webb, William C., Fort Scott. 1871-'78.
- Randolph, Asa Maxson Fitz, Burlington. 1879-'96. d. Sep. 2, 1898, Topeka.
- Dewey, Thomas Emmett, Abilene. 1896-'97; 1899 —
- Clemens, Gaspar C., Topeka. 1897-'99.

Clerks of the Supreme Court.

- Stark, Andrew, Topeka. 1861-'67.
- Fowler, E. B., Topeka. 1868-'70.
- Hammat, Abram, Ottawa. 1870-'79.
- Brown, Channing Jno., Blue Rapids. 1879-'97.
- Martin, John, Topeka. 1897-'99.
- Valentine Delbert A., Clay Center. 1899 —

COURTS OF APPEALS.

Northern Department.

- Gilkerson, A. D., Hays City. 1895-'97.
- Garver, Theodore Franklin, Salina. 1895-'97.
- Clark, George W., Topeka. 1895-'97.
- Mahan, John H., Abilene. 1897-1901.
- Wells, Abijah, Seneca. 1897-1901.
- McElroy, Samuel W., Oberlin. 1897-1901. d. Nov. 6, 1901, Cripple Creek, Colo.

Southern Department.

- Johnson, William Alexander, Garnett. 1895-'97. d. 1903, Garnett.
- Dennison, Arthur Wellington, El Dorado. 1895-1901.
- Cole, Elrick C., Great Bend. 1895-'97.
- Milton, B. F., Dodge City. 1897-1901.
- Schoonover, Manford, Garnett. 1897-1901.

NOTE.—The courts of appeals were created by the legislature of 1895 to relieve the supreme court. The state was divided into a northern and southern department. The judges were appointed by the governor in 1895 for the two years ending Jan. 11, 1897. Their successors were chosen at the general election of November 1896, for the four years ending Jan. 14, 1901, when the court ceased to exist.

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

First District.

- McDowell, William C., Leavenworth. Jan. 29, 1861, to Jan. 9, 1865.
- Brewer, David J., Leavenworth. Jan. 9, 1865, to Jan. 11, 1869.
- Ide, Henry W., Leavenworth. Jan. 11, 1869, to Jan. 8, 1877.
- Crozier, Robert, Leavenworth. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 1893.
- Myers, L. A., Valley Falls. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1901.
- Gillpatrick, J. H., Leavenworth. Jan. 1901 —

Second District.

- Lee, Albert L., Elwood. Jan. 29 to Oct. 31, 1861.
- Horton, Albert H., Atchison. Oct. 31, 1861, to May 11, 1866.
- Graham, R. St. Clair, Atchison. May 11, 1866, to Jan. 11, 1869.
- Price, Nathan, Troy. Jan. 11, 1869, to Mar. 1, 1872.
- Hubbard, P. L., Atchison. Mar. 2, 1872, to Jan. 8, 1877.
- Otis, Alfred G., Atchison. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 1881.
- Martin, David, Atchison. Jan. 1881, to Apr. 1, 1887.
- Jackson, H. M., Atchison. Apr. 1, 1887, to Jan. 1888.
- Gilbert, W. D., Atchison. Jan. 1888 to Jan. 1889.

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

Second District.

Eaton, R. M., Atchison. Jan. 1889 to Jan. 1893.
 Webb, W. D., Atchison. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1897.
 Bland, W. T., Atchison. Jan. 1897 to 1902.
 Hudson, B. F., Atchison. 1902 —

Third District.

Safford, Jacob, Topeka. Jan. 29, 1861, to Jan. 9, 1865.
 Gilchrist, C. K., Oskaloosa. Jan. 9, 1865, to Jan. 11, 1869.
 Morton, John T., Topeka. Jan. 11, 1869, to Jan. 23, 1883.
 Martin, John, Topeka. Jan. 23, 1883, to Jan. 1885.
 Guthrie, John, Topeka. Jan. 1885 to Jan. 1893.
 Hazen, Z. T., Topeka. Jan. 1893 —

Fourth District.

Thacher, Solon Otis, Lawrence. Jan. 29, 1861, to Sept. 27, 1864.
 Lowe, David P., Mound City. Sept. 27, 1864, to Jan. 29, 1865.
 Valentine, Daniel M., Ottawa. Jan. 9, 1865, to Jan. 11, 1869.
 Bassett, Owen A., Lawrence. Jan. 11, 1869, to Jan. 8, 1877.
 Stephens, N. T., Lawrence. Jan. 8, 1877, to Dec. 29, 1884. d. Dec. 29, 1884.
 Benson, A. W., Ottawa. Dec. 31, 1884, to Jan. 1896.
 Riggs, S. A., Lawrence. Jan. 1896 to 1900.
 Smart, C. A., Ottawa. Jan. 1900 —

Fifth District.

Learnard, O. E., Burlington. Jan. 29, to June 26, 1861.
 Ruggles, R. M., Emporia. June 26, 1861, to June 9, 1865.
 Watson, John H., Emporia. Jan. 9, 1865, to Jan. 13, 1873.
 Peyton, E. B., Emporia. Jan. 13, 1873, to Jan. 1881.
 Graves, Charles B., Emporia. Jan. 1881 to Jan. 1893.
 Randolph, William A., Emporia. Jan. 1893 to Jan. 1901.
 Madden, Dennis, Emporia. Jan. 1901 —

Sixth District.

Lowe, David P., Mound City. Mar. 4, 1867, to Mar. 1, 1871.
 Broadhead, J. F., Mound City. Mar. 9 to Nov. 17, 1871.
 Voss, M. V., Fort Scott. Nov. 27, 1871, to Oct. 21, 1874.
 Stewart, W. C., Fort Scott. Oct. 21, 1874, to Jan. 1880.
 Lowe, D. P., Fort Scott. Jan. 1880 to Apr. 10, 1882. d. Apr. 10, 1882.
 French, C. O., Fort Scott. Apr. 14, 1882, to Oct. 19, 1889.
 West, J. S., Fort Scott. Oct. 19, 1889, to Jan. 1891; Jan. 1892 to Jan. 1900.
 Allen, Stephen H., Pleasanton. Jan. 1891 to Jan. 1892.
 Simons, Walter L., Fort Scott. Jan. 1900 —

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

Seventh District.

Spriggs, William, Garnett. Mar. 4, 1867, to Jan. 13, 1868.
 Goodin, John R., Humboldt. Jan. 13, 1868, to Feb. 1, 1875.
 Talcott, H. W., Iola. Feb. 1, 1875, to Jan. 1885.
 Stillwell, L., Erie. Jan. 1885 —

Eighth District.

Humphrey, James, Manhattan. Mar. 4, 1867, to Apr. 29, 1870; Jan. 1892 to Jan. 1900.
 Canfield, William H., Junction City. Apr. 29, 1870, to Feb. 26, 1874. d. Feb. 26, 1874.
 Austin, J. H., Junction City, Mar. 2, 1874, to Jan. 12, 1884.
 Nicholson, M. B., Council Grove. Jan. 12, 1884, to Jan. 1892.
 Moore, O. L., Abilene. Jan. 1900 to Jan. 11, 1904.
 Dickerson, J. T., Marion. Jan. 11, 1904 —

Ninth District.

Wood, Samuel N., Cottonwood Falls. Mar. 6, 1867, to Jan. 13, 1868.
 Brown, William R., Cottonwood Falls. Jan. 13, 1868, to Mar. 1, 1875.
 Peters, Samuel R., Marion Center. Mar. 1, 1875, to December 12, 1882.
 Houk, Lysander, Hutchinson. Jan. 1, 1883, to Jan. 1892.
 Martin, F. L., Hutchinson. Jan. 1892 to Jan. 1900.
 Simpson, Math. P., McPherson. Jan. 1900 —

Tenth District.

Burriss, John T., Olathe. Mar. 5, 1869, to Jan. 10, 1870; Jan. 1890 to Jan. 1902.
 Stevens, Hiram, Paola. Jan. 10, 1870, to Jan. 9, 1882.
 Wagstaff, William R., Paola. Jan. 9, 1882, to Jan. 1886.
 Hindman, J. P., Olathe. Jan. 1886 to Jan. 1890.
 Sheldon, W. H., Paola. Jan. 1902 —

Eleventh District.

Webb, W. C., Fort Scott. Mar. 16, to Nov. 17, 1870.
 Webb, Henry G., Oswego. Nov. 17, 1870, to Feb. 21, 1873.
 Perkins, Bishop W., Oswego. Feb. 21, 1873, to Jan. 8, 1883.
 Chandler, George M., Independence. Jan. 8, 1883, to Apr. 11, 1889.
 Ritter, John N., Columbus. Apr. 11, 1889, to Jan. 1890.
 McCue, J. D., Independence. Jan. 1890 to Jan. 1895.
 Skidmore, A. H., Columbus. Jan. 1895 to Jan. 1903.
 Glasse, W. B., Columbus. Jan. 1903 —

Twelfth District.

Wilson, Andrew S., Washington. Mar. 16, 1871, to Oct. 20, 1884.
 Lowe, Joseph G., Washington. Oct. 27, to Nov. 10, 1884.

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

Twelfth District.

Carnahan, A. A. Nov. 11, 1884, to Jan. 1885.
 Hutchinson, Edward, Marysville. Jan. 1885,
 to Jan. 1889.
 Sturges, F. W., Concordia. Jan. 1889, to Jan.
 1901.
 Alexander, Hugh, Concordia. Jan. 1901 —

Thirteenth District.

Campbell, W. P., El Dorado. Mar. 15, 1872,
 to Jan. 1881.
 Torrance, E. S., Winfield. Jan. 1881, to Oct.
 15, 1887.
 Troup, M. G., Winfield. Oct. 15, 1887, to Jan.
 1893.
 Jackson, A. M., Howard. Jan. 1893 to Jan.
 1897.
 Shinn, C. W., Eureka. Jan. 1897 to Jan. 1901.
 Aikman, G. P., El Dorado. Jan. 1901 —

Fourteenth District.

Prescott, J. H., Salina. Mar. 12, 1872, to Jan.
 8, 1877.
 Hinds, S. O., Lincoln. Jan. 1877 to Jan. 1889,
 Eastland, W. G., Russell. Jan. 1889 to Jan.
 1897.
 Flannelly, T. J., Chetopa. Feb. 23, 1901 —

Fifteenth District.

Banta, A. J., Beloit. Mar. 1, 1873, to Jan. 12,
 1874.
 Holt, Joel, Beloit. Jan. 12, 1874, to Jan. 9,
 1882.
 Smith, Clark A., Cawker City. Jan. 9, 1882, to
 Jan. 1890.
 Heren, Cyrus, Osborne. Jan. 1890 to Jan.
 1902.
 Pickler, R. M., Smith Center. Jan. 1902 —

Sixteenth District.

Strang, J. C., Larned. Mar. 8, 1881, to Jan.
 1890.
 Vandivert, Samuel W., Kinsley. Jan. 1890 to
 Jan. 1897.

Seventeenth District.

Nellis, De Witt C., Hays City. Mar. 15, 1871,
 to Jan. 9, 1882.
 Pratt, W. H., Phillipsburg. Jan. 9, 1882, to
 Jan. 1886.
 Pratt, Louis K., Norton. Jan. 1886 to Jan.
 1890.
 Bertram, G. Webb, Oberlin. Jan. 1890 to Jan.
 1894.
 Geiger, A. C. T., Oberlin. Jan. 1894 to Jan.
 1902; Jan. 1903 —
 Hamilton, John R., Norton. Jan. 1902 to Jan.
 1903.

Eighteenth District.

Harris, Amos, Wichita. Feb. 12 to Nov. 6,
 1883.
 Sluss, H. C., Wichita. Nov. 6, 1883, to Dec. 4,
 1885.
 Wall, T. B., Wichita. Dec. 4, 1885, to Jan.
 1888.
 Reed, C., Wichita. Jan. 1888 to Jan. 1900.
 Dale, D. M., Wichita. Jan. 1900 —

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

Nineteenth District.

Orner, George D., Medicine Lodge. Mar. 4,
 1885.
 Ray, James A., Wellington. 1885 to Jan. 1886;
 Jan. 1890 to Jan. 1894.
 Herrick, J. T., Wellington. Jan. 1886 to Jan.
 1890.
 Burnette, J. A., Caldwell. Jan. 1894 to Jan.
 1898.
 McBride, W. T., Wellington. Jan. 1898 to Jan.
 1902.
 Lawrence, James, Wellington. Jan. 1902 to
 Jan. 1903.
 Swarts, C. L., Arkansas City. Jan. 1903 —

Twentieth District.

Nimocks, G. W., Great Bend. Mar. 23, 1885, to
 Jan. 1886.
 Clark, Ansel R., Sterling. Jan. 1886 to Jan.
 1890; Jan. 1894 to Jan. 1902.
 Bailey, J. H., Lyons. Jan. 1890 to Jan. 1894.
 Brinckerhoff, J. W., Lyons. Jan. 1902 —

Twenty-first District.

Spilman, R. B., Manhattan. Mar. 11, 1885 to
 Oct. 19, 1898. d. Manhattan, Oct. 19, 1898.
 Glass, William S., Marysville. Oct. 24, 1898, to
 Sep. 14, 1901.
 Kimble, Sam., Manhattan, Sep. 14, 1901 —

Twenty-second District.

Bassett, R. C., Seneca. Feb. 25, 1886, to Jan.
 1891.
 Thompson, J. F., Sabetha. Jan. 1891, to Jan.
 1895.
 Emery, R. M., Seneca. Jan. 1895, to Jan. 1899.
 Stuart, William I., Troy. Jan. 1899 —

Twenty-third District.

Osborn, S. J., Wa Keeney. Feb. 26, 1886, to
 Jan. 1895.
 Monroe, Lec, Wa Keeney. Jan. 1895 to Jan.
 1903.
 Reeder, James H., Hays City. Jan. 1903 —

Twenty-fourth District.

Ellis, C. W., Medicine Lodge. Feb. 26, 1886,
 to Jan. 1891.
 McKay, G. W., Attica. Jan. 1891 to Jan. 1899.
 Gillett, P. B., Kingman. Jan. 1899 —

Twenty-fifth District.

Doster, Frank, Marion. Mar. 19, 1887, to Jan.
 1892.
 Earle, Lucien, McPherson. Jan. 1892 to Jan.
 1895.

Twenty-sixth District.

Redden, A. L., El Dorado. Mar. 19, 1887, to
 Jan. 1888.
 Hamilton, A. L. L., El Dorado. Jan. —
 to June 2, 1888.
 Shinn, T. O., El Dorado. Sept. 17, 1888, to
 Jan. 1889.
 Leland, C. A., El Dorado. Jan. 1889 to Jan.
 1892.
 Shinn, C. W., El Dorado. Jan. 1892 to Jan.
 1895.

Twenty-seventh District.

Abbott, A. J., Garden City. Mar. 19, 1887, to
 Jan. 1895.

JUDGES OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

Twenty-eighth District.

Leslie, S. W., Kingman. Mar. 19, 1887, to Jan. 1892.

Bashore, W. O., Kingman. Jan. 1892 to Jan. 1895.

Twenty-ninth District.

Miller, O. L., Wyandotte. Mar. 19, 1887, to Mar. 7, 1891.

Alden, Henry L., Kansas City. Mar. 7, 1891, to Jan. 1900.

Fischer, E. L., Kansas City. Jan. 1, 1900 to 1904.

Moore, J. McCabe, Kansas City. 1904 —

Thirtieth District.

Thompson, R. F., Minneapolis. Mar. 1889 to Jan. 1902.

Rees, R. R., Minneapolis. Jan. 1902 —

Thirty-first District.

Price, Francis C., Ashland. Mar. 1889 to Jan. 1902.

Madison, Ed. H., Dodge City. Jan. 1902 —

Thirty-second District.

Botkin, Theodosius, Springfield. Mar. 1889 to Oct. 11, 1892.

Hutchison, William Easton. Ulysses. Oct. 11, 1892 —

Thirty-third District.

Grinstead, V. H. Dighton. Mar. 1889 to Jan. 1894.

Andrews, James E. La Crosse. Jan. 1894 to Jan. 1902.

Lobdell, Charles E. Larned. Jan. 1902 —

Thirty-fourth District.

Smith, Charles W. Stockton. Mar. 1889 —

Thirty-fifth District.

Thompson, William, Osage City, Mar. 1889 to Jan. 1902.

Heizer, Robert C. Osage City. Jan. 1902 —

Thirty-sixth District.

Johnson, Charles F. Oskaloosa. 1899 to Jan. 1900.

Gephart, Marshall. Oskaloosa. Jan. 1900 —

Thirty-seventh District.

Foust, Oscar, Iola. 1903 —

JUDGES OF COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

Wyandotte County.

Anderson, Thomas P., Kansas City. Mar. 7, 1891, to Jan. 1900.

Holt, W. G., Kansas City. Jan. 1900 —

Sedgwick County.

Balderston, Jacob M., Wichita. Mar. 4, 1889, to Dec. 31 1891.

SUPERIOR COURT OF SHAWNEE COUNTY.

Webb, William C., Topeka. Mar. 24, 1885, to Apr. 4, 1887.

JUDGE OF CIRCUIT COURT OF SHAWNEE COUNTY.

Johnson, John B., Topeka. Mar. 12, 1891, to Apr. 12, 1895.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

First district, T. P. Fenlon, Leavenworth. 1861-'63. H. W. Ide, Leavenworth. 1863-'65.

Second district, Joseph F. Babbitt. 1861-'63. E. J. Jenkins. 1863-'65.

Third district, A. H. Case, Topeka. 1861-'63. C. K. Gilchrist, Oskaloosa. 1863-'65.

Fourth district, Samuel A. Riggs, Lawrence. 1861-'65.

Fifth district, George H. Lillie. 1861-'63. A. S. Howard. 1863-'65.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Lane, James Henry. Lawrence. Apr. 4, 1861, to July 11, 1866. d. Leavenworth, July 11, 1866.

Ross, Edmund G. Lawrence. Appointed vice Lane, July 20, 1866, and elected to fill vacancy vice Lane, Jan. 23, 1867. Served July 20, 1866, to Mar. 1871.

Caldwell, Alexander. Leavenworth. Mar. 1871 to Mar. 24, 1873. Resigned.

Crozier, Robert. Leavenworth. Appointed vice Caldwell, Nov. 22, 1873. Served Nov. 22, 1873, to Feb. 2, 1874. d. Leavenworth, Oct. 2, 1895.

Harvey, James M. Vinton. Elected vice Caldwell, Feb. 2, 1874. Served Feb. 2, 1874, to Mar. 1877. d. Riley co., Kan., Apr. 15, 1895.

Plumb, Preston Bierce. Emporia. Mar. 1877 to Dec. 20, 1891. d. Washington, D. C., Dec. 20, 1891.

Perkins, Bishop W. Oswego. Appointed vice Plumb, Jan. 1, 1892. Served Jan. 1, 1892, to Mar. 1893. d. Washington, D. C., June 20, 1894.

Martin, John. Topeka. Elected vice Plumb, Jan. 25, 1893. Served Jan. 25, 1893, to Mar. 1895.

Baker, Lucien. Leavenworth. Mar. 1895 to Mar. 1901.

Burton, Joseph Ralph. Abilene. Mar. 1901 —
Pomeroy, Samuel Clark. Atchison. Apr. 4, 1861, to Mar. 1873. d. Whitinsville, Mass., Aug. 27, 1891.

Ingalls, John James. Atchison. Mar. 1873 to Mar. 1891. d. Las Vegas Hot Springs, N. M., Aug. 16, 1900.

Peffer, William Alfred. Topeka. Mar. 1891 to Mar. 1897.

Harris, William A. Linwood. Mar. 1897 to Mar. 1903.

Long, Chester I. Medicine Lodge. Mar. 1903

CONGRESSMEN.

Conway, Martin F. Lawrence. 1861-'63. d. Feb. 15, 1882, Washington, D. C.

Wilder, Abel Carter. Leavenworth. 1863-'65. d. Dec. 23, 1875, San Francisco, Cal.

Clarke, Sidney. Lawrence. 1865-'71.

Lowe, David P. Fort Scott. 1871-'75. d. Apr. 10, 1882, Fort Scott.

Cobb, Stephen Alonzo. Wyandotte. 1873-'75. d. Aug. 26, 1878, Wyandotte.

Phillips, William Addison. Salina. 1873-'79. d. Nov. 30, 1893, Fort Gibson, I. T.

Brown, William R. Hutchinson. 1875-'77.

CONGRESSMEN.

- Goodin, John R. Humboldt, 1875-'77. d. Dec. 19, 1885, Wyandotte.
- Haskell, Dudley C. Lawrence, 1877-'83. d. Dec. 16, 1883, Washington, D. C.
- Ryan, Thomas, Topeka, 1877-'89.
- Anderson, John Alexander, Manhattan, 1879-'91. d. May 18, 1892, Liverpool, England.
- Morrill, Edwin N. Hiawatha, 1883-'91.
- Peters, Samuel Ritter, Newton, 1883-'91.
- Hanback, Lewis, Osborne, 1883-'87. d. Sept. 7, 1897, Kansas City, Kan.
- Perkins, Bishop W. Oswego, 1883-'91. d. June 20, 1894, Washington, D. C.
- Finnston, Edward Hogue, Iola, 1883-'93.
- Turner, Erastus J. Hoxie, 1887-'91.
- Kelley, Harrison, Burlington, 1889-'91. d. July 24, 1897, Burlington.
- Broderick, Case, Holton, 1891-'99.
- Clover, B. H. Cambridge, 1891-'93.
- Davis, John, Junction City, 1891-'95. d. Aug. 2, 1901, Topeka.
- Simpson, Jerry, Medicine Lodge, 1891-'95, 1897-'99.
- Otis, John Grant, Topeka, 1891-'93.
- Baker, William, Lincoln, 1891-'97.
- Harris, William Alexander, Linwood, 1893-'95.
- Moore, Horace L., Lawrence, 1893-'95.
- Curtis, Charles, Topeka, 1893-1905.
- Hudson, Thomas J., Fredonia, 1893-'95.
- Blue, Richard W., Pleasanton, 1895-'97.
- Miller, Orrin L., Kansas City, 1895-'97.
- Kirkpatrick, Snyder S., Fredonia, 1895-'97.
- Calderhead, William A., Marysville, 1895-'97, 1899-1905.
- Long, Chester L., Medicine Lodge, 1895-'97, 1899-1903.
- Botkin, Jeremiah Duham, Winfield, 1897-'99.
- Peters, Mason Summers, Kansas City, 1897-'99.
- McCormick, N. B., Phillipsburg, 1897-'99.
- Ridgely, Edwin Reed, Pittsburg, 1897-1901.
- Vincent, William D., Clay Center, 1897-'99.
- Bailey, Willis Joshua, Baileyville, 1899-1901.
- Bowersock, Justin DeWitt, Lawrence, 1899-1905.
- Miller, James Monroe, Council Grove, 1899-1905.
- Reeder, William Augustus, Logan, 1899-1905.
- Scott, Charles Frederick, Iola, 1901-'05.
- Jackson, Alfred Metcalf, Winfield, 1901-'03.
- Campbell, Phillip Pitt, Pittsburg, 1903-'05.
- Murdock, Victor, Wichita, 1903-'05.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.

Presidents.

- Mudge, Benjamin Franklin, Manhattan, 1869-'70, 1878 to Nov. 21, 1879. d. Manhattan, Nov. 21, 1879.
- Fraser, John, Lawrence, 1871-'73. d. Allegheny City, Pa., June 4, 1878.
- Snow, Francis Huntington, Lawrence, 1874-'78.
- Lovewell, Joseph Taplin, Topeka, 1881-'82.
- Thompson, Dr. Alton Howard, Topeka, 1883.
- Brown, Dr. Robert J., Leavenworth, 1884-'85.
- Nichols, Dr. Edward Leamington, Lawrence, 1886.
- Parker, John Dempster, Burlington, 1887.
- Mead, James Richards, Wichita, 1888.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.

Presidents.

- Dinsmore, Thomas H., jr., Emporia, 1889.
- Failyer, George H., Manhattan, 1890.
- Hay, Robert, Junction City, 1891. d. Junction City, Dec. 14, 1895.
- Popenoe, Edwin Alonzo, Manhattan, 1892.
- Bailey, Edgar Henry Summerfield, Lawrence, 1893.
- Sayre, Lucius Elmer, Lawrence, 1894.
- Knaus, Warren, McPherson, 1895.
- Kelly, Dorman S., Emporia, 1896.
- Williston, Samuel Wendell, Lawrence, 1897.
- Lantz, David Ernest, Chapman, 1898.
- Knerr, Ellsworth Brownell, Atchison, 1899.
- Hitchcock, Albert S., Manhattan, 1900.
- Miller, Ephraim, Lawrence, 1901.
- Willard, Julius T., Manhattan, 1902.

Secretaries.

- Parker, John Dempster, Burlington, 1869-'73.
- Wherrell, John, Leavenworth, 1874-'75.
- Savage, Joseph, Lawrence, 1876-'77.
- Popenoe, Edwin Alonzo, Manhattan, 1878-'89.
- Bailey, Edgar Henry Summerfield, Lawrence, 1890-'92.
- Collette, Alonzo M., Emporia, 1893.
- Knerr, Ellsworth Brownell, Atchison, 1894-'98.
- Lantz, David Ernest, Chapman, 1899-1901.
- Grimsley, George Perry, Topeka, 1902—.

Librarian and Curator.

- Cragin, Francis W., Topeka, 1884-'85.
- Smyth, Bernard B., Topeka,* 1886-1902.

ADJUTANTS GENERAL.

- Mitchell, Robert Byington, Mansfield, May 2, 1861, to June 20, 1861. d. Jan. 26, 1882, Washington, D. C.
- Alleu, Lyman, Lawrence, July 23, 1861, to Mar. 22, 1862. d. Dec. 1, 1863, Lawrence.
- Chadwick, Charles, Lawrence, Mar. 22, 1862, to Feb. 26, 1863. d. 1900, Lawrence.
- Dudley, Guilford, Topeka, Feb. 27, 1863, to May 2, 1864.
- Holiday, Cyrus Kurtz, Topeka, May 2, 1864, to Mar. 31, 1865. d. Mar. 29, 1900, Topeka.
- Anderson, Thomas Jefferson, Topeka, Apr. 1, 1865, to Aug. 18, 1867.
- McAfee, Josiah Breckbill, Topeka, Aug. 18, 1867, to Mar. 3, 1869.
- Moorhouse, William Simpson, Atchison, Mar. 4, 1869, to Mar. 4, 1870.
- Whittaker, David, Doniphan, Mar. 5, 1870, to Mar. 5, 1873.
- Morris, Charles Archibald, Ft. Scott, Mar. 6, 1873, to Jan. 1876.
- Beman, Hiram Thompkins, Topeka, Jan. 1876 to Mar. 5, 1878. d. Aug. 19, 1885, Topeka.
- Noble, Peter Stryker, Independence, Apr. 7, 1878, to Jan 7, 1883.
- Moonlight, Thomas, Leavenworth, Jan. 8, 1883, to Jan. 22, 1885. d. Feb. 7, 1899, Leavenworth.
- Campbell, Alexander B., Topeka, Jan. 23, 1885, to Mar. 31, 1889. d. Dec. 20, 1897, Chicago, Ill.
- Roberts, John Newton, Lawrence, Apr. 1, 1889, to Jan. 1, 1893.

ADJUTANTS GENERAL.

- Artz, Henry H., Garden City. Jan. 10, 1893, to Mar. 31, 1894.
 Davis, Albert J. Stockton. Apr. 1, 1894, to Feb. 28, 1895.
 Fox, Simeon M., Manhattan. Mar. 1, 1895, to Jan. 30, 1897.
 Allen, Hiram, Williamsburg. Feb. 1, 1897, to Feb. 21, 1899. d. Mar. 29, 1902, Williamsburg.
 Fox, Simeon M., Manhattan, Feb. 22, 1899, to Feb. 1903.
 Kelsey, Samuel Howell, Atchison. Feb. 1903

Majors General.

- Cloud, William F. 1866.
 Walker, Samuel, Lawrence. 1873-'75.
 Brown, Willis, Seneca. 1879-'82.
 Anderson, Thomas J., Topeka. 1882-'83.
 Ketner, James, Junction City. 1883-'85.
 Carroll, Thomas M., Leavenworth. 1885-'93.
 Daniels, Percy, Girard. 1893-'95.
 Hughes, James White Frierson. Topeka. 1895-'97.
 McCrum, Charles, Garnett. 1897-'99.

Brigadiers General.

- Mitchell, Robert B. Apr. 8, 1862.
 Blunt, James G. Apr. 8, 1862.
 Lee, Albert L. Nov. 29, 1862.
 Deitzler, George W. Nov. 29, 1862.
 Ewing, Thomas, jr. Mar. 13, 1863.
 Clayton, Powell. Aug. 1, 1864.
 Strickler, Samuel M., Junction City. 1863.
 Fishback, W. H. M., Olathe. 1864.
 Drake, Samuel A., Leavenworth. 1864.
 Grant, M. S. 1864.
 Sherry, Byron, Seneca. 1864.
 Scott, John B., LeRoy. 1864.
 Wood, Samuel N., Council Grove. 1864.
 Snoddy, John T., Mound City. 1864.
 Martin, John A. Atchison. 1865.
 Harvey, James M., Fort Riley. 1865.
 Burris, John T., Olathe. 1865.
 Kelley, Harrison, Ottumwa. 1865.
 McMillan, Robert, Council Grove. 1873-'74.
 Drenning, Frank H., Wathena. 1873-'74.
 Taylor, T. T., Hutchinson. 1875.
 Daniels, Percy, Girard. 1873-'75.
 Snyder, H. C., Glasco. 1873-'75.
 Flenniken, B. F., Clay Center. 1878-'83.
 Green, A. H. Winfield. 1879-'81.
 Freiderich, Robert A., Topeka. 1879-'81.
 Pratt, I. V. 1880-'81.
 Stadden, Isaac, Fort Scott. 1882-'85.
 Watrous, John E., Burlington. 1883-'85.
 Becker, William. 1883-'85.
 Graves, George C. 1883-'85.
 Fuller, A. M., Topeka. 1885-'91.
 McCarthy, Timothy, Larned. 1885-'87.
 Dixon, Adam, Belleville. 1885-'93.
 Roberts, John N., Lawrence. 1885-'87.
 Myers, Murray, Wichita. 1887-'93.
 Patrick, S. L., Franklin county. 1889.
 Kimball, C. H., Parsons. 1890-'91.
 Sears, W. H., Lawrence. 1893-'95.

Brigadiers General.

- Hettinger, I. H., Wichita. 1893-'95.
 Parsons, W. H., Clifton. 1893-'95.
 Barker, George H. 1895-'97.
 Corbett, W. S. 1895-'97.
 Morrison, T. S. 1895-'97.
 Garver, Clair J., Wellington. 1897-'99.
 Hughes, James W. F., Topeka. 1899-1907.

Engineers in Chief.

- Gunn, Otis B. 1861.
 Robinson, Geo. T., Topeka. 1864.
 Wilmarth, L. C., Topeka. 1864.
 Reid, W. E., Concordia. 1880-'81.
 Moore, James, Topeka. 1881-'83.
 Myer, Alfred, Ateliscn. 1883-'85.
 Hebron, W. S., Kinsley. 1885-'89.
 Atkinson, Robert, Ottawa. 1895-'99.
 Wilcox, Wm. P., Topeka. Aug. 9, 1899, to Oct. 4, 1901.
 Porter, Geo. W., Topeka. Oct. 4, 1901, to April 23, 1903.
 Kidder, Pancoast, Topeka. April 23, 1903, to Jan. 4, 1904.

Inspectors General.

- Simpson, B. F. 1861.
 Mitchell, William. 1863-'64.
 Tilton, W. S., WaKeeney. 1878-'83.
 Smith, Harry A. 1891.
 Loomis, Nelson H., Topeka. March 10, 1903.

Judge Advocates General.

- Greer, J. P. 1861.
 Lowe, D. P. 1863.
 Fishback, W. H. M., Olathe. 1863.
 McBratney, Robert. 1863.
 Ingalls, John J., Atchison. 1864.
 Cole, T. C. 1880-'83.
 Usher, Samuel C. 1883-'85.
 Feighan, J. W., Emporia. 1885-'89.
 Sprague, E. F., Emporia. 1889-'93.
 Doster, Frank, Marion. 1893-'95.
 Bird, W. A. S., Topeka. 1895-'97.
 Sears, W. H., Lawrence. 1897-'99.
 Garver, Clair J., Wellington. 1899-1905.

Paymasters General.

- Mitchell, A. J. 1861.
 Otis, John G. 1863.
 Chadwick, Charles, Lawrence. 1864-'65.
 Rankin, John K., Lawrence. 1865.
 Baldwin, William. 1873-'75.
 Tilton, W. S., WaKeeney. 1880-'81.
 Inslay, Harry E., Leavenworth. 1883-'85.
 Bonebrake, F. M., Topeka. 1887-'95.
 Elliott, Charles S., Topeka. 1895-'97, 1899—.
 Anderson, J. E. 1897-'99.

Quartermasters General.

- George W. Collamore, Lawrence. 1861. Killed in Quantrell massacre, Aug. 21, 1863.
 Charles Chadwick, Lawrence, 1861-'62.
 Edward Russell, Elwood. 1863-'64.
 D. E. Ballard. 1865.

Quartermasters General.

- John G. Haskell, Lawrence. 1865, 1871-'72.
 Samuel Lappin, Seneca. 1873-'75.
 John H. Smith, Weir City. 1875.
 T. P. Anderson, Columbus. 1878-'83.
 C. J. McDivitt, Abilene. 1885-'89.
 H. F. Best, Kinsley. 1889-'93.
 C. A. Taylor, Springdale. 1893-'95.
 L. V. B. Taylor. 1895-'96.
 Fred. E. Buchan, Kansas City. 1896-'98.
 W. H. Strickler. 1898-'99.
 L. G. Parker, Oberlin. 1899—1901.
 James Smith, Marysville. 1901-'05.

Surgeons General.

- Winans, N. T. 1865.
 Early, W. H., LaCygne. 1873-'75.
 Jones, D. C. 1879-'82.
 Root, J. P., Wyandotte. 1878-'82.
 Trimble, R. A., Larned. 1883-'85.
 Hibben, J. B., Topeka. 1885-'89.
 Roberts, H. S., Manhattan. 1889-'93.
 Pattee, E. L., Manhattan. 1893-'95.
 Mitchell, E. A. 1895-'98.
 Martin, F. H. 1898-'99.
 O'Donnell, Harry. 1901-'05.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, STATE

Board of Regents.

The governor, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction and president of the College were *ex-officio* members of the board.

- Collamore, G. W. 1863.
 Baker, T. H. 1863-'70.
 Pipher, John, Manhattan. 1863-'68.
 Spaulding, Azel, Atchison. 1863-'64. d. Mar. 6, 1883, Atchison.
 Woodworth, W. F. 1863-'66.
 Bailey, Lawrence Dudley, Lawrence. 1863-'69. d. Oct. 15, 1891, Lawrence.
 Honston, Samuel Dexter, Manhattan. 1863-'69.
 Lowe, David P., Monnd City. 1863-'64. d. Apr. 10, 1882, Ft. Scott.
 Reaser, J. G. 1863-'69.
 Cordley, Richard, Lawrence. 1863-'71.
 Gale, Elbridge, Manhattan. 1865-'71.
 Earheart, David, Pardee. 1865-'71.
 Manning, E. C., Winfield. 1868-'70.
 Reynolds, Charles, Fort Riley. 1868-'74. d. Dec. 28, 1885, Junction City.
 Hanna, Benjamin John Franklin, Salina. 1869-'73. d. Dec. 7, 1891, at Washington, D. C.
 McClenahan, John, Ottawa. 1869-'73.
 Grover, O. J., Savannah. 1869-'73.
 Parker, R. D., Manhattan. 1870-'73.
 Strickler, Hiram Jackson, Tecumseh. 1870-'73. d. July 31, 1873, Tecumseh.
 Wheeler, Joshua, Pardee. 1871-'73; 1888-'94. d. May 14, 1896, Nortonville.
 Gray, Alfred, Quindaro. 1870-'73. d. Jan. 23, 1880, Topeka.
 Higinbotham, Geo. W., Manhattan. 1870-'73. d.
 Sternberg, L., Fort Harker. 1871-'73.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, STATE

Board of Regents.

Under act approved March 6, 1873, the board was confined to six appointees and one *ex-officio* member, who shall be the president of the college.

- Rogers, James, Burlington. 1873-'76.
 Adams, N. A., Manhattan. 1873-'78.
 Hudson, Joseph Kennedy, Wyandotte. 1873-'75.
 Copley, Josiah, Perryville. 1873-'75.
 Green, Nehemiah, Holton. 1873-'74. d. Jan. 12, 1890, Manhattan.
 Kingsbury, Burton L., Burlington. 1874-'79.
 Bates, Charles A., Marysville. Feb. 8, 1874 to Apr. 1, 1874.
 Folks, John H., Wellington. 1874-'77.
 Salter, Melville J., Thayer. 1875-'80.
 Horton, Albert Howell, Atchison. 1876-'77. d. Sep. 2, 1902, Topeka.
 Wood, Stephen M., Elmdale. 1877-'83.
 Hallowell, James K., Columbus. 1877-'79. d. June 24, 1898, Crawfordsville, Ind.
 Henry, Theodore C., Abilene. 1877-'80.
 Best, Lewis J., Beloit. 1878. d. Apr. 30, 1897, Beardown, Ark.
 Challis, W. L., Atchison. 1878-'81.
 Purcell, E. B., Manhattan. 1879-'81.
 McKay, D. C., Ames. 1879-'83.
 Redden, Alfred Lee, El Dorado. 1879-'83.
 Hoisington, Andrew Jackson, Great Bend. 1880-'83.
 Elliott, John, Manhattan. 1881-'83.
 Adamson, V. V., Holton. 1881-'83.
 Leland, C. A., El Dorado. 1883-'86.
 Ellicott, J. T., Manhattan. 1883-'86.
 Kellerman, H. C., Burlington. 1883-'87.
 Coburn, Foster Dwight, Wyandotte. 1883-'85. 1902-'05.
 Krohn, Philip, Atchison. 1883-'85.
 Gifford, Charles E., Clay Center. 1883-'85.
 Henshall, Thomas, Troy. 1885-'90.
 Moore, T. P., Holton. 1885-'93.
 Lemmon, Allen Borsley, Newton. 1885-'88.
 Forsythe, A. P., Independence. 1885-'94.
 Fullenwider, John H., El Dorado. 1886-'87.
 Hessin, John E., Manhattan. 1886-'92.
 Smith, E. N., El Dorado. 1887-'89.
 Caraway, Morgan, Great Bend. 1889-'92.
 Finley, R. W., Oberlin. 1890-'93.
 Chaffee, F. M., Wyckoff. 1892-'95.
 Kelley, R. P., Eureka. 1892-'95.
 Street, W. D., Oberlin. 1893-'96.
 Stratford, E. D., El Dorado. 1892-'95.
 Secrest, Ed., Randolph. 1892-'95.
 Kelley, Harrison, Burlington, 1893-'96, 1898-'01.
 Hoffman, C. B., Enterprise. 1894-1901.
 Goodyear, C. E., Wichita. 1894-'97.
 Daughters, C. B., Lincoln. 1895-'98.
 Noe, C. R., Leon. 1895-'98.
 Riddle, Alexander P., Minneapolis. 1896-'99.
 Stewart, Sam'l J., Humboldt. 1896-'99, 1902-'05.
 St. John, Mrs. Susan J., Olathe. 1898-1901.
 Hudson, T. J., Fredonia. 1896-'99.
 Limbocker, J. N., Manhattan. 1898-1901.
 Munger, George M., Eureka. 1898-1901.
 Phipps, William H., Abilene. 1896-'99.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, STATE

Board of Regents.

Cowgill, Elias Branson, Topeka. 1896-'99.
 Fairchild, E. T., Ellsworth. 1900-'03.
 McDowell, J. S., Smith Center. 1898-1905.
 Yoe, W. T., Independence. 1898-1901.
 Hunter, William, Blue Rapids. 1900-'03.
 Vrooman Carl, Parsons. 1898-1901.
 Satterthwaite, J. M., Donlass. 1900-'03.

Presidents.

Denison, Joseph, D. D., A. M., Manhattan.
 1863-'73. d. Feb. 21, 1900, Manhattan.
 Anderson, John Alexander, Junction City.
 1873-'78. d. May 18, 1892, Liverpool, England.
 Ward, Milan Lester, A. M., Manhattan. Feb.
 to Dec. 1879. Acting president.
 Fairchild, George Thompson, A. M., Michigan
 Agricultural College. 1879-'96. d. Mar. 16,
 1901, Columbus, Ohio.
 Will, Thomas E., A. M., Manhattan. 1897-'99.
 Nichols, E. R., A. M., Manhattan. 1900—.

*Agent for the Sale of Agricultural College
Lands.*

John B. Gifford, Manhattan. 1904.

AGRICULTURE, STATE BOARD OF

Presidents.

Scott, Lyman, Leavenworth. 1862.
 Bailey, Lawrence Dudley, Emporia. 1863-'66.
 d. Oct. 15, 1891, Lawrence.
 Elliott, R. G., Lawrence. 1867-'69.
 Killoch, Isaac S., Lawrence. 1870-'71. d. Dec.
 11, 1887, Whatcom, Wash.
 Strickler, Hiram Jackson, Tecumseh. 1872.
 d. July 31, 1873, Tecumseh.
 Niccolls, E. S., Anderson county. 1873.
 Anthony, George Tobey, Leavenworth. 1874-
 '77. d. Aug. 5, 1896, Topeka.
 Kelly, John, Blendon. 1879-'85.
 Jenkins, Richard W., Oaaga. 1879-'85.
 Wheeler, Joshua, Nortonville, 1885-'88. d.
 May 14, 1896, Nortonville.
 Sims, William, Topeka. 1888-'89.
 Smith, Abram Wentworth, McPherson, 1889-
 '94.
 Potter, Thomas M., Peabody. 1894-'97.
 Glick, George Washington, Atchison. 1897-'99.
 Hubbard, Thomas A., Rome. 1899-1901.
 Taylor, Edwin, Edwardsville, 1901-'03.
 Churchill, John H., Dodge City. 1903—.

Secretaries.

The Kansas State Agricultural Society was
 organized March 5, 1862, and was incorporated
 under the act of March 6, 1862. Under the act
 of March 7, 1872, the name of the Society was
 changed to the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

Adams, Franklin George, Topeka. 1862-'64.
 d. Dec. 2, 1899, Topeka.
 Brown, John S., Lawrence. 1865-'66. d. July
 16, 1902, Lawrence.
 Strickler, Hiram Jackson, Tecumseh. 1867-'70.
 d. July 31, 1873, Tecumseh.
 Gray, Alfred, Quindaro. 1871-'80. d. Jan. 23,
 1880, Topeka.
 Hudson, Joseph Kennedy, Topeka. 1880-'81.

AGRICULTURE, STATE BOARD OF

Secretaries.

Coburn, Foster Dwight, Pomona. 1881-'82.
 Sims, William, Topeka. 1882-'88.
 Mohler, Martin, Osborne. 1888-'93. d. Mar.
 20, 1903, Topeka.
 Coburn, Foster Dwight, Wyandotte. 1894—.

BANK COMMISSIONERS.

Johnson, Charles F., Oskaloosa. 1891-'93.
 Breidenthal, John W., Chetopa. 1893-1900.
 Albaugh, Morton, Kingman. 1901—

BARBERS' BOARD OF EXAMINATION
AND INSPECTION COMMISSIONERS.

Aker, William L. July 8, 1903, to July 8, 1906.
 Mitchell, D. M. July 8, 1903, to July 8, 1905.
 Stephens, J. D. July 8, 1903, to July 8, 1904.

BLIND INSTITUTION FOR EDUCATION
OF THE, WYANDOTTE.*Board of Trustees.*

Baker, Floyd Perry, Topeka. 1868-'70.
 Larimer, William, president, Leavenworth.
 1868-'73.
 Speck, Frederick, sec., Wyandotte. 1868-'76.
 MacDonald, S. D., Topeka. 1871-'73.
 Reasoner, Calvin, Osborne. 1873-'74.
 Slosson, William B., sec., Sabetha. 1873-'76.
 Wells, Welcome, pres., Manhattan. 1873-'76.
 Wood, Stephen M., Elmdale. 1873-'75.
 Gordon, David, Fort Scott. 1873-'76.
 Pilkenton, W. H., Belleville. 1874-'76.
 Wright, R. W., Oswego. 1875-'76.

This institution passed under the control of
 the State Board of Charities by amendatory
 act of 1876.

Superintendents.

Sawyer, H. H. 1868-'70.
 Updegraff, W. W. 1870-'72.
 Parker, John D. 1872-'76.
 Miller, George H. 1876-'89.
 Buckner, Allen. 1889-'92.
 Williams, Lapiere. 1892-'93.
 Todd, W. G. 1893-'95.
 Miller, George H. 1895-'97.
 Toothaker, W. H. 1897-'99.
 Williams, Lapiere. 1899—.

CHARITIES, STATE BOARD OF

Wilson, J. C., Muscotah. Apr. 10, 1873, to Apr.
 10, 1876.
 Elder, P. P., Ottawa. Apr. 10, 1873, to Apr. 10,
 1876.
 Barnitt, W. B., Hiawatha. Apr. 10, 1873, to
 June 3, 1873.
 Brodbent, C. S. June 13, 1873, to Apr. 10, 1876.
 Taylor, Thomas Thompson, Hutchinson.
 1876-'79.
 Slosson, William B., Sabetha. 1876-'77.
 Lanter, John T., Garnett. 1876-'78.
 Smith, John H., Columbus. 1876-'78.
 Bauserman, Joseph P., Leavenworth. 1876-'77.
 Knowles, Edwin, Sabetha. 1877-'83.

CHARITIES, STATE BOARD OF

Faulkner, Charles E., Salina. 1878-'88.
 Sharpe, Amasa Trowbridge, Ottawa. 1878-'84,
 1885-'89. d. Aug. 18, 1890.
 Wever, J. L., Leavenworth. 1877-'81.
 Hogue, J. M., Emporia. 1880-'83.
 Mitchell, C. R., Gouda Springs. 1882-'85.
 Maloney, Michael, Emporia. 1883-'84. d. Feb.
 4, 1884.
 McAllister, D. O., Ottawa. 1883-'85.
 Gilbert, Samuel L., Winfield. 1884-'85.
 Hohn, August, Marysville. 1883-'85.
 Rogers, George C., Eureka. 1884-'85.
 Krohn, Philip, Atchison. 1885-'86.
 Bondi, August, Salina. 1883-'85.
 Stotler, Jacob, Wellington. 1885-'90. d. Kan-
 sas City, Mo., Jan. 26, 1901.
 Crump, William S., Clyde. 1885-'89.
 Kirk, L. K., Garnett. 1886-'92.
 Reynolds, Adrian, Sedan. 1892-'93.
 Rhodes, T. F., Frankfort, 1889-'93.
 Bond, R. F., Sterling. 1890-'91.
 Kelley, Harrison, Burlington. 1889.
 Miller, W. W., Osage City. 1889-'93.
 Yoe, W. T., Independence. 1891-'94.
 Kelly, Henry Bascom, McPherson. 1891-'94.
 Martin, James, Seneca. 1883-'84. Died.
 Wait, Walter S., Lincoln. 1893-'96. Died Lin-
 coln, Dec. 17, 1900.
 Lease, Mary Elizabeth, Wichita. 1893-'94.
 Freeborn, J. W., McPherson. 1893-'96.
 Householder, Moses Alvah, Columbus. 1893-'96.
 Hinshaw, N. M., Emporia. 1894-'95.
 Landis, Harry S., Medicine Lodge. 1895-'97.
 Allen, Walter Norman, Meriden. 1894-'97.
 Albaugh, Morton, Kingman. 1895-'97.
 Clark, George Alfred, Junction City. 1895-'98.
 Wilcockson, Kleber E., Oakley. 1895-'98.
 Blakeslee, Dr. Thomas, Neodesha. 1896-'97.
 Lockard, Francis Marion, Norton. 1896-'97.
 Brown, William L., Kingman. 1897-'98.
 Jumper, Horace G., Melvern. 1897-'99.
 Wheeler, S. C., Concordia. 1897-1900.
 Dolan, P. H., Salina. 1897-1900.
 Shane, B. Frank, Oskaloosa. 1898-'99.
 Street, William D., Oberlin. 1898-'99.
 Hornaday, Grant, Fort Scott. 1899-1901.
 Snyder, Edwin, Oskaloosa. 1899-1902.
 Kanavel, G. W., Sedgwick. 1899-1905.
 Vincent, R., Washington. 1899-1904.
 Hannon, John, Leavenworth. 1900-'03.
 Allen, Henry J., Ottawa. 1901-'06.
 McNeill, C. A., Columbus. 1901-'07.
 Denman, F. B., Osborne. 1903-'07.
 Yoe, Charles, Independence. 1902-'03.

CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA
BATTLEFIELD COMMISSION.

Johnson, G. W. Feb. 20, 1895.
 Washer, Maj. Sol R. Feb. 20, 1895.
 Aker, Leonard. Feb. 20, 1895.
 Starnes, J. W. Feb. 20, 1895.
 Abernathy, Col. James L., Leavenworth.
 Feb. 20, 1895. d. Leavenworth, Dec. 16, 1902.

DEAF AND DUMB, INSTITUTION FOR
THE EDUCATION OF, OLATHE.*Visiting Committee.*

Cox, John T., Ottumwa. Feb. 20, 1865.
 Craig, Warren. Feb. 20, 1865.
 Park, J. G., Leavenworth. Feb. 20, 1865.

Commissioners.

Henderson, F. E., Olathe. Feb. 26, 1866.
 Craig, Warren, Baldwin. Feb. 26, 1866.
 Goodin, J. K., Baldwin. Feb. 26, 1866.

Trustees.

Lawrence, George W., Olathe. Jan. 31, 1867.
 Henderson, Frank E., Olathe. Feb. 26, 1870.
 Lawrence, George H., Olathe. Feb. 20, 1870.
 Johnson, A. S., Shawnee Mission. Feb. 20, 1870.
 Bruner, J. B., Gardner. Feb. 20, 1870.
 Lakin, D. L., Topeka. Feb. 20, 1870.
 Lockwood, Geo. C., Salina, *vice* Craig. Sept.
 2, 1875.

Board of Trustees.

Craig, Warner, president, Baldwin. 1867-'68.
 Henderson, Frank E., secretary, Olathe. 1867-
 1871.
 Goodin, Joel Kishler, Baldwin. 1867-'69.
 Johnson, Alexander S., president, Shawnee
 Mission. 1867-'71.
 Lawrence, George H., Olathe. 1867-'72.
 Lakin, David Long, Topeka. 1868-'71. d. Oct.
 8, 1897, Topeka.
 Bruner, J. B., Olathe. 1869-'71.
 Craig, William B., president, Wathena. 1872-
 1875.
 Milhoan, Thomas Elwood, secretary, Olathe.
 1872-'73.
 Durkee, Samuel T., Olathe. 1872-'73.
 Fishback, William Henry M., president,
 Olathe. 1873-'74.
 Francis, John, secretary, Iola. 1873-'76.
 Shaw, Archibald, Olathe. 1873-'76. d. May
 14, 1885, Olathe.
 Stover, Elias Sleeper, Council Grove. 1873-'76.
 Rogers, J. W., Boyle. 1873-'76.
 Shannon, W. A., president, Augusta. 1874-'76.
 Lockwood, George C., Salina. 1875-'76.
 This institution passed under control of the
 State Board of Charities by amendatory act
 of 1876.

Superintendents.

Burnsides, Thomas. 1866-'67.
 Jenkins Louis H. 1867-'76.
 Bowles, Theodore C. 1876-'79. d. Apr. 8, 1879,
 Olathe.
 Wyckoff, George L. Apr. 4 to Aug. 15, 1879.
 Parker, J. W. 1879-'80.
 DeMotte, W. H. 1880-'83.
 Turton, H. A. 1883-'85.
 Walker, S. T. 1885-'94.
 Stewart, A. A. 1894-'95.
 Hammond, H. C. 1895-'97.
 Stewart, A. A. 1897-'99.
 Hammond, H. C. 1899—.

The Kansas Deaf-mute Institute was opened
 at Baldwin City, in the summer of 1861, as a
 private school, by Philip A. Emery. It con-
 tinued under his management, at this place,
 until the fall of 1864, when the school was

moved to Topeka. While at this place the school was under the management of Joseph Mount. He continued with it until early in 1865, when the school was again moved to Baldwin. B. R. Nurdyke was in charge for a few months this year, being succeeded by Joseph Mount, who remained in charge until the school was adopted by the legislature, in 1868, and located permanently at Olathe.

DENTAL EXAMINERS. STATE BOARD OF

Wasson, L. C., president, Ottawa. 1885-'95.
 Young, J. A., Emporia. 1885-'88.
 Shirley, William M., Hiawatha. 1885-'91.
 Callahan, Andrew M., secretary, Topeka. 1885-'99. d. July 13, 1902, Topeka.
 Mathews, Rodolph, Wichita. 1888-'90.
 Noble, S. S., secretary, Wichita. 1890-'91.
 Houx, J. O., Columbus. 1893-1901.
 Van Fossen, Charles L., Wyandotte. 1893-'94.
 Davis, A. W., Holton. 1894-'95.
 Hatfield, T. I., Marysville. 1895-1903.
 Lawrence, F. P., El Dorado. 1897-1901.
 Dillman, H. M., president, Girard. 1899-1903.
 Simpson, O. H., Dodge City. 1901-'05. President, 1903-'05.
 Root, Joseph P., secretary, Kansas City. 1901-'05.
 Hults, M. I., Hutchinson. 1903-'07.
 Hetrick, F. O., Ottawa. 1903-'07.

EDUCATION. STATE BOARD OF

Stryker, William, Great Bend. 1893-'95.
 Olin, Arvin Solomon, Lawrence. 1893-'95.
 Best, Mrs. Lucy, Labette county. 1893-'95.
 Parmenter, Chas. Sylvester, Baldwin. 1895-'97.
 Klock, J. E., Leavenworth. 1895-'96.
 Schofield, J. G., Seneca. 1896-'97.
 Brooke, C. M., Leocompton. 1897-'99.
 Kuhn, W. D., Holton. 1897-'98.
 Johnson, T. S., Mitchell county. 1897-'99.
 Gaines, H. N., Salina. 1898-'99.
 Bushey, A. H., Peabody. 1899-'93.
 Massey, W. M., Wellington. 1899-1903.
 Riggs, John D. S., Ottawa. 1899-1903.
 Shepardson, E. A., Pittsburg. 1903-'05.
 Markham, Osman Grant, Baldwin. 1903-'05.
 Cutter, H. M., Norton. 1903-'05.

From 1873 to 1893 the State Board of Education consisted of the state superintendent, the chancellor of the State University, the president of the State Agricultural College, and the principals of the State Normal Schools at Emporia and Leavenworth. In 1893 this law was amended and the board now consists of "the state superintendent, the chancellor of the University, the president of the State Agricultural College, the president of the State Normal School, and three others to be appointed by the governor, by, and with the advice and consent of the senate, selected from those engaged in school work in the schools of the state."

EMIGRATION AGENTS.

Baker, Thomas H., Manhattan. May 3, 1864.
 Hinton, Richard J., Aug. 6, 1867. d. Dec. 20, 1901, London, England.
 Earhart, D., Pardee. Oct. 3, 1867.
 Brunswick, Fred, Junction City. Oct. 19, 1867, Mar. 1, 1870.

EMIGRATION AGENTS.

Sterrett, Alexander, Manhattan. May 18, 1868. d. Kansas City, Kan., Sep. 25, 1885.
 Pratt, Cyrus N., New York, June 19, 1868.
 Arp, John H., Columbus, Ohio. Aug. 8, 1868.
 Drew, Robert Hudson, London, England. Feb. 8, 1871.
 Mite, T. J., Chicago, Ill. Mar. 31, 1871.
 Brewster, Charles, Kansas City, Mo. Apr. 1, 1871.
 Sharman, William, Lawrence. May 9, 1871.
 Marcon, Stephen G., France. June 2, 1871.
 Gray, Col. W. F., New York. Sep. 20, 1871.
 Lusher, John, Aubrey. Dec. 1, 1871.
 Mathonet, Hugo, Germany. Dec. 28, 1871.
 Rood, A. D., Chicago, Ill. July 12, 1872.
 De Pardonnet, Frederic George, France. Nov. 15, 1872, Feb. 9, 1875.
 Hollenberg, G. H., Hanover, Germany. Apr. 10, 1873.
 Tholen, Charles, Leavenworth. Apr. 18, 1873.
 Renedikt, Max, Leavenworth, July 11, 1873.
 Bolmar, Charles P., Topeka. Aug. 19, 1873, June 6, 1876, Dec. 15, 1902.
 Lavy, Albert, Sweden. Mar. 3, 1874.
 Kelley, J. M., Ohio. Apr. 1, 1874.
 Forbes, John, Fort Scott. Oct. 26, 1874.
 Weston, Williams, Europe. Nov. 30, 1874.
 Schmidt, C. B., Topeka. Jan. 25, 1875.
 Kiper, Julius, Europe. Apr. 22, 1875.
 De Blaesare, J. F., Brussels, Belgium. May 8, 1875.
 Burbank, Maj. J. E., Nebraska. June 1, 1875.
 Simon, Julius, Hamburg, Germany. June 28, 1875.
 Goldsmith, M., Leavenworth. Mar. 27, 1876.
 Parmelee, George F., Topeka. June 22, 1876.
 Lewelling, Lorenzo D., Wichita. Jan. 5, 1900.
 Smith, Oscar Z., Wichita. Jan. 20, 1900.
 Miller, C. W., Hays City. Feb. 2, 1900.
 Freeman, Geo. S., Wichita. Mar. 5, 1900.
 Weinschenk, Frank, Kingman. May 2, 1900.
 Honchin, A. M., Medicine Lodge. Feb. 13, 1901.
 Kelly, George W., Coldwater. Feb. 10, 1902.
 Mahin, F. W., Smith Center. Feb. 25, 1902.

These agents, for the most part, served without compensation. The term of office, never definitely stated, was apparently for one year.

EMIGRATION AGENCY, FREE

Gerow, Theodore Bliven, Atchison. Apr. 8, 1901, to Apr. 6, 1905.

EXPOSITIONS.

Paris Universal Exposition. 1867.

Young, Isaac, agent for Kansas, Leavenworth. Nov. 14, 1866.

Vienna Exposition.

Lewis, James, Humboldt. Apr. 9, 1873. d. Oct. 28, 1899, Joliet, Ill.
 Hofman, M., Leavenworth. Apr. 14, 1873.
 Brown, I. P., Atchison. Apr. 22, 1873.
 Brier, Frank, Atchison. Apr. 22, 1873.
 Hentig, F. G., Topeka. May 2, 1873.
 Knox, John D., Topeka. May 10, 1873.
 Pratt, C. H., Humboldt. May 31, 1873.
 Mason, L. C., Independence. May 31, 1873.

EXPOSITIONS.

Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876.

- Anthony, George Tobey, president, Leavenworth. Mar. 30, 1874. d. Aug. 5, 1896, Topeka.
 Martin, John Alexander, Atchison. Mar. 30, 1874. d. Oct. 2, 1889, Atchison.
 Crawford, George Addison, Fort Scott. Mar. 1874. d. Jan. 26, 1891, Grand Junction, Colo.
 Dennis, Edgar Whetten, Topeka. Mar. 30, 1874, to Feb. 1876. d. Apr. 2, 1878, Topeka.
 North, Amos J., Atchison. Mar. 30, 1874, to Feb. 1876.
 Evans, David J., secretary, Topeka. Mar. 30, 1874, to Feb. 1876.
 Kelsey, S. T., Hutchinson. Mar. 30, 1874, to Apr. 24, 1875.
 Gray, Alfred, secretary, Topeka. Apr. 24, 1875, d. Jan. 23, 1880, Topeka.
 Bancroft, Edwin P., Emporia. Mar. 2, 1876.
 Koester, Charles F., Marysville. Mar. 2, 1876. d. Aug. 15, 1902, Marysville.
 Henry, Theodore C., Abilene. Mar. 2, 1876.
 Barnes, William E., Vinland. Mar. 2, 1876.
 Wright, R. W., Oswego. Mar. 3, 1876.
 Parkinson, William L., Ottawa. Mar. 3, 1876.
 Glick, George W., Atchison. Mar. 3, 1876.

American Exposition, London, 1877.

- Collins, Frederick, commissioner, Belleville.

Paris Universal Exposition, 1878.

- Floyd P. Baker, commissioner.
 Eugene L. Meyer, Hutchinson, honorary commissioner.
 Mason D. Sampson, Salina, honorary commissioner.

Industrial Exposition, Paris, 1889.

- Firmin, Emil, commissioner. Mar. 7, 1889.

World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

- Anderson, Thomas Jefferson, Topeka. Mar. 9, 1893.
 Collins, A. P., Solomon City. Mar. 9, 1893.
 Glick, George Washington, Atchison. Mar. 9, 1893.
 Kern, H. H., Bonner Springs. Mar. 9, 1893.
 Cobun, M. W., president, Hoisington. Mar. 9, 1893.
 King, Lewis Philip, Tannehill. Mar. 9, 1893.
 Clark, Mrs. Ada M., secretary. Mar. 9, 1893.

Omaha Exposition, 1898.

- Glick, George Washington, Atchison. Mar. 29, 1898.
 Smith, A. W., McPherson. Mar. 29, 1898.
 Frost, John E., Topeka. Mar. 29, 1898.
 Greef, A. H., Pittsburg. Mar. 29, 1898.
 Lambe, A. C., Wellington. Mar. 29, 1898.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.

- Carpenter, John C., Chanute. Sep. 17, 1901.
 Morrow, J. C., Haddam. Sep. 17, 1901.
 Simons, R. T., Caldwell. Sep. 17, 1901.
 Luling, Charles Henry, Wichita. Sep. 17, 1901.
 Waggener, William P., Atchison. Sep. 17, 1901.

FEEBLE-MINDED YOUTH, STATE SCHOOL FOR, WINFIELD.

Superintendents.

- Greene, Henry Martin, La Cygne. 1881-'88. d. Lawrence, Nov. 29, 1900.
 Wiles, Dr. C. K., Winfield. 1889-'93.
 Pilcher, Dr. F. Hoyt, New Salem. 1893-'95; 1897-'99.
 Newlon, Dr. C. S., Altamont. 1895-'97; 1899—.

FISHERIES, COMMISSIONER OF

- Long, D. B., Ellsworth. 1877-'83.
 Gile, W. S., Venango. 1883-'85.
 Fee, S., Wamego. 1885-'88.
 Brumbaugh, John M., Concordia. 1889-'92.
 Mason, J. B., Eureka. 1891-'93.
 Wampler, J. W., Brazilton. 1893-'94.
 Sadler, Otis E., El Dorado. 1895-'96.
 Shults, J. W., Wichita. 1897-'98.
 Wiley, George W., Meade. 1899-1901.
 Haughey, John W., Wellington. 1902—

FORESTRY AND IRRIGATION, COMMISSIONER OF

- Robb, Silas C., Ogallah. Mar. 22, 1887-'89.
 Allen, Martin, Hays City. 1889-'91. d. Grand Junction, Colo., Apr. 10, 1898.
 Bartlett, George V. 1891-'93.
 Wheeler, E. D. 1893-'95.
 Bartlett, George V. 1895-'97.
 Wheeler, E. D. 1897-'99.
 Wright, Robert M., Dodge City. 1899—

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, STATE

- Mudge, B. F., Manhattan, 1864. d. Manhattan, Nov. 21, 1879.
 Swallow, George C. Feb. 20, 1865.
 Hay, Robert, Junction City.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, UNIVERSITY

- Samuel W. Williston, Lawrence. Paleontologist, 1895-1902.
 Haworth, Erasmus, Lawrence. Geologist, 1895—
 Bailey, Edgar, H. S., Lawrence. Chemist, 1895—

GOSS ORNITHOLOGICAL COLLECTION.

Curator.

- Smyth, Bernard B., Topeka. 1894—

GRAIN INSPECTION COMMISSION.

- Parker, H. July 6, 1903—
 Baker, F. M. July, 6, 1903—
 Cole, S. E. July 6, 1903—

GRAIN INSPECTORS.

- Haskell, W. W. Apr. 1891 to Apr. 1893.
 Jones, Samuel P., Anthony. Apr. 1893 to Apr. 1895.
 Merritt, A. C., Wamego. Apr. 1895 to Apr. 1897.
 Culver, W. W., Great Bend, Apr. 1897 to Apr. 1899.
 McKenzie, A. E. Apr. 1899 to Apr. 1901.
 Northrup, B. J. Apr. 1901 to Apr. 1903.
 Radford, J. W. Apr. 1903 to Apr. 1905.

HEALTH, STATE BOARD OF

Presidents.

- Johuson, George Henry Trust, Atchison. Apr. 1885.
 Swallow, Frank, Valley Falls. 1893-'94.
 Stewart, Dr. Josephus P., Clay Center. 1894.
 Ward, Dr. Milo Buel, Topeka. 1895. d. July 27, 1901, Kansas City, Mo.
 Raines, Dr. Taylor E., Concordia. 1895-'97.
 Hoover, Eli M., Halstead. 1897-'99.
 Alexander, Benjamin J., Hiawatha. 1899-1902.
 Minick, John Morrison, Wichita. June 3, 1902, to June, 1903. d. Feb. 22, 1904, Wichita.
 Geo. E. Locke, Holton. June, 1903—

Secretaries.

- Redden, J. W., Topeka. Apr. 1885-'90. d. Aug. 5, 1893.
 O'Brien, Michael, Topeka. 1891-'93. d. Aug. 28, 1894.
 Dykes, Henry A., Topeka. July 1893-'95.
 Kirkpatrick, Thomas, Topeka. July 1895-'97.
 Gill, Henry Z., Pittsburg. July 1897-'99.
 Swan, William Brown, Topeka. 1899-1902. d. Sep. 1, 1902, Ludington, Mich.
 Lowry, Charles, Topeka. Sep. 1902—

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, KANSAS STATE

Presidents.

- Kingman, Samuel Austin, Topeka. 1876.
 Crawford, George Addison, Fort Scott. 1877. d. Jan. 26, 1891, Grand Junction, Colo.
 Martin, John Alexander, Atchison. 1878. d. Oct. 2, 1889, Atchison.
 Robinson, Charles, Lawrence. 1879-'80. d. Aug. 17, 1894, Lawrence.
 Thacher, Timothy Dwight, Lawrence. 1881-'82. d. Jan. 17, 1894, Topeka.
 Baker, Floyd Perry, Topeka. 1883-'84.
 Anthony, Daniel Read, Leavenworth. 1885-'86.
 Wilder, Daniel Webster, Hiawatha. 1887.
 Russell, Edward, Lawrence. 1888. d. Aug. 14, 1898, Lawrence.
 Phillips, William Addison, Salina. 1889. d. Nov. 30, 1893, Fort Gibson, I. T.
 Holliday, Cyrus Kurtz, Topeka. 1890. d. Mar. 29, 1900, Topeka.
 Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence. 1891. d. June 8, 1899, Lawrence.
 Osborn, Thomas A., Topeka. 1892. d. Feb. 4, 1898, Meadville, Pa.
 Lowe, Percival G., Leavenworth. 1893.
 Lane, Vincent J., Wyandotte. 1894.
 Thacher, Solon Otis, Lawrence. 1895. d. Aug. 11, 1895, Lawrence.
 Morrill, Edmund N., Hiawatha. 1896.
 Kelley, Harrison, Burlington. 1897. d. July 24, 1897, Burlington.
 Speer, John, Garden City. 1898.
 Ware, Eugene Fitch, Topeka. 1899.
 Haskell, John Gideon, Lawrence. 1900.
 Francis, John, Colony. 1901.
 Smith, William H., Marysville. 1902.
 Stone, William B., Galena. 1903.
 Martin, John, Topeka. 1904.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, KANSAS STATE

Secretaries.

- Baker, Floyd Perry, Topeka. 1875.
 Adams, Franklin George, Topeka. 1876-'99. d. Dec. 2, 1899, Topeka.
 Martin, George Washington, Kansas City, 1899—

HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

Presidents.

- Tanner, William, Leavenworth. 1867-'71.
 Howsley, William M., Leavenworth. 1871-'75.
 Gale, Elbridge, Manhattan. 1875-'87.
 Johnson, George Y., Lawrence. 1887-'89.
 Houk, Lysander, Hutchinson. 1889-'95. d. Feb. 12, 1898, Chicago.
 Wellhouse, Frederick, Topeka. 1895—

Secretaries.

- Brackett, George C., Lawrence. 1867-'95.
 Taylor, Edwin, Edwardsville. 1895-'97.
 Barnes, Wm. Henry, Independence. 1897—

INDIAN CLAIMS, COMMISSIONERS TO
AUDIT

- Jackson, Z., Ellsworth. Mar. 5, 1869.
 Baxter, Edson, Salina. Mar. 5, 1869.
 Tallman, James F., Washington. Mar. 5, 1869.

COMMISSION FOR SETTLEMENT OF
WESTERN FRONTIER CLAIMS.

- Colley, D. D., Leavenworth. May 15, 1871.
 Heller, David, Clyde. May 15, 1871.
 Brown, Thomas W., Marion. May 15, 1871.

INDIAN COMMISSION TO AUDIT CLAIMS
OF FRONTIER SETTLERS, 1861-1871.

- Kelso, David, Oswego. Mar. 7, 1872.
 Baker, Floyd Perry, Topeka. Mar. 7, 1872.
 Brandley, Henry, Bazar. Mar. 7, 1872.

COMMISSION TO EXAMINE AND AUDIT
CLAIMS INDIAN RAID, 1878.

- Mann, A. W., Burr Oak. Mar. 17, 1879.
 Stephenson, R. E., Olathe. Mar. 17, 1879.
 Adams, W. R., Larned. Mar. 17, 1879.

INDUSTRIAL REFORMATORY, HUTCH-
INSON, COMMISSIONERS

- Severance, John, Axtell. Mar. 1885-'89.
 Bonebrake, John E., Abilene. Mar. 1885-'89.
 Smith, Edwin R., Mound City. Mar. 1885-'89.
 McDowell, J. S. Apr. 1889-'95.
 Rash, F. W. Apr. 1889-'95.
 McNeal, Thomas A. Apr. 1889-'95.
 Humphrey, J. M., Fort Scott. 1895.
 Armstrong, John, Great Bend. 1895.
 Scott, Tully, Oberlin. 1895.
 Peters, Samuel Ritter, Newton. July 25, 1895-'97.
 O'Neil, T. J., Osage City. July 25, 1895-1903.
 Nicholson, M. B. July 25, 1895, to Nov. 1895.
 Lingenfelter, William J., Wellington. Nov. 15, 1895-1901.
 Miller, J. J., North Topeka. 1897-'99.

INDUSTRIAL REFORMATORY, HUTCHINSON, COMMISSIONERS

Kelley, Phillip, White Cloud. 1899-1907.
Zacharias, F. R. 1901-'02.
Hull, Charles. 1902-'05.
Jones, W. M. 1903-'05.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, BELOIT.

Superintendents.

Marshall, Mary. 1889-'91
Spencer, Martha P. 1891-'93.
Osborne, Tamsel Hahn. 1893-'95.
Leeper, Mrs. S. V. 1895-'97.
Bare, Mrs. Phoebe J. 1897-'99.
Hanback, Mrs. Hester A. 1899-1901.
Perry, Mrs. Julia B. 1901-'03.

INSANE ASYLUM, OSAWATOMIE.

Board of Trustees.

Hanway, James, president, Lane. 1866-'73. d. May 9, 1882, Lane.
Underhill, Daniel, Linn county. 1866-'69. d. Adair, Samuel Lyle, secretary, Osawatomie' 1866-'73. d. Dec. 27, 1898.
Woodard, Levi, Hesper. 1870-'76. d.
Bowles, Theodore C., president, Ottawa. 1873-'76. d. Apr. 1879, Olathe.
Childs, A. F., Columbus. 1873-'74.
Lanter, John T., Garnett. 1873-'76.
Smith, Reuben, sec'y, Osawatomie. 1873-'74.
Wyman, George, pres't, Topeka. 1873-'76. d.
Grimes, W. H., Atchison. 1874-'76. d.
Rhodes, Jacob, Mound City. 1874-'76.

This institution passed under control of the State Board of Charities by amendatory act of 1876.

Superintendents.

Gause, C. O. 1866-'72. *
Lee, C. P. 1872-'73.
Jacobs, L. W. 1873-'74.
Knapp, A. H. 1874-'77.
West, T. Bailey. Mar. to Oct. 1877.
Tenney, A. P. 1877-'79.
Knapp, A. H. 1879-'92.
Wentworth, Lowell F. 1892-'95.
Biddle, T. C. 1895-'98.
Hinton, E. W. 1898. A few months.
Kirk, Thomas, jr. 1898-'99.
Uhls, L. L. 1899—

INSANE ASYLUM, TOPEKA.

Superintendents.

Eastman, B. D. 1879-'83.
Tenney, A. P. 1883-'85.
Eastman, B. D. 1885-'94.
McCasey, J. H. 1894-'95.
Eastman, B. D. 1895-'97.
Wetmore, C. H. 1897-'99.
Biddle, T. C. 1899—

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

Superintendents.

Webb, William C., Fort Scott. Mar. 19, 1871-'72. d. Apr. 20, 1898, Topeka.
Russell, Edward, Leavenworth. Feb. 1873-'74. d. Aug. 14, 1898, Lawrence.
Clarkson, Harrison, Topeka. Dec. 21, 1874-'75.
Welch, Orrin T., Topeka. Mar. 16, 1875-'83.
Morris, Richard Bontecou, Atchison. July 1, 1883-'87.
Wilder, Daniel Webster, Hiawatha. July 1, 1887-'91.
McBride, W. H., Osborne. July 1, 1891-'93.
Snider, S. H., Kingman. July 1893-'95.
Anthony, George Tobey, Ottawa. July 1895-'96. d. Aug. 5, 1896, Topeka.
Riddle, Alexander Pancoast, Minneapolis. Aug. 1896-'97.
McNall, Webb, Gaylord. July 1897-1901.
Church, Willard Volney, Marion. July 1901-'03.
Luling, Charles H., Wichita. 1903—

INTERNAL-IMPROVEMENT LANDS, AGENT FOR SALE OF

Drenning, F. H. Mar. 5, 1874.

IRRIGATION SURVEY AND EXPERIMENT, BOARD OF

Frost, D. M., president, Garden City. 1895.
Tomblin, M. B., Goodland. 1895.
Sutton, William B., secretary, Russell. 1895.

Advisory members.

Fairchild, George Thompson, Manbattan. 1895. d. Mar. 16, 1901, Columbus, Ohio.
Haworth, Erasmus, Lawrence. 1895.

LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS, BUREAU OF

Commissioners.

Betton, Frank Holyoke, Wyandotte. May 1, 1885-'93.
Todd, John F., El Dorado. 1893-'95.
Bird, William Goodman, Kansas City. 1895-'97.
Johnson, William Lee Andrew, Kansas City. 1897.

LIBRARIAN, STATE

Dickinson, David, Wyandotte. Mar. 14, 1870, to Oct. 5, 1879. d. Oct. 5, 1879, Topeka.
Kingman, Samuel Austin, Topeka. Oct. 18, 1879, to Mar. 1, 1881.
Dennis, Hamilton J., Leavenworth. Mar. 1, 1881, to Oct. 12, 1894. d. Oct. 12, 1894, Topeka.
King, James L., Topeka. Dec. 8, 1894, to Mar. 24, 1898.
Diggs, Mrs. Annie L., Topeka. Mar. 24, 1898, to Mar. 24, 1902.
King, James L., Topeka. Mar. 24, 1902, to Mar. 24, 1906.

LIVE-STOCK SANITARY COMMISSION.

Hamilton, James W., Wellington. Mar. 25, 1884-'89.
Harris, W. A., Lawrence. Mar. 25, 1884-'87.
White, John T., Ada. Mar. 25, 1884-'92.
Kelley, Harrison, Ottumwa. June 1885-'89.

LIVE-STOCK SANITARY COMMISSION.

- Collins, Charles, Hutchinson. Feb. 1887-'89; Mar. 25, 1892.
 Hurst, Keenan. July 18, 1889-'93.
 Hull, P. E. Mar. 18, 1893, to Mar. 25, 1895.
 Turner, Ed. M. Mar. 25, 1893, to Mar. 25, 1896.
 Brown, John L., Delphos. Mar. 24, 1894, to Mar. 24, 1897.
 William, J. F. Apr. 17, 1894, to Mar. 25, 1895.
 Johnson, J. W., Hamilton. Mar. 1, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1898.
 Moore, J. W., Marion. Mar. 1, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1896.
 Vincent, J. B. Apr. 1, 1896, to Feb. 1897.
 Weinschenk, Frank, Kingman. Feb. 10, 1897, to July 26, 1898.
 Riddle, Taylor. Mar. 25, 1897, to Apr. 1, 1900.
 Bryden, John. Apr. 1, 1898, to Feb. 16, 1899.
 Beal, J. B., Grainfield. Sep. 1, 1898, to Feb. 16, 1899.
 Campbell, M. C., Wichita. Feb. 16, 1899.
 Chamberlain, F. K., Sedan. Feb. 16, 1899, to Apr. 1, 1904.
 Cowley, Fred., Columbus. Apr. 1, 1900, to Apr. 1, 1903.
 Hood, Harry E. Apr. 1, 1903-'05.
 Johnson, J. H., Whiting. Apr. 1, 1904, to Apr. 1, 1907.

STATE VETERINARY SURGEON.

- Holcomb, A. A. Mar. 25, 1884-'89.
 Going, W. H. Mar. 13, 1889-'93.
 Pritchard, George C. Mar. 25, 1893, to May 25, 1895.

*Medical Registration and Examination,
Board of.*

- Hatfield, F. P. May 1, 1901, to May 1, 1906.
 Williston, Samuel Wendell, Lawrence. May 1, 1901, to Oct. 18, 1902.
 Lewis, O. F. May 1, 1901, to May 1, 1905.
 Roby, Henry W., Topeka. May 1, 1901, to May 1, 1902.
 Packer, E. B. May 1, 1901, to May 1, 1904.
 Cook, D. P. May 1, 1901, to May 1, 1904.
 Johnston, G. F. May 9, 1901, to May 1, 1907.
 Hamull, J. M. Oct. 18, 1902, to May 1, 1905.
 Jones, N. L. June 8, 1903, to May 1, 1907.
 Raines, T. E. June 8, 1903, to May 1, 1907.

MINE INSPECTOR.

- Scammon, E. A., Columbus. 1883-'85.
 Braidwood, John R., Pittsburg. 1885-'87.
 Findlay, George W., Fort Scott. 1887-'89.
 Stewart, John T. 1889-'91.
 Gallagher, A. C. 1893-'95.
 Brown, Bennett B. 1895-'97.
 McGrath, George T. 1897-'99.
 Keegan, Edward. 1899-'01.
 Casselman, D. R. 1901-'04.
 Orr, James, Weir City. Feb. 1904—

NORMAL SCHOOL, EMPORIA.

Presidents.

- Kellogg, Lyman B., Carbondale, Ill. 1865-'71.
 Hoss, George Washington, Indiana. 1871-'73.
 Pomeroy, C. R., Batavia, N. Y. 1873-'79.

NORMAL SCHOOL, EMPORIA.

Presidents.

- Weleh, Rudolph Bair, Pontiac, Ill. 1879-'82.
 Taylor, Albert Reynolds, Lincoln, Ill. 1882-'90.
 Wilkinson, Jasper N., Carbondale, Ill. 1902—

Regents.

At the organization of the State Normal School in 1864, the board of regents, then called directors, consisted of six members appointed by the governor, and three *ex-officio* members, the governor, treasurer of state, and superintendent of public instruction. Under act of 1873 the board of regents was confined to seven members, six appointees "and one *ex-officio* member who shall be the president of the school."

- Morse, G. C., Emporia. Aug. 19, 1864-'71.
 Eskridge, Chas V., Emporia. Aug. 19, 1864-'71. d. July 15, 1900, Emporia.
 Huffaker, J. S., Council Grove. Aug. 19, 1864-'71.
 Brockway, David, Topeka. Aug. 19, 1864-'65.
 Roberts, John W., Oskaloosa. Aug. 19, 1864-'66.
 Rankin, John M., Ottumwa. Feb. 18, 1865-'67.
 Rogers, James, Burlingame. Sep. 7, 1867-'69.
 Bailey, Lawrence Dudley, Lawrence. Sep. 7, 1867-'71. d. Oct. 15, 1891, Lawrence.
 Prouty, Salmon Stephen, Topeka. Sep. 7, 1867-'70. d. Jan. 31, 1889, Topeka.
 Stotler, Jacob, Emporia. Jan. 20, 1869-'70. d. Jan. 28, 1901, Kansas City, Mo.
 Rice, Cyrus R., Burlington. Jan. 16, 1871-'71.
 Overstreet, Robert M., Emporia. Jan. 18, 1871-'71.
 Tucker, Edwin, Eureka. May 16, 1871-'83.
 Baurcoft, Harvey, Emporia. May 16, 1871-'73.
 Stover, Elias Sleeper, Council Grove. May 16, 1871-'73.
 Bancroft, E. P., Emporia. May 16, 1871-'73.
 Horner, J. W., Chetopa. May 16, 1871-'73.
 Riggs, S. B., Emporia. May 16, 1871-'73.
 Butler, Chas. B., Burlington. Sep. 25, 1873-'77.
 Murdock, Marshall M., Wichita. Mar. 15, 1873-'80.
 Crichton, James H., Chetopa. Feb. 3, 1874-'85.
 Wood, George W., Troy. Apr. 1, 1873-'75.
 Cross, H. C., Emporia. Mar. 15, 1873-'77.
 Sellers, A., Alma. Mar. 18, 1875-'79.
 Knapp, E. N. Nov. 11, 1876-'77.
 Lawrence, C. D., Hiawatha. Mar. 6, 1877-'79.
 Wright, J. J., Emporia. Jan. 19, 1877-'81.
 Goss, William, La Cygne. Mar. 10, 1879-'83.
 Clapp, Dexter E., Yates Center. Mar. 10, 1879-'82. d. June 1882.
 Loy, John, Americus. Apr. 1, 1881-'85.
 Orner, George D., Medicine Lodge. Apr. 8, 1881-'85.
 Clapp, Mrs. Mary, Yates Center. July 31, 1882-'83.
 Sharp, Isaac, Council Grove. Feb. 1, 1883-'85.
 Dickson, Henry D., Neosho Falls. Feb. 1, 1883-'85.
 Haller, James, Burlingame. Feb. 1, 1883-'85.
 Thanhauser, Samuel, Beloit. Feb. 1, 1883-'85.
 Franklin, John H., Russell. Mar. 6, 1885-'89.
 Rice, William M., Ft. Scott. Mar. 6, 1885-'89.
 Stewart, Milton, Wichita. Mar. 6, 1885-'89.

NORMAL SCHOOL, EMPORIA.

Regents.

- Warner, Edgar W., Kirwin. Mar. 7, 1885-'89.
 Caldwell, Wm. H., Beloit. Aug. 24, 1885-'90.
 Hatfield, Rudolph, Wichita. Feb. 26, 1889-'93.
 West, Judson S., Ft. Scott. Feb. 26, 1889, to Oct. 1889.
 Hull, Charles W., Kirwin. Feb. 26, 1889-'93.
 Case, Nelson, Oswego. Aug. 22, 1889-'95.
 Graybill, James M., Leavenworth. Oct. 23, 1889-'93.
 Dodge, Sylvester H., Beloit. Dec. 23, 1890-1907.
 Madden, John, Cottonwood Falls. Apr. 1, 1893-1901.
 Stanley, V. K., Wichita. Apr. 1, 1893-'97.
 McGrath, J. S., Beloit. Apr. 1. 1893-'99.
 Knappenberger, M. F., Jewell City. Apr. 1, 1895-'99.
 Winans, Jacob S., Manchester. Apr. 1, 1895-'99.
 Ritchie, J. H., Cherryvale. Apr. 1, 1897-1901.
 Turner, A. H., Chanute. Mar. 3, 1899-1901.
 Larabee, F. S., Stafford. Mar. 1, 1899-1903.
 Ross, E. A., Burr Oak. Mar. 1, 1899-1907.
 Glotfelter, J. H., Atchison. Mar. 1, 1901 to July 25, 1901.
 Kellogg, Lyman Beecher, Emporia. Apr. 1, 1901-'05.
 Altswager, F. J., Hutchinson. Apr. 1, 1901-'05.
 Coddling, George T., Louisville. July 25, 1901-'05.
 Bushey, A. H., Pittsburg. Mar. 1903-'07.

Appraisers of Salt-spring Lands to Endow State Normal School.

- Kinney, D. W. Mar. 30, 1886.
 Voorhis, A. L. Mar. 30, 1886.
 Billings, J. F. Mar. 30, 1886.

NORMAL SCHOOL, LEAVENWORTH.

Regents.

- Brown, John H., Leavenworth. Mar. 18, 1873, to Jan. 1876.
 Houston, Levi, Leavenworth. Mar. 18, 1873, to Jan. 1878.
 Moonlight, Thomas, Leavenworth. Mar. 1873 to Jan. 1877.
 Gould, W. O., Leavenworth. Mar. 18, 1873, to Sep. 11, 1875.
 Newman, H. L., Leavenworth. Mar. 18, 1873, to Jan. 1876.
 Wever, J. L., Leavenworth. Mar. 18, 1873, to Jan. 1878.
 Eddy, George A., Leavenworth. Aug. 4, 1874, to Jan. 1878.
 Wilson, Levi, Leavenworth. Sep. 11, 1875, to 1878.
 Moore, H. Miles, Leavenworth. Mar. 9, 1876, to 1878.
 Butterfield, W. H., Topeka. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 8, 1880.
 Pierce, C. B., Leavenworth. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 8, 1880.

Principals.

- P. J. Williams. 1870-'71.
 John A. Banfield. 1872.
 John Wherrell. 1873-'75.

NORMAL SCHOOL, CONCORDIA.

Regents.

- Reasoner, M. Apr. 17, 1874, to Jan. 1878.
 Snowden, E. C. Apr. 17, 1874, to 1877.
 Smith, H. E., Concordia. Apr. 17, 1874, to Jan. 1878.
 McKinnon, M. M., Concordia. Apr. 17, 1874, to Jan. 1878.
 Sturgis, F. W. Apr. 17, 1874, to 1877.
 Reid, W. E. Apr. 17, 1874, to 1877.
 McEckron, B. H. Nov. 30, 1874, to Jan. 1878.
 Laing, Theodore, Concordia. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 8, 1884.
 Strain, James, Concordia. Jan. 8, 1877, to Jan. 8, 1880.

Principals.

- E. F. Robinson. 1874.
 Hugh D. McCarty. 1875.

NORMAL SCHOOL—COLORED, QUINDARO.

Principals.

- Langston, Charles. 1872.
 Blachly, Eben. 1872.
 Sherman, Esq. 1872.
 Blachly, Mrs. J. F. 1873.

NURSERIES, STATE INSPECTOR OF.

- Popenoe, Edwin A., Manhattan. July 17, 1901, to —.
 Hunter, S. J., Lawrence. Oct. 18, 1901, —.

OIL INSPECTOR.

- Carpenter, Arthur H., Wichita. May 25, 1889, to May 25, 1891.
 Kelly, M. C. May 25, 1891, to Apr. 1, 1893; Apr. 1, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897; Feb. 10, 1903 —
 Taylor, H. L. Apr. 1, 1893, to Apr. 1, 1895.
 Wharton, E. V., Yates Center. Apr. 1, 1897, to Feb. 16, 1899.
 Spencer, S. O. Feb. 16, 1899, to Feb. 10, 1903.

COMMISSIONERS IN CHARGE OF ORPHANS AND DESTITUTE CHILDREN OF SOLDIERS.

- Anthony, George T., Leavenworth. Dec. 19, 1867.
 Plumb, Preston B., Emporia. Dec. 19, 1867.
 McVicar, Peter, Topeka. Dec. 19, 1867.

PARDONS, STATE BOARD OF

- Caldwell, Gen. John C., Topeka. Mar. 1885 to Mar. 1893; Mar. 7, 1895-'97.
 Stevenson, Robert B., Iola. Mar. 1885 to Feb. 1890.
 Felt, Andrew J., Seneca. Mar. 1885 to Mar. 1889.
 Walton, Tell W., Lincoln. Mar. 1889 to Mar. 1893.
 Parks, Samuel C., Winfield. Feb. 15, 1890, to Mar. 1893.
 Willits, John F. Mar. 1893-'94.
 Willoughby, S. A. Mar. 1893 to May 1893.
 McDonald, J. F. Mar. 1893 to Jan. 1894.
 Foote, C. E., Topeka. May 8, 1893, to Mar. 1895.
 Laybourn, Joseph W. Jan. 1894 to Mar. 1895.

PARDONS, STATE BOARD OF

Baker, A. C. Mar. 1894 to Mar. 1895.
 White, J. H. Mar. 14, 1895, to Jan. 1897.
 Smith, Charles. Mar. 7, 1895, to Jan. 1897.
 Thomas, Mayo. Jan. 28, 1897-'98.
 Wells, M. W. Jan. 28, 1897-'98.
 Randolph, J. Jan. 28, 1897-'98.

PENITENTIARY.

Commissioners and Directors.

Dunlap, William. 1863-'67.
 Wilson, John. 1863-'65.
 Ludlum, S. S. 1863-'67.
 Ritchie, John, Topeka. Appointed Aug. 23, 1865.
 Dutton, M. R., Grantville. Sep. 1, 1865-'68.
 Sears, Theodore C., Leavenworth. Mar. 7, 1867-'71.
 Low, A., Doniphan. 1867-'71.
 Kelley, Harrison, Ottumwa. Mar. 3, 1868, to Apr. 1873.
 Hensley, E., Leavenworth. Mar. 4, 1869-'73.
 Jenkins, R. W., Vienna. Mar. 3, 1871-'74.
 Angell, A. J. 1873 to Mar. 15, 1875.
 Learned, Homer C. 1873 to Jan. 20, 1876.
 Crawford, Samuel J., Emporia. Appointed Jan. 20, 1876, vice Learned.
 Grover, O. J., Vienna. 1874-'79.
 Gillett, H. W., Leavenworth. Mar. 15, 1875-'76.
 Mackey, H. D. Feb. 2, 1876, to Feb. 1879.
 Burdette, S. F., Leavenworth. Appointed Mar. 11, 1879.
 Martindale, William, Madison. Apr. 1, 1878, to Apr. 1, 1881; Apr. 1, 1889, to Apr. 1, 1893.
 Richter, Harry E., Council Grove. 1880-'83; Mar. 7, 1885, to Apr. 1, 1889.
 Howell, Matthew, Leavenworth. May 22, 1880, to Apr. 1, 1881.
 Guthrie, Warren W., Atchison. Apr. 1, 1881, to Apr. 1, 1884.
 Waters, John S., Oswego. Mar. 11, 1882, to Apr. 1, 1885.
 Laurey, H. C., Frankfort. Mar. 11, 1883-'86.
 Walls, John C., Lawrence. Feb. 5, 1883, to Apr. 1, 1885.
 Perry, Albert, Troy. Mar. 22, 1884-'87.
 Hiatt, O. S., Fairmount. Mar. 7, 1885-'89.
 Shaw, Archibald, Olathe. Apr. 1, 1886, to Oct. 22, 1888.
 McDowell, J. S., Smith Center. Oct. 22, 1888-'89.
 McBride, W. H. 1889 to June 17, 1891.
 Cornell, D. E. Appointed Apr. 1, 1890.
 Rice, William M. Appointed June 17, 1891, vice McBride.
 Rice, H. V. Appointed July 11, 1892.
 Gilmore, John S., Fredonia. Feb. 1891 to Apr. 1, 1893; Feb. 16, 1899, to Apr. 1, 1901.
 Hurd, W. J., Holton. Apr. 1, 1893, to Apr. 1, 1895.
 Butler, T. H., Great Bend. Mar. 1, 1893, to Apr. 1, 1895.
 Hollenback, George W., Coldwater. June 13, 1893, to Apr. 1, 1895.
 Eckert, T. W., Arkansas City. Apr. 1, 1895, to Feb. 4, 1897.
 Beck, M. M., Holton. 1895 to Jan. 29, 1897.
 Dean, Lair, Smith Center. 1895 to Jan. 29, 1897, d. Apr. 16, 1904, Smith Center.

PENITENTIARY.

Commissioners and Directors.

Newman, A. A., Smith Center. Jan. 29, 1897, to July 1, 1898.
 Pepperell, W. H. L. July 1, 1898, to Feb. 16, 1899.
 Drake, M. L., Canton. Jan. 29, 1897, to 1899.
 Allison, C. E., Erie. Feb. 4, 1897, to Feb. 16, 1899.
 Ballinger, T. C., Burlington. Apr. 1, 1899, to Apr. 1, 1902.
 McFarland, E. A. Feb. 16, 1899, to Apr. 1, 1903.
 Ellett, Ed. C., El Dorado. Apr. 1, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1895.
 Ames, Elmer E. Apr. 1, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1903.
 Tulley, Mark, Independence. Apr. 1, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1907.
 Haskell, W. H., Gaylord. Oct. 28, 1901, to Oct. 1, 1906.
 King, C. L. Oct. 17, 1903, to Apr. 1, 1905.

Wardens.

Keller, George H. 1867.
 Philbrick, J. L. 1868-'70.
 Hopkins, Henry. 1870-'83.
 Jones, W. C. 1883-'85.
 Smith, John H. 1885-'89.
 Case, George H. 1889-'93.
 Chase, S. W. 1893-'95.
 Lynch, J. B. 1895-'97.
 Landis, Harry S. 1897-'99.
 Tomlinson, J. B. 1899-1901.
 Jewett, E. B. 1901-'05.

PHARMACY, BOARD OF

Butin, C. J., Fredonia. 1885-'92.
 Taylor, James Ira, Atchison. 1885-'93.
 Bryant, R. F., Lincoln. 1885-'91.
 Stanford, W. A., Marion. 1885-'86.
 Crandall, George B., Jewell City. 1886-'88.
 Eager, Peter, Wyandotte. 1885-'87. d. Mar. 31, 1887, Wyandotte.
 Drake, Robert S., Beloit. 1887-'92.
 Allen, J. P., Wichita. 1888-'91. Dead.
 Holliday, Frank E., Topeka. 1891-'93.
 Mehl, Henry William, Leavenworth. 1891-'97.
 Moore, John T., Lawrence. 1891.
 Johnston, W. C., Manhattan. 1892-1900.
 Sherriiff, W. E., Ellsworth. 1893 —
 Lawrence, Charles, Wichita. 1894-1900.
 Naylor, W. W., Holton. 1897 —
 Ardery, L., Hutchinson. 1901 —
 Becker, C. L., Ottawa. 1901 —
 Snow, Fred. A., Topeka. 1904 —

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

Atchison.

Johnson, W. J. Apr. 1889 to July 11, 1892.
 Post, E. C. July 11, 1892, to Feb. 7, 1893.
 Cochrane, W. W. Feb. 7 to Dec. 11, 1893.
 Drury, R. B. Dec. 11, 1893, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Baker, David. Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Weaver, George I. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Benning, Charles W. Apr. 1899 to June 1, 1891.
 King, S. C. June 1, 1891, to Feb. 7, 1893.
 Thayer, J. G. Feb. 7, 1893, to Jan. 31, 1895.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

Atchison.

- Carpenter, George. Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Baker, F. M. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Blair, Edward K. Apr. 1889 to Apr. 1, 1891.
 Maskell, W. H. Apr. 1891 to June 1, 1891.
 Stevenson. — June 1, 1891, to Feb. 7, 1893.
 Langen, Patrick. Feb. 7 to Dec. 11, 1893.
 Forbridger, Robert. Dec. 11, 1893, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Storch, George. Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Linley, Charles. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.

Leavenworth.

- Abernathy, J. L. Apr. 1889 to Aug. 8, 1890.
 Fairchild, William. Aug. 8 to Oct. 11, 1890;
 Oct. 21, 1890, to Apr. 1, 1891.
 Weed, T. J. Oct. 11 to Oct. 21, 1890.
 Atchison, David. Apr. 1, 1891, to Mar. 3, 1893.
 Edie, J. J. Mar. 3, 1893, to June 25, 1894.
 Welsh, James B. June 25, 1894, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Hunt, F. E. Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Bergfried, Carl. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Hacker, M. L. Apr. 1 to 5, 1889.
 Lowe, Percival G. Apr. 5, 1889, to Oct. 1, 1890.
 Johnson, Thomas L. Oct. 11 to Oct. 21, 1890.
 McGahey, A. Oct. 21, 1890, to Apr. 1, 1891.
 Markhart, F. G. Apr. 1, 1891, to Mar. 3, 1893.
 Leslie, Robert. Mar. 3, 1893, to July 27, 1894.
 Jansen, Henry. July 27, 1894, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Hauserman, J. W. Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 McGuire, Thomas. Apr. 1 to Nov. 6, 1897.
 Coleman, D. C. Nov. 6, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Anthony, D. R. Apr. 1889 to Oct. 11, 1890.
 O'Donald, Frank. Oct. 11 to Oct. 21, 1890; Mar.
 3, 1891, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Callahan, H. B. Oct. 21, 1890, to Apr. 1, 1891.
 Richards, Blackwell S. Apr. 1, 1891, to Mar.
 3, 1893; Jan. 31, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Freeling, P. J. Apr. 1 to Nov. 8, 1897.
 Davis, J. W. Nov. 8, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.

Wichita.

- Lewis, H. W. Mar. 30, 1889, to July 24, 1890.
 Allen, E. T. July 24, 1890, to Jan. 6, 1891.
 Shearman, T. J. Jan. 6, 1891, to Jan. 16, 1893.
 Dickson, G. M. Jan. 16, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Jones, Chas. M. Jan. 25, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Jocelyn, C. E. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Stanley, W. E. Mar. 30, 1889, to Mar. 4, 1891.
 Jones, C. E. Mar. 4 to Nov. 19, 1891.
 Taylor, H. L. Nov. 19, 1891, to Apr. 21, 1892.
 Van Ness, C. A. Apr. 21, 1892, to Jan. 16, 1893.
 Brown, J. G. Jan. 16, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Husey, A. C. Jan. 25, 1895, to Jan. 29, 1897.
 Weaver, G. J. Jan. 29 to April 1, 1897.
 Furniss, Joseph. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Matthewson, Wm. Mar. 30, 1889, to Jan. 6, 1891.
 Jacobs, John L. Jan. 6 to Sep. 25, 1891.
 Parkinson, W. H. Sep. 25 to Nov. 19, 1891.
 Churchward, B. T. Nov. 19, 1891, to Jan. 16,
 1893.
 Davis, F. A. Jan. 16, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Pratt, Geo. L. Jan. 25, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.
 Spencer, Geo. K. Apr. 1, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

Fort Scott.

- Barnett, T. Mar. 30, 1889, to Feb. 20, 1893.
 Bamberger, J. Feb. 20, 1893, to Feb. 9, 1895;
 Jan. 30, 1897, to Feb. 15, 1898.
 Stewart, J. J. Feb. 9, 1895, to Jan. 30, 1897.
 Osborn, Robert. Feb. 15, 1898, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Walburn, A. W. Mar. 30, to Aug. 14, 1889.
 Hudson, B. Aug. 14, 1889, to Feb. 20, 1893.
 Cochrane, Thomas. Feb. 20, 1893, to Feb. 9,
 1895; Feb. 15, 1898, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Lyons, F. A. Feb. 9, 1895, to Jan. 30, 1897.
 Stalker, Robert. Jan. 30, 1897, to Feb. 15, 1898.
 Hill, J. D. Mar. 30, 1889, to Apr. 1, 1891.
 Davis, J. W. Apr. 1, 1891, to Feb. 20, 1893.
 Bryant, J. Feb. 20 to May 22, 1893.
 Crow, John. May 22, 1893, to Feb. 9, 1895.
 Lowry, W. D. Feb. 9, 1895, to Jan. 30, 1897.
 Ball, J. E. Jan. 30, 1897, to Feb. 15, 1898.
 Cottrell, J. F. Feb. 15, 1898, to Jan. 11, 1899.

Kansas City.

- Simpson, W. A. Apr. 2, 1889, to Mar. 14, 1893.
 Cunningham, A. W. Mar. 14, 1893, to Jan. 31,
 1895.
 Caskey, John. Jan. 31, 1895, to Jan. 29, 1897.
 McCambridge, Charles P. Jan. 27, 1897, to
 Jan. 11, 1899.
 Hilliker, R. W. Apr. 2 to Aug. 22, 1889.
 Longfellow, J. W. Aug. 22, 1889, to Mar. 17,
 1893.
 Pray, William. Mar. 17, 1893, to Jan. 31, 1895.
 Daniels, Leonard. Jan. 31, 1895, to Jan. 29,
 1897.
 Horton, John C. Jan. 29, 1887, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Bishop, George W. Apr. 2, 1889, to Apr. 1,
 1891.
 Gordon, Hinton. Apr. 1, 1891, to Mar. 17, 1893.
 Mitchell, George W. Mar. 17, 1893, to Jan. 31,
 1895.
 Gress, W. S. Jan. 31, 1895, to Jan. 29, 1897.
 Jenkins, Junius W. Jan. 29, 1897, to Jan. 11,
 1899.

Topeka.

- Spencer, Charles F. Apr. 1, 1889, to Feb. 16,
 1893.
 Sells, W. A. Feb. 16, —, to July 29, 1893.
 Whiting, A. B. July 29, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Bonebrake, Parkinson I. Apr. 1, 1889, to Feb.
 16, 1893; Jan. 25, 1895, to Jan. 27, 1897.
 Billard, J. B. Jan. 27, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 Krauss, Oscar. Feb. 16, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Holliday, C. K. Jan. 25, 1895, to Jan. 27, 1897.
 Keith, Wilson. Jan. 27, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.
 McCabe, Francis S. Apr. 1, 1889, to Feb. 16,
 1893; Jan. 25, 1895, to Jan. 27, 1897.
 Yount, L. T. Feb. 16, 1893, to Jan. 25, 1895.
 Henderson, M. D. Jan. 27, 1897, to Jan. 11, 1899.

PRICE RAID CLAIMS, COMMITTEE TO
AUDIT.

- Hanby, William N., Garnett. Mar. 25, 1867.
 Fitzpatrick, Wm. H., Topeka. Mar. 25, 1867.
 Ballard, D. E., Ballard's Falls. Mar. 25, 1867.
 Woodard, Levi, Lawrence. Mar. 5, 1869.
 Whittaker, David, Doniphan. Mar. 5, 1869.
 Taylor, T. J., Paola. Mar. 5, 1869.
 Caldwell, J. H. July 1, 1887.

COMMISSIONER TO EXAMINE UNION
MILITARY SCRIP.

Allen, James S., Kansas City. Apr. 28, 1903 —

QUANTRILL RAID CLAIMS, COMMISSIONER
TO AUDIT.

Bear, William H., Burlington. Mar. 8, 1875.

Murdoek, John N., Ottawa. Mar. 8, 1875.

French, Charles D., Lawrence. Mar. 8, 1875.

RAILROAD PROPERTY, COMMISSIONERS
TO ASSESS

By act of 1871, a Board of Railroad Assessors was created, one member to be elected from each judicial district at the general election, for a term of two years. Members were appointed by the governor in March, 1871, to hold office until their successors were qualified. A board was elected in 1871 and in 1873. The law was repealed in 1874, and in 1876 the assessment of railroads was entrusted to the lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor and attorney-general, who still constitute the Board of Railroad Assessors.

Moonlight, Thomas, Leavenworth. Mar. 24, 1871, to Apr. 16, 1871.

Graham, George, Seneca. Mar. 24, 1871.

Bailey, J. C., Perryville. Mar. 24, 1871.

Walruff, John, Ottawa. Mar. 24, 1871.

Bent, H. N., Burlington. Mar. 24, 1871.

Power, Frank M., Geneva. Mar. 24, 1871.

Allen, John M., Manhattan. Mar. 24, 1871.

Hunt, F. B., Cottonwood Falls. Mar. 24, 1871.

Williams, H. H., Osawatimie. Mar. 24, 1871.

Wright, R. W., Oswego. Mar. 24, 1871.

Weisbach, Jacob, Frankfort. Mar. 24, 1871.

Libby, C. W., Xenia. Mar. 31, 1871.

Russell, Ed., Leavenworth. Apr. 16, 1871.

Elected, 1871.

1. Medill, James, Leavenworth.

2. Johnson, J. P.

3. Cooper, Stephen S., Oskaloosa.

4. Gleason, F.

5. Bent, H. N.

6. Smith, Ed. R., Mound City.

7. Stevens, J. A.

8. Danielson, John.

9. Wood, Stephen M., Cottonwood Falls.

10. Williams, Henry H., Osawatimie.

11. Wright, R. W., Oswego.

12. Ballard, David E., Ballard's Falls.

Elected, 1872.

8. Swenson, John P., Junction City.

13. Steele, John M., Wichita.

14. Heizer, David Newton, Great Bend.

Elected, 1873.

1. Bickford, Harry L., Leavenworth.

2. Tracy, Frank M.

3. Eggers, L. F.

4. Sampson, Turner, Lawrence.

5. Williams, J. L.

6. Shino, A.

7. Talcott, Henry W., Iola.

8. Allen, John M., Wabunsee.

RAILROAD PROPERTY, COMMISSIONERS
TO ASSESS

9. Davis, Joel T.

10. Ainsworth, Newton.

11. Emerson, J. D.

12. Hutchinson, Perry, Marysville.

13. Steele, John M., Wichita.

14. Leslie, W. F.

RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS, BOARD OF

The Board of Railroad Commissioners was created in 1883, and was superseded in 1899 by the Court of Visitation, created by the special legislative session of 1898-99. The court being declared unconstitutional in 1900, the Board of Railroad Commissioners was reinstated in 1901.

Members.

Hopkins, Henry, Leavenworth. Apr. 1 to Dec. 18, 1883. d. Dec. 18, 1883, at Leavenworth.

Humphrey, James, Junction City. Apr. 1, 1883, to Apr. 1, 1891.

Turner, Leonidas L., Sedan. Apr. 1, 1883, to Apr. 1, 1887.

Gillett, Almerin, Emporia. Feb. 8, 1884, to Apr. 1, 1889. d. May 13, 1896, at Emporia.

Greene, Albert Robinson, Leecompton. Apr. 1, 1887, to Apr. 1, 1893.

Anthony, George Tobey, Ottawa. Apr. 1, 1889, to May 1893. d. Aug. 5, 1896, at Topeka.

Mitchell, William M., Newton. Apr. 1, 1891, to May 1893.

Maxson, Perry B., Emporia. Apr. 1, 1893, to Feb. 6, 1895.

Hall, John, Erie. May 6, 1893, to Feb. 6, 1895.

Vincent, William D., Clay Center. May 6, 1893, to Feb. 6, 1895.

Howe, Samuel T., Topeka. Feb. 6, 1895, to Feb. 6, 1897.

Simpson, James M., McPherson. Feb. 6, 1895, to Feb. 6, 1897.

Lowe, Joseph G., Washington. Feb. 6, 1895, to Apr. 1, 1897.

Campbell, William M., Stafford County. Feb. 1, 1897, to Apr. 3, 1899.

Dillard, William Peake, Fort Scott. Feb. 1, 1897, to Apr. 3, 1899.

Lewelling, Lorenzo D., Wichita. Apr. 1, 1897, to Apr. 3, 1899. d. Sep. 3, 1900, at Arkansas City.

Walker, Andrew D., Holton. Apr. 9, 1901 —

Finney, David Wesley, Neosho Falls. Apr. 9, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1902.

Fike, James Nelson, Colby. Apr. 9, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1903.

Morse, J. C. O., Hutchinson. Apr. 1, 1902 —

Wheatley, George W., Galena. Apr. 1, 1903 —

Secretaries.

Turner, Erastus Johnson, Hoxie. Apr. 1, 1883, to Aug. 1, 1886.

Rizer, Henry C., Eureka. Oct. 1, 1886, to July 30, 1889.

Elliot, Charles S., Topeka. July 1, 1889, to May 1, 1893.

Henderson, M. D., Topeka. May 1, 1893, to Feb. 6, 1895.

Flenniken, B. Frank, Emporia. Feb. 6, 1895, to Feb. 1897.

Turner, Robert W., Mankato. Feb. 1897 to May 1, 1898.

RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS, BOARD OF

Secretaries.

- Senter, James M., Ness City. May 1, 1898, to Apr. 3, 1899.
 Smith, William H., Marysville. Apr. 1, 1901, to Apr. 1903.
 Anderson, Cyrus, Blakeman. Apr. 1903.

COURT OF VISITATION.

- Johnson, William Alexander, Garnett. 1899-1901. d. 1903, Garnett.
 Postlethwaite, John Calvin, Jewell City. 1899-1901.
 Crum, Littleton S., Oswego. 1889-1901. d. July 24, 1902, Oswego.
 Myatt, A. J., Wichita. 1899-1901. d. June 19, 1901, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Mickey, James M., Osage City, 1899-1900.

REFORM SCHOOL, LEAVENWORTH.

Managers.

- Larimer, Wm., Leavenworth. Mar. 5, 1869, for 5 years.
 Allen, Harvey, Leavenworth. Mar. 5, 1869, for 4 years.
 Callehan, H. B., Leavenworth. Mar. 5, 1869, for 3 years.
 Gist, John C., Leavenworth. Mar. 5, 1869, for 2 years.
 Deckleman, Henry, Leavenworth. Mar. 5, 1869, for 1 year.

REFORM SCHOOL, TOPEKA.

Superintendents.

- Eckles, J. G. 1881-'82.
 Buck, J. F. 1882-'91.
 Fagan, W. E. 1891-'93.
 Hitchcock, E. C. 1893-'95.
 Howell, W. H. 1895-'97.
 Hart, J. M. 1897-'99.
 Hancock, W. S. 1899-1901.
 Charles, H. W. 1901—

SCHOOL LANDS, COMMISSION TO SELECT AND LOCATE INDEMNITY.

- West, G. C., Parsons. Dec. 24, 1877.
 Thrasher, L. A., Iola. Dec. 24, 1877.
 Snow, L. B. Dec. 24, 1877.
 Stone, J. E., Caney. Dec. 24, 1877.
 Morse, O. E., Mound City. Dec. 24, 1877.
 McQuay, J. C., Salina. Dec. 24, 1877.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOK COMMISSION.

- Stryker, William, state superintendent, chairman. 1897-'99.
 Hurd, W. J., secretary, Holton. 1897-1901.
 Black, S. W., Pittsburg. 1897-1901.
 Jewett, A. V., Abilene. 1897-1901.
 Hale, Samuel I., La Crosse. 1897-1901. 1903-'05.
 McCray, D. O., Topeka. 1897-'99, 1901-'05.
 McDonald, Norman, Osage City. 1897-'99.
 Nees, S. M., Independence. 1897-1901.
 Lupfer, A. H., Larned. 1897-1901.
 Nelson, Frank, state superintendent, chairman. 1899-1903.
 Spindler, J. W., Winfield. 1899-1901.
 Smith, F. P., Lawrence. 1899-1901.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOK COMMISSION.

- Bear, H. F. M., sec., Wellington. 1901-'03.
 Carney, A. B., Concordia. 1901-'05.
 Leidy, Fremont, Leon. 1901-'03.
 Sheldon, H. F., Ottawa. 1901-'03.
 Shirk, D. F., Cottonwood Falls. 1901-'03.
 Stanley, Edmund, Wichita. 1901-'03.
 Taylor, Edwin, Edwardsville. 1901-'03.
 Dayhoff, Insley L., state superintendent, chairman. 1903-'05.
 Swingle, C. G., sec., Manhattan. 1903-'05.
 Butcher, H. P., Argentine. 1903-'05.
 Kendrick, George W., Leavenworth. 1903-'05.
 Starr, J. C., Scott City. 1903-'05.
 Madden, John, Emporia. 1903-'05.

AGENT TO PURCHASE AND DISTRIBUTE SEED WHEAT.

- Wright, John K., Junction City, Mar. 3, 1869.
 Logan, Joseph. Mar. 8, 1871.

SILK-CULTURE COMMISSION.

- Williamson, Charles. Mar. 1887-'89.
 Coddling, J. S. Mar. 1887-'89.
 Morse, J. H. Mar. 1887 to Mar. 12, 1888.
 Brewer, James H. C. Mar. 12, 1888-'89.
 Buck, L. A. 1889-'97.

SOLDIERS' HOME, DODGE CITY.

Directors.

- Booth, Henry, Larned. July 11, 1889, to July 8, 1893.
 Collins, Ira F. July 11, 1889, to July 3, 1892.
 Barker, J. D. July 11, 1889, to June 6, 1890.
 McGonigal, J. B. June 6, 1890.
 Coulter, O. H. July 3, 1892.
 Van Vorhis, L. June 15, 1893, to July 3, 1897.
 Bohrer, G. June 15, 1893, to June 5, 1895.
 Stewart, Julius H. June 15, 1893, to July 3, 1896.
 Junneau, H. July 3, 1895, to Mar. 3, 1897.
 Kerr, R. N. Mar. 13, 1897, to July 3, 1901.
 Davis, J. A. Mar. 13, 1897, to July 3, 1899.
 Grisham, T. H. Mar. 13, 1897.
 Duto, James. July 3, 1899, to July 3, 1905.
 Burton, George. Feb. 21, 1899, to July 3, 1904.
 Hancock, T. N. Mar. 3, 1899, to July 3, 1903. d.
 Dobyms, J. B. July 3, 1903, to July 3, 1906.

MESSENGERS TO THE PHILIPPINES

To deliver election ballots to the regiments of Kansas volunteers.

- Shindler, Henry. Oct. 26, 1898.
 Olden, G. D. Oct. 8, 1898.

SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' HOME, ATCHISON.

Superintendents.

- Pierson, John. 1887-'89.
 Faulkner, Charles E. 1889-'97.
 Woodworth, C. A. 1897-'99.
 Young, William H. H. April to July, 1899.
 Hillis, E. L. 1899—

STATE AGENTS AT WASHINGTON.

Crawford, Samuel J., Topeka. Mar. 3, 1877.
 Martin, W. W., Fort Scott. Mar. 15, 1891, to
 Mar. 1, 1905.

STATE-HOUSE COMMISSION.

The first board authorized by the legislature
 of 1866 was as follows:

Crawford, Gov. Samuel J.
 Barker, Rinaldo Allen, secretary of state.
 Swallow, John R., auditor of state.
 Spriggs, William, treasurer of state.
 Goodnow, Isaac T., superintendent of public
 instruction.

The second board was elected in 1867 by the
 legislature in joint session.

Bowman, William, Atchison.
 Hammond, John, Emporia.
 Killen, Daniel, Wyandotte.

In 1879 the governor appointed the following:

Williams, H. H., Osawatimie. 1879-'83, 1886-'87.
 Hammond, John, Emporia. 1879-'86.
 Anderson, John B., Junction City. 1879-'85.
 Hood, J. M., Hanover. 1883-'85.
 Carr, E. T., Leavenworth. 1885-'86.
 Butler, J. A., Sterling. 1885-'86.
 Love, Alexander, Lawrence. 1886.
 Adams, N. A., Manhattan. 1886.
 Bowman, William, Atchison. 1887.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.

Smith, John H., Columbus. 1891-'93.
 Miller, Sol., Troy. 1891-'93, 1895.
 Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence. 1891-'93.
 Scott, S. M. 1893-'94.
 Wykes, William. 1893-'94.
 Keyple, Robert B., Topeka. 1893-'94.
 Seaton, John, Atchison. 1895.
 Heery, Michael, Topeka. 1895.

STATE ARCHITECTS.

Haskell, John G., Lawrence. 1867, 1891.
 Carr, E. T., Leavenworth. 1879.
 Haskell & Wood, Topeka. 1885.
 McDonald, Kenneth, Louisville, Ky. 1887.
 Ropes, George, Topeka. 1889.
 Davis, Seymour, Topeka. 1893.
 Holland, J. C. 1895.
 Lescher, T. H., Topeka. 1897.
 Stanton, John F., Topeka. 1899—

COMMISSION FOR IMPROVEMENT OF
STATE-HOUSE GROUNDS.

McVicar, Peter, Topeka. Mar. 11, 1871. d.
 June 5, 1903, Topeka.
 Tweedale, William, Topeka. Mar. 11, 1871. d.
 Nov. 4, 1900, Topeka.
 Jewell, C. W., Topeka. Mar. 16, 1871. d. Jan.
 27, 1901, Topeka.
 Anthony, George Tobey, Leavenworth. Mar.
 16, 1871. d. Aug. 5, 1896, Topeka.

STATE ROADS, COMMISSIONER TO
ESTABLISH CERTAIN.

George W. Walker, appointed Feb. 19, 1868.

STATE ROAD FROM MOUND CITY TO
CHEROKEE, COMMISSIONERS TO
LOCATE.

St. Clair, James F. Mar. 25, 1868.
 Smith, Ed. R., Mound City. Mar. 25, 1868.
 Ingraham, W. D. Mar. 25, 1868.

STATE ROAD FROM FORT SCOTT TO
BAXTER SPRINGS, COMMISSIONERS
TO LOCATE.

Mann, M. J., Baxter Springs. Apr. 21, 1868.
 North, L., Crawfordville. Apr. 21, 1868.

TAX LAWS, COMMISSION FOR THE
REVISION OF THE.

Foster, C. F., Topeka. July 29, 1872.
 Koester, Charles F., Marysville. July 29, 1872.
 d. Aug. 15, 1902, Marysville.
 Brooks, Paul R., Lawrence. July 29, 1872.
 Francis, John, Colony. 1901.
 Biddle, C. F., Coldwater. 1901.
 Grosser, Emil, Enterprise. 1901.
 Hurrel, Cyrus Frailey, Holton. 1901.
 Smith, Frederick Dumont, Kinsley. 1901.

STATE UNIVERSITY.

Commissioners.

Goodnow, Isaac T., Manhattan. 1863.
 Miller, Josiah, Lawrence. 1863.
 Thorp, Simeon M., Lawrence. 1863.

Chancellors.

Oliver, R. W., Lawrence. 1865-'67.
 Fraser, John, Agricultural College, Pa. 1868-'
 74. d. June 4, 1878, Allegheny City, Pa.
 Marvin, James, Meadville, Pa. 1874-'83. d.
 July 9, 1901, Lawrence.
 Lippincott, Joshua Allen, Carlisle, Pa. 1883-'
 89.
 Spangler, William Cornelius, Lawrence. Act-
 ing chancellor 1889-'90; 1901-'02. d. Oct. 22,
 1902, Lawrence.
 Snow, Francis Huntington, Lawrence. 1890-'
 1901.
 Strong, Frank, University of Oregon. 1902—

*Commission to Examine and Appraise
University Lands.*

Miller, J. M., Seneca. Mar. 8, 1875.
 Woodward, O. S., Neosho Falls. Mar. 8, 1875.
 Thacher, Timothy Dwight, Lawrence. Mar. 8,
 1875.

*Commission to Procure a Bust of Gov. Charles
Robinson.*

Robinson, Mrs. Sara T. D., Lawrence. Apr. 30,
 1897.
 Woodward, Brinton Webb, Lawrence. Apr. 30,
 1897. d. Oct. 19, 1900, West Chester, Pa.
 Chadwick, Charles, Lawrence. Apr. 30, 1897.
 d. 1900, Lawrence.

Regents.

Robinson, Charles, Lawrence. Mar. 2, 1864-'73;
 Feb. 1893 to May 1894. d. Aug. 17, 1894, Law-
 rence.
 Liggett, J. D. Mar. 2, 1864-'70.
 Mitchell, E. J. Mar. 2, 1864-'65.

STATE UNIVERSITY.

Regents.

- Crawford, George Addison, Fort Scott. Mar. 2, 1864-'65; Mar. 1, 1870-'73.
- Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence. Mar. 2, 1864-'68; 1873-'77. d. June 8, 1899, Lawrence.
- Horton, Albert Howell, Atchison. Mar. 2, 1864, to Dec. 18, 1864 d. Sep. 2, 1902, Topeka.
- Lines, Charles Burrill, Wabaunsee. Mar. 2, 1864-'74. d. Mar. 31, 1889, Wabaunsee.
- Thacher, Solon Otis, Lawrence. Mar. 2, 1864-'68. d. Aug. 11, 1895, Lawrence.
- Moore, George A. Mar. 2, 1864-'65.
- Watson, John H. Mar. 2, 1864, to Feb. 20, 1865.
- Kingman, Samuel Austin, Topeka. Mar. 2, 1864-'65.
- Steele, John A., Topeka. Mar. 2, 1864. d. Oct. 12, 1864, Topeka.
- Holliday, Cyrus Kurtz, Topeka. Dec. 18, 1864-'68. d. Mar. 29, 1900, Topeka.
- Bartholow, E. M., Lawrence. Sep. 5, 1865, to Mar. 1, 1870. d. 1883, Williamsburg.
- Sears, Theodore C., Ottawa. 1865 to Mar. 2, 1870.
- Paddock, George W., Lawrence. Feb. 20, 1865, to July 1867.
- Starrett, Wm. A., Lawrence. Apr. 27, 1865-'73.
- Mitchell, D. P., Leavenworth. Feb. 20, 1865-'73.
- Wever, Joseph S., Leavenworth. 1865 to Mar. 2, 1872.
- Fisher, Hugh D., Lawrence. July 5, 1867-'72.
- Tenney, William C., Douglas county. 1868-'73.
- Vail, Rt. Rev. Thomas Hubbard, Topeka. 1868-'73. d. Oct. 6, 1889, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Ekin, John. 1868-'70.
- Elliott, R. G., Lawrence. 1868-'73.
- Giles, Frye Williams, Topeka. Mar. 1, 1870-'73. d. June 9, 1898, Topeka.
- Haldeman, John Adams, Leavenworth. Mar. 1, 1870-'73.
- Reaser, J. G., Leavenworth. Mar. 1, 1870-'73.
- Woods, J. J. 1872-'73.

By legislative act of 1873, the number of regents was reduced to six and one *ex-officio* member, the chancellor of the University.

- Beatty, Archibald, Independence. 1873-'81. d. 1904.
- Wilson, V. P., Enterprise. 1873-'83. d. Feb. 14, 1899, Colorado Springs, Colo.
- Ingalls, F. T., Atchison. 1873-'82. d.
- McFarland, Noah C., Topeka. 1873-'76; Apr. 1, 1879-'81. d. Apr. 26, 1897, Topeka.
- Houts, T. F. 1873-'77.
- Fairchild, William, Leavenworth. Dec. 6, 1875-'77.
- Reynolds, Milton W., Parsons. Mar. 9, 1876-'79. d. Aug. 9, 1890, Edmond, Okla.
- Woodward, Brinton Webb, Lawrence. Mar. 6, 1877-'80. d. Oct. 19, 1900, Westchester, Pa.
- Hershfield, R. M., Leavenworth. Mar. 6, 1877-'79.
- Scott, John W., Iola. Mar. 10, 1879-'83. d. Jan. 19, 1899, Guthrie, Okla.
- Thacher, Timothy Dwight, Topeka. Apr. 1, 1880-'83. d. Jan. 17, 1894, Topeka.
- Benedict, S. S., Guilford. Apr. 1881-'85.
- Nisbet, E., Leavenworth. Apr. 1881 to Dec. 27, 1881.

STATE UNIVERSITY.

Regents.

- Downs, Mrs. Cora M., Wyandotte. Dec. 27, 1881-'83.
- Peck, George R., Topeka. Aug. 11, 1881-'87.
- Otis, A. G., Atchison. Feb. 5, 1883-'89.
- Humphrey, James, Junction City. Feb. 5, 1883-'85.
- Fitzpatrick, Frank A., Leavenworth. Feb. 5, 1883-'88.
- White, W. S., Wichita. Feb. 5, 1883-'85.
- Smith, Charles W., Stockton. Apr. 1885-'89.
- Mitchell, C. R., Gueda Springs. Feb. 1885-'95.
- Simpson, M. P., McPherson. May 5, 1885-'91.
- Gleed, Charles Sumner, Topeka. Feb. 1887-'93, 1895-'97.
- Billings, J. F., Clay Center. Feb. 1885-'90.
- Moody, Joel, Mound City. 1889-'93.
- Spangler, William C., Lawrence. 1889-93, 1901-'02. d. Oct. 22, 1902, Lawrence.
- Valentine, Delbert A., Clay Center. Jan. 27, 1890-'95.
- Scott, Charles Frederick, Iola. 1891-1903.
- Rogers, William, Washington. Feb. 1893-'94, Feb. 1897-1901.
- Sams, James P., Seneca. Feb. 1893-1901.
- Clarke, Henry S., Lawrence. May 1894-1901.
- Forney, J. W., Belle Plaine. Feb. 1895-1903.
- Crowley, Frank G., Atchison. Feb. 1895-1907.
- Moore, O. L., Abilene. 1894-'95.
- Hopkins, Scott, Horton. Feb. 1901-'07.
- Potter, Thomas M., Peabody. Feb. 1901-'05.
- Ackley, Earnest L., Concordia. Feb. 1901-'05. d. Aug. 27, 1901, Concordia.
- Wilmoth, Alvin L., Concordia. Oct. 1901-'05.
- Mitchell, Alex. C., Lawrence. Feb. 1903-'05.
- Converse, Chas. N., Waverly. Feb. 1903-'05.
- Butcher, Thomas W., Wellington. 1903-'07.

WESTERN UNIVERSITY, QUINDARO.

Trustees Industrial Department.

- Ransom, J. R. May 1899 to Apr. 1, 1904.
- Keith, Green. May 1899 to Apr. 1, 1904.
- Wilson, A. M. May 1899 to Apr. 1, 1902.
- Jones, Samuel W. May 1899 to Apr. 1, 1902.
- Keplinger, L. W. Apr. 1, 1901, to Apr. 1, 1904
- Patterson, Corvine. Apr. 4, 1903, to Apr. 1, 1904.
- COMMISSION FOR UNIFORM LEGISLATION FOR THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION.
- Godard, A. A., Topeka. Jan. 1, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1900.
- Wilson, J. O., Salina. Jan. 1, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1900.
- Wall, T. B., Wichita. Jan. 1, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1900.
- Jackson, H. M., Atchison. Jan. 1, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1900.
- Miliken, John D., McPherson. Jan. 1, 1897, to Jan. 1, 1900.

AMERICAN CONGRESS OF TUBERCULOSIS.

New York, May 14, 1902.

- Crumbine, S. J., Dodge City.
- Lowry, Charles, Topeka.

AMERICAN CONGRESS OF TUBERCU-
LOSIS.

Morton, R. J., Green.
Minnick, J. M., Wichita.
Locke, G. E., Holton.
Gish, A. S., Abilene.
Alexander, B. J., Hiawatha.
Hollenbeak, G. W., Cimarron.
Dykes, J. B., Lebanon.
Swan, W. B., Topeka.
Hatfield, F. P., Grenola.
Johnston, G. F., Lakin.
Roby, H. W., Topeka.
Cook, D. R., Clay Center.
Packer, E. B., Osage City.
Williston, S. W., Lawrence.
Lewis, O. F., Hepler.
Alkire, H. L., Topeka.
Milton, C. A., Dodge City.

ANTI COAL-TRUST CONVENTION.

Chicago, June 5, 1893.

Hawkins, Richard, Marysville.
Wakefield, W. H. T., Lawrence.
Nangle, Lyman, Wichita.
Ryan, W. H., Brazilton.
Bierer, E., Hiawatha.
Clark, E. C.
Burnett, G. S., Topeka.
Allen, Noah, Topeka.
McLallin, S., Topeka.
Johuson, F. Burleigh, Topeka.
Clemens, G. C., Topeka.
Nichols, R., Wichita.
Houch, L., Hutchinson.

ASSOCIATION OF MILITARY SURGEONS
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Kansas City, September 27-29, 1899.

Niedman, W. F. de, Pittsburg.
Martin, Frank, Topeka.
Dillenbeck, F. E., El Dorado.

At St. Paul, Minn., May 30-June 1, 1901.

O'Donnell, Henry, Ellsworth.
Dillenbeck, Fred E., El Dorado.
Smith, Henry D., Washington.
Martin, W. M., Wellington.
Leigh, Wm. A., Stockton.
Martin, Frank H., Topeka.

BI-METALIC CONGRESS.

Chicago, August 1, 1903.

St. John, John P., Olathe.
Robinson, Charles, Lawrence.
Osborn, Thomas A., Topeka.
Harvey, James M., Vinton.
Glick, George W., Atchison.
Humphrey, Lyman U., Independence.
Johnson, F. B., Topeka.
Chase, Frank, Hoyt.
Adams, W. R., Larned.
Rippey, W. D., Severance.
Williams, J. R.

CIVIC FEDERATION.

Chicago, September 13-16, 1899.

Bailey, W. J., Baileyville.
Cubbison, W. J., Kansas City.
Buckman, George H., Winfield.
White, William A., Emporia.
Hessin, John E., Manhattan.
Elliott, C. E., Wellington.
Pestana, H. L., Russell.
Davis, C. Wood, Peotone.
Sherman, Porter, Kansas City.

CIVIC FEDERATION, NATIONAL TAX
CONFERENCE.

Buffalo, N. Y., May 23, 24, 1901.

Francis, John, Colony.
Smith, F. Dumont, Kinsley.
Biddle, C. F., Coldwater.
Grosser, Emil, Enterprise.
Hurrell, C. F., Holton.
Cole, George E., Girard.
Grimes, Frank E., Leoti.
Godard, A. A., Topeka.

COMMERCIAL MEN'S CONGRESS.

Atlanta, Ga., November 13, 1895.

Morgan, Vance, Concordia.
Duvall, Claude, Hutchinson.
Davis, J. A., Clyde.
Hoag, Edward, Leavenworth.
Clark, Walter, Salina.
Saunders, Edward, Cawker City.
Moore, June, Atchison.
Epps, Frank, Wichita.
Poindexter, J. S., Fort Scott.
Thomas, Frank, Topeka.
Seiler, W. A., Topeka.
Fuller, W. H., Emporia.

CONVENTION TO PROVIDE FOR THE
CARE OF HOMELESS AND INDIGENT
CHILDREN.

St. Louis, Mo., December 11, 1894.

Botkin, J. D., Neodesha.
Morrow, O. S., Topeka.
Minnie, J. E., Topeka.
File, W. F., Topeka.

DEEP-WATER CONVENTION.

Fort Smith, Ark., December 15, 1896.

Murdock, Marshall M., Wichita.
Botkin, J. D., Neodesha.
Moffitt, J. V., Wichita.
Edwards, William C., Larned.
Bonebrake, P. L., Topeka.
McCall, J. A., Topeka.
Ury, I. N., Fort Scott.
Adair, R. H., Kansas City.
Shelby, R. M., Hays City.
Wolverton, O. G., Topeka.

EX-SLAVE HOME NATIONAL CON-
VENTION.

St. Joseph, Mo., August 24-27, 1898.

Knott, Rufus, Topeka.
 Anderson, J. W., Topeka.
 White, Jerry, Topeka.
 Barber, John, Topeka.
 Charles, G. W., Topeka.
 Richardson, Cy., Lawrence.
 McWilliams, Doc., Lawrence.
 Townsends, W. B., Leavenworth.
 Lee, S. W., Wichita.
 Wilson, James, Atchison.
 Burdett, Rev., Eudora.
 Hudson, C. L., Ottawa.
 Williams, Foster, Ottawa.
 Dorsey, E. W., Parsons.
 Dare, J. O., Emporia.
 Cabbell, E. B., Emporia.
 Garrett, W. M., Fort Scott.
 Forman, John, Manhattan.
 Pierce, Jefferson, Girard.
 Granger, Thomas, Kansas City.
 Richardson, John, Kansas City.
 Griffin, Burrell, Clay Center.
 Hunter, Robert, Junction City.
 Stevenson, M., Coffeyville.
 Harris, Frank, Jetmore.
 Neal, Charles, Jetmore.
 Reed, Noah, Jetmore.
 Perry, George, Jetmore.
 Welsch, Stephen, Lewis.
 Hoyt, G. W., Lawrence.
 Glover, Thomas, Wichita.
 Biggers, W. T., Highland.
 Shelby, Robert, Paola.
 Scales, Anderson, Topeka.
 Vernon, Harrison, Topeka.

COTTON STATES AND INTERNATIONAL
EXPOSITION.Atlanta, Ga., September 18 to December 31,
1895.

Learnard, O. E., Lawrence.
 Robinson, Mrs. Margaret E., Council Grove.
 Carpenter, J. S., Council Grove.
 Smith, Asa, Parsons.
 Morgan, Mrs. Minnie D., Cottonwood Falls.
 Royce, John Q., Phillipsburg.
 Riddle, A. P., Minneapolis.
 Kellogg, Mrs. L. B., Emporia.
 Prentis, Mrs. Noble, Kansas City.
 Briggs, Mrs. C. F., Ottawa.
 Stine, Mrs. Inez M., Kansas City.

AMERICAN-MEXICO EXPOSITION.

City of Mexico, 1895.

Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence.
 Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
 McGee, A. H., Oberlin.
 Warner, Alexander, Baxter Springs.
 Ballard, David Ellenwood, Ballard's Falls.

AMERICAN-MEXICO EXPOSITION.

Chenoweth, E. S., McCracken.
 Barnhart, W. E., Kansas City.
 Turner, R. N., Mankato.
 Haynes, Mrs. C. H., Fort Scott.
 Regan, James R., Fort Scott.
 This exposition was never held owing to lack of necessary appropriations.

TENNESSEE EXPOSITION.

Nashville, May 1 to November 1, 1897.

Nicholson, M. B., Council Grove.
 Van Door, A. R., Atchison.
 Morgan, Thomas, Eureka.
 Stitch, A. C., Independence.
 Montgomery, Frank, Topeka.
 Hughes, J. W. F., Topeka.
 Brown, John M., Topeka.
 Bass, J. B., Topeka.
 Rivers, B. F., Kansas City.
 Jones, C. H., Emporia.
 Martin, John, Topeka.
 Streeter, Mrs. Josephine, Junction City.

PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

Buffalo, N. Y., May 1 to November 1, 1901.

Harris, W. A., Linwood.
 Taylor, A. R., Emporia.
 Peters, Mrs. Samuel R., Newton.
 Thompson, Mrs. Alton H., Topeka.
 Randolph, L. F., Nortonville.
 Sheldon, H. F., Ottawa.
 Mitchell, C. A., Cherryvale.
 Madden, John, Emporia.
 Little, E. C., Abilene.
 Mitchell, W. H., Beloit.
 Junkin, J. E., Sterling.
 Coburn, F. D., Topeka.
 Barnes, W. H., Topeka.
 Herbert, Ewing, Hiawatha.

SOUTH CAROLINA INTERSTATE AND
WEST INDIAN EXPOSITION.

Charleston, December 2, 1901.

Porter, Silas, Kansas City.
 Kimble, Sam., Manhattan.
 Vandegrift, F. L., Topeka.
 Herbert, Ewing, Hiawatha.
 Howe, E. W., Atchison.

INTERNATIONAL LIVE-STOCK EX-
POSITION.

Kansas City, January 13-17, 1903.

Addison, G. W., Eureka.
 Modman, E. E., Vermillion.
 Tudor, H. O., Holton.
 Wolf, O. O., Ottawa.
 Campbell, M. C., Wichita.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE CENTENNIAL
EXPOSITION.

St. Louis, 1903.

Honorary Members, Kansas Commission.

Duval, F. M., Nottou.
 Snyder, Edwin, Oskaloosa.
 Christian, Charles, Atchison.
 Heally, P. V., Wichita.
 Fagersburg, O., Olsburg.
 Jordan, W. H., Seneca.
 Basye, A. J., Belleville.
 Babson, D. T., Ellsworth.
 Helman, W. A., Mankato.
 Mayhew, T. A., Wellington.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Savanna, Ga., December 12, 1893.

Allen, W. N., Meriden.
 Heflebower, D. H., Bucyrus.
 Currier, George S., Garnett.
 Dykes, J. B., Topeka.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS AND
ROAD PARLIAMENT.

Atlanta, Ga., October 17-19, 1895.

Smith, A. W., McPherson.
 Forsythe, A. P., Liberty.
 Wheeler, Joshua, Nortonville.
 Perry, C. D., Englewood.
 Munger, George M., Eureka.
 Hubbard, Thomas A., Rome.
 Grinstead, H. V., Dighton.
 Holsinger, Frank, Rosedale.
 Shearer, James, Frankfort.
 Mohler, Martin, Osborne.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Boston, October 3-6, 1899.

Colorado Springs, August 21-31, 1900.

Glick, George W., Atchison.
 Coburn, F. D., Topeka.
 Howerton, John, Rossville.
 Barnes, William E., Vinland.
 Forsythe, A. P., Liberty.
 Potter, T. M., Peabody.
 Anderson, Thomas, Salina.
 Allaman, George, Wallace.
 Danner, S. T., Newton.
 Mason, J. B., Eureka.
 Harrison, T. W., Topeka.
 Knox, S. M., Humboldt.
 Ballard, D. E., Washington.
 Uplinger, Jacob, St. Francis.

Sioux Falls, S. D., October 1-10, 1901.

Harrison, T. W., Topeka.
 Knox, S. M., Humboldt.
 Coburn, F. D., Kansas City.
 Forsythe, A. P., Liberty.
 Mason, J. B., Eureka.
 Anderson, Thomas, Salina.
 Allaman, George, Wallace.
 Uplinger, Jacob, St. Francis.
 Robinson, Joseph, Yates Center.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

De Long, Peter, Prairie View.
 Diesem, I. L., Garden City.
 Ballard, D. E., Washington.

Niagara Falls, Sept. 22 to October 10, 1901.

Robison, John W., El Dorado.
 Brougher, Ira D., Great Bend.
 Sims, John B., Topeka.
 True, J. F., Perry.
 Sutton, C. E., Russell.
 Hubbard, T. A., Rome.
 Hoover, Frank, Columbus.
 Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
 Taylor, C. W., Pearl.
 Kepperling, Robert L., Junction City.
 Leach, Jessie, Topeka.
 Sessions, Charles Harrison.
 Kernohan, D. R., Beverly.
 Potter, Thomas M., McPherson.
 Davis, George W., Brownell.
 Dowling, W. R., Norcatour.
 Williams, George W., Seneca.
 Bogart, L. M., Kirwin.
 Jennings, W. L., Macksville.
 Avery, H. W., Wakefield.
 Licbty, J., Morrill.
 Darland, T. M., Centralia.
 Snyder, E., Oskaloosa.
 Edmunds, Matt, McLouth.
 Marshall, S. A., Goodland.
 Palmer, George, Hays City.
 Busic, A. R., Sylvan Grove.
 Hamlin, August, Marysville.
 Fagersburg, Oscar, Oldsburg.
 Johnson, J. H., Holton.
 Cirtwell, Bert, Ellingham.
 Mason, Frank M., Monmouth.
 Hicks, Phil. N., Glenloch.

GULF TRANSPORTATION CONGRESS.

Chicago, Ill., September 11, 1893.

Rutledge, Silas, Valley Center.
 Heilbrun, Benjamin, Osage City.
 Wilson, W. J., Wichita.
 Sogard, Thyge, Kansas City.
 Thacher, Solon Otis, Lawrence.
 Maxson, P. B., Emporia.
 Hoffman, C. B., Enterprise.
 Fitzgerald, C. J., St. Marys.
 King, E. S., Kansas City.
 Huffman, P. R., Winfield.
 Sankey, R. A., Wichita.
 Heath, H. A., Topeka.
 Ken, I. P., Ottawa.
 McKellar, Duncan, Jamestown.
 Harrison, Richard, Furley.
 Bedell, L. M., Chetopa.
 Scott, Tully, Oberlin.
 Harrington, N., Baker.
 Campbell, B. H., Wichita.
 Long, D. B., Ellsworth.
 Gleason, H. W., Hutchinson.
 Lathrop, James H., Topeka.

INTERNATIONAL MINING CONGRESS.

Salt Lake City, July 6-9, 1898.

Dillard, W. P., Fort Scott.
 Seaton, John, Atchison.
 Hazlett, R. H., El Dorado.
 Brandenburg, C. W., Frankfort.
 McDonald, Ben., Fort Scott.
 Crowe, Robert F., Weir City.
 Boyle, L. C., Topeka.
 Noble, E. St. G., Galena.
 Carpenter, F. B., Galena.
 Murphy, James, Empire City.
 Vincent, Frank, Hutchinson.
 Ruggles, R. M., Topeka.
 Sapp, W. F., Galena.

Milwaukee, Wis., June 19-23, 1900.

Johnson, W. L. A., Topeka.
 Devlin, C. J., Topeka.
 Morrison, John T., Pittsburg.
 Holliday, John, Pittsburg.
 Robinson, W. D., Pittsburg.
 Durkee, J. H., Weir City.
 Orr, James A., Weir City.
 Ryan, J., Leavenworth.
 Kierstead, George W., Leavenworth.
 Conley, John, Leavenworth.
 Weise, Frank, Leavenworth.
 Noble, E. St. George, Galena.
 Elliott, Russell, Galena.
 Sensor, C. A., Galena.
 Brown, W. H. D., Galena.
 Johnson, John, Osage City.
 McCue, Pat., Osage City.
 Winter, A. E., Blue Rapids.
 Mahan, W. H., Coffeyville.
 Cowie, James, Kanopolis.
 Ainsworth, J., Lyons.
 Evans, O. A., Neodesha.
 Metzler, P. C., Columbus.
 Kellogg, S. M., Redfield.
 O'Donnell, Dan., Frontenac.
 Gallagher, A. C., Chicopee.
 Fern, Frances, Scammon.
 Rees, Dewey, Burlingame.
 Maignon, Louis, Scranton.
 Brinkman, H. F., Dillon.

Boise, Idaho, July 23-25, 1901.

Devlin, C. J., Topeka.
 Durkee, J. H., Weir City.
 Winter, A. E., Blue Rapids.
 Mahon, W. H., Coffeyville.
 Ainsworth, J., Lyons.
 Maignon, Louis, Scranton.
 Brinkman, H. F., Dillon.
 Morrison, John R., Midway.
 Richardson, George, Weir City.
 Gilmour, Robert, Pittsburg.
 Keegan, Edward, Pittsburg.
 Stewart, John L., Weir City.
 McManus, Thomas, Weir City.
 Haworth, Erasmus, Lawrence.
 Schermerhorn, A. M., Galena.
 Weilep, E. C., Galena.

INTERNATIONAL MINING CONGRESS.

Crawford, S. J., Topeka.
 Holliday, Charles K., Topeka.
 Orr, J. W., Atchison.
 Sapp, E. E., Galena.

Butte, Mont., September 1-5, 1902.

Haworth, Erasmus, Lawrence.
 Cowie, D. B., Kingman.
 Cockerill, A. B., Gas City.
 Cappeau, J. P., Iola.
 Fry, George A., Iola.
 Northrup, L. L., Iola.
 Turkington, W. E., Cherokee.
 Henley, A., Lawrence.
 Wasser, E. A., Girard.
 Thomas, Clark, Moran.
 Boyle, George A., Louisburg.
 Barnhill, J. F., Paola.
 Wear, Frank, Topeka.
 Devlin, C. J., Topeka.
 Lanyon, E. V., Neodesha.
 Garrison, Oliver, Cherryvale.
 Hodges, John, Pittsburg.
 Hamilton, James, Weir City.
 Sapp, W. F., Galena.
 Stone, William B., Galena.
 Craig, Robert, Osage City.
 Gardner, James, Yale.
 Mackie, David, Scammod.
 Wilson, Henry, Frontenac.
 Casselman, D. R., Pittsburg.
 Deadwood, So. Dak., September 7 to 12, 1903.
 Fellows, A. M., Peru.
 Oshant, Henry W., Hays City.
 Murphy, E. F., Goodland.
 Cappeau, J. A., Iola.
 Fry, George, Iola.
 Bowlus, G. A., Iola.
 Beattie, L. C., Iola.
 Kirkwood, A. B., Pittsburg.
 Hedges, J. N., Pittsburg.
 McCall, Peter, Pittsburg.
 Lanyon, E. V., Neodesha.
 Griffin, A. J., Lawrence.
 Murdock, William, Chanute.
 Martin, C. D., Chanute.
 Mason, B. C., Chanute.
 Schermerhorn, E. B., Galena.
 Moore, T. J., Pittsburg.
 Devlin, C. J., Topeka.
 Johnson, Gus., Osage City.
 Kierstead, G. W., Leavenworth.
 Hamilton, James, Weir City.
 Casselman, D. R., Pittsburg.
 Richardson, George, Pittsburg.
 Gilmour, Robert, Pittsburg.
 Deacon, Ralph, Weir City.
 Burton, W. H., Leavenworth.
 Blakeslee, Theodore, Neodesha.
 McCall, Peter, Frontenac.
 Stone, William B., Galena.
 Strickland, F. P., Kansas City.
 Corbin, W. D., Neodesha.

CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND
CORRECTIONS.

Chicago, June 12, 1893.

Chase, S. W., Winfield.
 Householder, M. A., Columbus.
 Lease, Mrs. M. E., Wichita.
 Walker, S. T., Olathe.
 Faulkner, C. E., Atchison.
 Waite, W. S., Lincoln.
 Kelly, Henry Bascom, McPherson.
 Miles, C. K., Winfield.
 Todd, W. G., Topeka.
 Pilcher, F. Hoyt, Winfield.
 Hitchcock, A. E., Columbus.
 Yoe, W. T., Independence.
 Huró, W. J., Holton.
 Wentworth, Lowell E., Osawatomie.
 Spencer, Miss Martha P., Beloit.

Nashville, Tenn., 1894.

Ruggles, Mrs. S. L., Emporia.
 Hampton, Mrs. R. L., Kansas City.
 Todd, W. G., Kansas City.
 Spencer, Miss Martha P., Beloit.
 Faulkner, Charles E., Salina.
 Brown, Mrs. E. F.

New Haven, Conn., May 24-30, 1895.

Faulkner, Charles E., Atchison.
 White, Francis H., Manhattan.
 Albaugh, Morton, Kingman.

Washington, D. C., May 9-15, 1901.

Allen, Henry J., Ottawa.
 Kanavel, G. W., Sedgwick.
 Snyder, Edwin, Oskaloosa.
 Vincent, R., Washington.
 Hannon, John, Leavenworth.

Detroit, Mich., May 28 to June 3, 1902.

Morrill, E. N., Hiawatha.
 Milliken, John D., McPherson.
 Harding, Eva, Topeka.
 Haskell, John G., Lawrence.
 Thompson, Mrs. A. H., Topeka.
 Ward, R. B., Belleville.
 Householder, M. A., Columbus.
 Allen, H. J., Ottawa.
 Kanavel, G. W., Sedgwick.
 Snyder, Edwin, Oskaloosa.
 Vincent, R., Washington.
 Hannon, John, Leavenworth.
 Jewett, E. B., Lansing.
 Fredenhagen, E. A., Topeka.
 Blackmar, F. W., Lawrence.

Atlanta, Ga. May 5-12, 1903.

Perkins, L. H., Lawrence.
 Charles, H. W., Topeka.
 Fredenhagen, E. A., Topeka.
 Fredenhagen, Mrs. E. A., Topeka.
 Blackmar, Frank W., Lawrence.
 Snyder, Edwin, Oskaloosa.
 Allen, H. J., Ottawa.
 Fisk, Daniel M., Topeka.

CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND
CORRECTIONS.

McClaughrey, R. W., Fort Leavenworth.
 Morrow, O. S., Topeka
 Simmons, J. S., Hutchinson.
 Shields, Mrs. Ella Glenn, Wichita.
 Jewett, E. B., Lansing.

INTERNATIONAL GOOD-ROADS CONVEN-
TION.

St. Louis, April 27-29, 1903.

Congdon, D. C., Fort Scott.
 Hornaday, Grant, Fort Scott.
 Sherman, Andrew J., Fort Scott.
 Warr, W., Fort Scott.
 Chilcott, R. M., Wamego.
 Smith, O. Z., Wichita.
 Bradbury, William, Topeka.
 Kramer, E. A., Plainville.
 Sims, John B., Topeka.
 Updegraff, O. P., Topeka.
 Heath, H. A., Topeka.
 Henley, A., Lawrence.

INTERNATIONAL IRRIGATION CON-
GRESS.

Los Angeles, Cal., October 10, 1893.

Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Everett, H. S., Great Bend.
 Baldwin, L., Great Bend.
 Frost, D. M., Garden City.
 Stubbs, A. W., Garden City.
 Lester, H. M., Syracuse.
 Bristow, J. L., Salina.
 Gregory, H. S., Ingalls.
 Mohler, Martin, Topeka.
 Cowgill, L. B., Topeka.
 Black, George, Olathe.

Omaha, Neb., March 21, 22, 1894.

Frost, D. M., Garden City.
 Bristow, J. L., Salina.
 Wright, J. K., Junction City.
 Coburn, Foster Dwight, Topeka.
 Gregory, J. W., Garden City.
 Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Clement, G. W., Wichita.
 Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
 Hay, Robert, Junction City.
 Hinkley, H. V., Topeka.
 Shelton, D., Topeka.

Denver, Colo., September 3, 1894.

Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence.
 Frost, D. M., Garden City.
 Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Frost, J. E., Topeka.
 Cowgill, E. B., Topeka.
 Sutton, W. B., Russell.
 Hay, Robert, Junction City.
 Failure, G. H., Manhattan.
 Smith, Frederick Dumont, Kinsley.
 Dewey, T. E., Abilene.
 Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.

INTERNATIONAL IRRIGATION CON-
GRESS.

Gluck, Mayor, Dodge City.
Scott, Tully, Oberlin.
Tomblin, M. B., Goodland.
Tilleux, Eugene, Tribune.
Pickering, L. M., Amazon.

Albuquerque, N. M., September 16, 1895.

Hutchinson, W. E., Ulysses.
Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence.
Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
Jones, A. B., Wa Keeney.
Lloyd, Ira L., Ellsworth.
Stoufer, A. K., Liberal.

Phoenix, Ariz., December 15-17, 1896.

Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence.
Diesem, I. S., Garden City.
Brumlock, Austin, Eldorado.
Cook, J. B., Chetopa.
Friezell, Ed., Larned.
Bonebrake, P. I., Topeka.
Perkins, Fred.

Cheyenne, Wyo., September 1-3, 1898.

Hilton, R. H., Topeka.
Emery, James Stanley, Lawrence.
Fitzgerald, W. J., Dodge City.
Frost, J. E., Topeka.
Cowgill, E. B., Topeka.

Missoula, Mont., September 25-27, 1899.

Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
Cowgill, E. B., Topeka.
Diesem, I. L., Garden City.
Watson, George W., Kinsley.
Coburn, F. D., Kansas City.
Munger, George M., Eureka.
Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
Allen, J. Berry, Oberlin.

NATIONAL IRRIGATION CONGRESS.

Chicago, Ill., November 21-24, 1900.

Munger, George M., Eureka.
Frost, D. M., Garden City.
Long, Chester I., Medicine Lodge.
Reeder, W. A., Logan.
Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
Landis, Charles S., Osborne.
Cottrell, H. M., Manhattan.

Colorado Springs, Colo., October 6 to 9, 1902.

Russell, W. G., Russell.
Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
Diesem, I. L., Garden City.
Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
Allen, J. B., Oberlin.
Reeder, W. A., Logan.
Landis, C. S., Osborne.
Linton, L. M., Lebanon.
Morse, J. F., Phillipsburg.
Law, Alvin, Hill City.
Findlay, Robert, Sterling.
Thorpe, E. R., Lakin.

NATIONAL IRRIGATION CONGRESS.

Berry, J. W., Jewell City.
Chambers, W. L., Stockton.
Stewart, S. J., Humboldt.
Smith, W. A., Walker.
Hall, John, Syracuse.
Chilcote, R. M., Wamego.

Ogden, Utah, September 15 to 18, 1903.

Reeder, W. A., Logan.
Scott, E. J., Goodland.
Miller, C. W., Hays City.
Jacobs, George A., Atwood.
Reynolds, S. S., Grainfield.
Bartholomew, Elam, Rockport.
Woodhouse, Guy E., Sharon Springs.
Haney, J. G., Hays City.
Rice, John H., Fort Scott.
Purcell, I. T., Wa Keeney.
Diesem, I. T., Garden City.
Madison, E. H., Dodge City.
Hutchinson, William E., Garden City.
Thorpe, E. R., Lakin.
Reid, W. F., Syracuse.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
Carver, Thad. C., Pratt.
Smith, Oscar, Wichita.
Forsha, Sam, Hutchinson.
Lobdell, C. E., Larned.
Jones, A. B., Wa Keeney.
Starr, J. C., Scott.
Jones, C. D., Norton.
Hall, John, Syracuse.
Smith, F. D., Kinsley.
Chilcote, R. M., Wamego.
Snow, E. S., Lakin.
Frost, D. M., Garden City.

NATIONAL LIVE-STOCK ASSOCIATION.

Denver, Colo., January -, 1899.

McCoy, J. G., Wichita.

Fort Worth, Tex., January 16, 1900.

Guthrie, W. W., Atchison.
Hubbard, T. A., Rome.
Potter, T. M., Peabody.
Lower, Frank, Council Grove.

Salt Lake City, Utah, January 15-18, 1901.

Myers, S. R., Sabetha.
McAfee, H. W., Topeka.
Smith, W. A., Ellis.

Chicago, December 3-5, 1901.

Robinson, L. W., Towanda.
McAfee, H. W., Topeka.
White, John T., Ada.

Portland, Ore., January 11-15, 1904.

McAfee, H. W., Topeka.
Dougherty, Al., Logan.

NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION.

Denver, Colo., September 14-18, 1895.

Lynch, J. Bruce, Lansing.
 Faulkner, Charles E., Atchison.
 Morse, J. C. O., Hutchinson.
 Jones, W. C., Iola.
 Milliken, John D., McPherson.
 Lynch, J. Bruce, Lansing. 1896.
 Morse, J. C. O., Hutchinson. 1896.

Cleveland, Ohio, September 22-26, 1900.

Milliken, John D., McPherson.
 Landis, H. S., Galena.
 Tomlinson, J. B., Lansing.
 Fisk, D. M., Topeka.
 Harding, Dr. Eva, Topeka.
 Blackmar, F. W., Lawrence.

Kansas City, Mo., November 9-13, 1901.

Milliken, John D., McPherson.
 Blackmar, F. W., Lawrence.
 Jewett, E. B., Lansing.

Philadelphia, September 13-17, 1902.

Jewett, E. B., Lansing.
 Simmons, J. S., Hutchinson.
 Ellett, E. C., El Dorado.
 Kelly, Philip, White Cloud.
 Milliken, John D., McPherson.
 Potter, T. M., Peabody.
 Fredenhagen, E. A., Topeka.

Louisville, Ky., October 3-8, 1903.

Jewett, E. B., Lansing.
 Tully, Mark, Independence.
 Haskell, W. H., Gaylord.
 Ellett, E. C., El Dorado.
 Marshall, E. E., Hutchinson.
 McBrian, J. D., Lansing.
 Gates, A. G., Hutchinson.
 Garver, T. F., Topeka.
 Smart, C. A., Ottawa.
 Lobdell, C. E., Larned.
 Sheldon, Charles M., Topeka.
 Brainerd, F. G., Ottawa.
 Nusbaum, C. S., Ottawa.
 Shield, Mrs. Ella Glenn, Wichita.
 Fredenhagen, E. A., Topeka.
 Blackmar, Frank W., Lawrence.
 Grigsby, C. E., Lansing.

NATIONAL PURE-FOOD AND DRUG
CONGRESS.

Washington, D. C., March 7, 1900.

Bigelow, Willard, Gardner.
 Jensen, W. F., Beloit.
 Woodward, Brinton W., Lawrence.
 Greenlee, J. F., Hutchinson.
 Hubbard, Thomas D., Kimbal.
 Danner, S. T., Newton.
 Smith, W. A., Wilson.
 Beers, Charles H., Hoxie.
 Green, William, Topeka.
 Kaffer, Charles F., Atchison.

PAN-AMERICAN CONVENTION.

St. Louis, October 3, 1893.

Bohrer, G., Chase.
 Breidenthal, John W., Topeka.
 Johnson, F. B., Topeka.
 Osborne, R. S., Topeka.
 Lathrop, James H., Topeka.
 Hughes, John, Howard.
 Williams, D. B., Edgerton.
 Sutherland, M. R., Mankato.
 Hoffman, C. B., Enterprise.
 Ballard, David Ellenwood, Ballard's Falls.
 Kerns, David, Plainville.
 Thompson, L. H., Norton.
 Crawford, B. D., Pratt.
 Partch, B. F., Hiawatha.
 Atwood, John H., Leavenworth.
 Moore, H. L., Lawrence.
 Waterbury, Ed. S., Emporia.
 Hood, Calvin, Emporia.
 Holden, J. D., Emporia.
 Peters, M. S., Kansas City.
 Ames, J. W., Smith Center.
 Pyne, W. A., St. Francis.
 Calvo, Joaquin Bernardo, Washington, D. C.
 Alfaro, Anastasio, Chicago, Ill.
 Otis, John Grant, Topeka.
 Sogard, Thyge, Kansas City.
 Riggs, Samuel A., Lawrence.
 Heisler, E. F., Kansas City.
 Overmeyer, David, Topeka.
 Montgomery, A. B., Goodland.
 Robinson, B. J., Osawatomie.
 Tomlinson, William P., Topeka.

RAILROAD CONGRESS.

Lincoln, Neb., June 1, 1893.

Carstensen, C. P., Scandia.
 Simpson, Jerry., Medicine Lodge.
 Forney, A. G., Belle Plaine.
 Campbell, W. P., Wichita.
 Ballard, David Ellenwood, Ballard's Falls.
 Hathaway, G. E., Washington.
 Glass, John D., Marysville.
 Scott, Tully, Oberlin.
 Reynolds, S. S., Grainfield.
 Doster, Frank, Marion.
 Pattee, H. D., Topeka.
 Higgins, J. W., Beloit.
 Johnson, F. C., Phillipsburg.
 Close, F. J., Troy.
 Dick, L. F., Parsons.
 Allen, Walter N., Meriden.
 Foote, C. E., Marion.
 Hellebower, D. H., Bucyrus.
 Otis, John Grant, Topeka.
 Limbocker, J. N., Manhattan.
 Stewart, A. A., Manhattan.
 Hutchinson, W. E., Wichita.
 Henderson, Ben, Winfield.
 Patterson, Robert, Osage City.
 Nicholson, M. B., Council Grove.
 Maxson, J. B., Topeka.

RIVER IMPROVEMENT CONGRESS.

Kansas City, October 8, 1903.

Greenwood, A. W., Topeka.
 Whitlock, M. S., Topeka.
 Bisby, John, Wamego.
 Lafontaine, J., Wamego.
 Short, Henry, Belvue.
 Worthing, Ed., Belvue.
 Ramsey, George F., Belvue.
 McCleery, T. F., St. Marys.
 O'Brine, E. W., St. Marys.
 Heisler, E. F., Kansas City.
 Johnson, Ed., St. Marys.
 Erbacher, August, St. Marys.
 Adams, Horace, Maple Hill.
 Bond, William, Rossville.
 Andrews, T. W., Rossville.
 Williams, Charles D., Silver Lake.
 Ward, Ed., Silver Lake.
 Merriam, E. B., Topeka.
 Mulvaue, Joab, Topeka.
 Taylor, L. R., Grantville.

SILVER CONVENTION.

Washington, D. C., May 22, 1894.

Johnson, F. Burleigh, Topeka.

SUGAR CONVENTION.

Chicago, August 16, 1893.

Miller, E. P., Medicine Lodge.
 Best, T. J., Medicine Lodge.
 Drake, C. F., Fort Scott.
 Kearns, Eli, Fort Scott.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI CONGRESS.

New Orleans, La., April 14, 1892.

Anthony, George T., Ottawa.
 Kelly, Henry B., McPherson.
 Wright, John K., Junction City.
 Hewins, E. M., Cedarvale.
 Sutton, W. B., Russell.
 Spensler, A. L., Hutchinson.
 Ewing, C. T., Thayer.
 Rush, H. D., Leavenworth.
 Cruise, John D., Kansas City.

Ogden, Utah, April 24, 1893.

Ives, John Nutt, Topeka.
 Graham, J. D., Manhattan.
 Shinn, A. C., Ottawa.
 McCormick, A. H., Parsons.
 Goodlander, Charles W., Fort Scott.
 Montgomery, A. B., Goodland.
 Cook, A. B., Paola.
 Glass, Quincy A., Winfield.
 Johnson, John B., Highland.
 Todd, J. F., El Dorado.

San Francisco, Cal., February 13, 1894.

Jocelyn, S. E., Wichita.
 Cary, J. B., Wichita.
 Stewart, J. H., Goodland.
 Agrelius, A. E., Lindsborg.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI CONGRESS.

Tomlin, M. B., Goodland.
 Roberts, George R. T., Morrill.
 Hutchinson, W. E., Hutchinson.
 Sheldon, H. F., Ottawa.
 Hoffman, C. B., Enterprise.
 Ridgeley, E. R., Pittsburg.
 Munger, George M., Eureka.
 Toothaker, W. H., Kansas City.
 Johnson, J. Burleigh, Topeka.

Omaha, Neb., November 25, 1895.

Taylor, O. B., Leavenworth.
 Douglass, George L., Wichita.
 Stich, A. C., Independence.
 McPike, W. C., Atchison.
 Purcell, E. B., Manhattan.
 Shinn, A. C., Ottawa.
 Morgan, W. Y., Hutchinson.
 Goodlander, C. W., Fort Scott.
 Keplinger, L. W., Kansas City.
 Gregory, J. W., Garden City.
 Jarrell, J. F., Topeka.
 Johnson, F. B., Topeka.

Wichita, Kan., May 21 to June 3, 1899.

Morrill, E. N., Hiawatha.
 Emery, J. S., Lawrence.
 Robinson, W. C., Winfield.
 Scott, L., Howard.
 Hood, Calvin, Emporia.
 Ellis, A. H., Beloit.
 Greenlee, J. F., Hutchinson.
 Mason, Henry F., Garden City.
 Peters, S. R., Newton.
 Denton, John T., Grenola.
 McNeal, Thomas A., Topeka.
 Fleharty, H. B.
 Savage, W. R., Wellington.
 Case, J. B., Abilene.

Houston, Tex., April 17-21, 1900.

Hitchcock, C. B., Wellington.
 Brinkman, J. G., Great Bend.
 Churchill, John H., Dodge City.
 Shinn, A. C., Ottawa.
 Case, J. B., Abilene.
 Drew, C. J., Topeka.
 Mitchell, C. A., Cherryvale.
 Ross, Finlay, Wichita.
 Watson, George W., Kinsley.
 Gray, E. M., Perry.
 Webb, A. H., Wichita.
 Frizzell, Ed., Larned.
 Burklund, Gus, Osage City.

Cripple Creek, Colo., July 16-19, 1901.

Thrall, J. W., Wellington.
 Wilson, Mrs. Augustus, Wilsonton.
 Churchill, J. H., Dodge City.
 Leis, George, Lawrence.
 Mason, Henry F., Garden City.
 Halloway, H. W., Larned.
 O'Neil, T. J., Osage City.
 Bonebrake, P. I., Topeka.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI CONGRESS.

Rice, John H., Fort Scott.
 McKnight, J. Hudson, Wichita.
 Barker, J. L., Great Bend.
 Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Hood, H. P., Emporia.
 Beeson, C. M., Dodge City.
 Hill, J. H., Russell.
 Barker, G. H., Girard.
 Madison, Ed., Dodge City.
 Hood, Calvin, Emporia.
 Edwards, W. C., Larned.
 Thompson, A. S., Cherryvale.

St. Paul, Minn., August 9-22, 1902.

McKnight, J. Hudson, Wichita.
 Thrall, J. M., Wellington.
 Ames, E. E., Norton.
 Miller, C. W., Hays City.
 Remington, J. B., Osawatomie.
 Robinson, W. C., Winfield.
 Gafford, J. C., Minneapolis.
 Hornaday, Grant, Fort Scott.
 Etzold, L. A., Liberal.
 White, Hays B., Mankato.

Seattle, Wash., August 18-21, 1903.

Moses, E. R., Great Bend.
 Frazier, T. C., Coffeyville.
 Kennedy, R. J., Coffeyville.
 McKnight, J. Hudson, Wichita.
 Renn, W. A., Wellington.
 Thatcher, George, Great Bend.
 Wolf, John, Ellinwood.
 Cowgill, E. B., Topeka.
 Smith, F. Dumont, Kinsley.
 Diesem, I. L., Garden City.
 Edwards, William C., Wichita.
 Frost, John E., Topeka.

TWENTIETH KANSAS REGIMENT.—
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Hudson, J. K., Topeka.
 Lindsay, H. C., Topeka.
 Broderick, Case, Holton.
 Funston, E. H., Carlisle.
 Schoonover, Manford, Garnett.
 Martin, George W., Kansas City.
 Allen, R. N., Chanute.
 Beck, James, Galena.
 Love, J. Mack, Arkansas City.
 Hoch, E. W., Marion.
 Madden, John, Emporia.
 Watrous, John E., Burlington.
 Burton, J. R., Abilene.
 Kimball, Sam., Manhattan.
 Stocks, Fred A., Blue Rapids.
 Ellis, A. H., Beloit.
 Fike, James N., Colby.
 McCormick, N. B., Phillipsburg.
 Smith, Abram W., McPherson.
 Fitch, T. G., Wichita.
 Mason, Henry F., Garden City.
 St. John, John P., Olathe.
 Glick, George W., Atchison.

TWENTIETH KANSAS REGIMENT.—
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Humphrey, Lyman U., Independence.
 Lewelling, L. D., Wichita.
 Morrill, E. N., Hiawatha.
 Leedy, John W., Lawrence.

Special Committee to San Francisco.

Montgomery, Frank C., Topeka.
 Sampson, M. D., Salina.
 Barker, J. D., Girard.
 Little, T., Abilene.
 Ury, I. N., Fort Scott.
 Heisler, E. F., Kansas City.
 Selig, A. L., Lawrence.

WARDEN'S ASSOCIATION.

St. Paul, Minn., June 13, 1894.

Chase, S. W., Winfield.
 Hallenback, George W., Coldwater.
 Hitchcock, E. C., Columbus.

WORLD'S AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS.

Chicago, Ill., October 16, 1893.

Wellhouse, Fred, Leavenworth.
 Mohler, Martin, Topeka.

WORLD'S CONGRESS OF BANKERS.

Levy, M. W., Wichita.

WESTERN STATES CONFERENCE
CONVENTION.

Topeka, October 1, 1895.

Baker, Lucien, Leavenworth.
 Peffer, W. A., Topeka.
 Glick, George W., Atchison.
 Riddle, A. P., Minneapolis.
 Vincent, W. D., Clay Center.
 Cox, L. M., Wichita.
 King, S. S., Kansas City.
 Greenlee, J. F., Hutchinson.
 Benedict, S. S., Fredonia.
 Colburn, E. A., McPherson.
 Baden, J. P., Winfield.
 Bowersock, J. D., Lawrence.
 Schilling, John, Hiawatha.
 Todd, Neely, Leavenworth.
 Harwi, A. J., Atchison.
 Scoville, C. K., Seneca.
 Keplinger, L. P., Kansas City.
 Jones, George W., Mound City.
 Goodlander, Frank, Fort Scott.
 Kirk, L. K., Garnett.
 Humphrey, Lyman U., Independence.
 Lusk, H. H., Parsons.
 Tarkington, W. E., Cherokee.
 Hubbard, J. C., Columbus.
 Hoch, E. W., Marion.
 Finney, D. W., Neo-sho Falls.
 Manchester, George, Burlington.
 Overmyer, David, Topeka.
 Hutchinon, Perry, Marysville.
 Lee, H. B., Salina.

WESTERN STATES CONFERENCE
CONVENTION.

Close, J. F., Belleville.
 Postlethwaite, J. C., Mankato.
 Simpson, William M., Norton.
 Reynolds, S. S., Grainfield.
 Montgomery, A. B., Goodland.

WESTERN STATES CONFERENCE
CONVENTION.

Murdock, M. M., Wichita.
 Hunter, George H., Wellington.
 Vandivert, S. W., Kinsley.
 Petillon, W. T., Dodge City.
 Elliott, L. R., Manhattan.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.—1861-1904.

JUDGES.

Williams, Archibald, Topeka. 1861-'63.
 Delahay, Mark W., Leavenworth. 1863-'74.
 Foster, Cassius G., Atchison. 1874-'99.
 Hook, William C., Leavenworth. 1899-1903.
 Pollock, John C., Winfield. 1903 —

CLERKS.

Morton, John T., Topeka. 1861-'63.
 Adams, Franklin G., Topeka. 1863-'65.
 Thomas, Adolphus S., Topeka. 1865-'74.
 Wilson, Joseph C. 1874-'95.
 Sharritt, George F., Atchison. 1895-'99.
 Brown, Frank L., Garnett. 1899 —

MARSHALS.

McDowell, J. L., Topeka. 1861-'64.
 Osborn, Thomas A., Leavenworth. 1864-'67.
 Whiting, Charles C., Topeka. 1867-'69.
 Houston, D. W., Leavenworth. 1869-'73.
 Tough, William S., Leavenworth. 1873-'76.
 Miller, Charles H., Leavenworth. 1876-'78.

MARSHALS.

Simpson, Benjamin F., Paola. 1873-'86.
 Jones, William C., Iola. 1886-'90.
 Walker, Richard L. 1890-'94.
 Neely, Shaw F., Leavenworth. 1894-'98.
 Sterne, William Edgar, Topeka. 1898-1902.
 Crum, Littleton S., Oswego. Jan. 28, 1902, to
 Aug. 12, 1902.
 Mackey, William H., jr., Junction City. Aug.
 12, 1902 —

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

Burris, John Taylor, Olathe, 1861.
 Crozier, Robert, Leavenworth, 1861-'63.
 Emery, James S., Lawrence, 1863-'67.
 Riggs, Samuel A., Lawrence, 1867-'69.
 Horton, Albert H., Atchison, 1869-'74.
 Peck, George Record, Independence, 1874-'79.
 Hallowell, James R., Columbus, 1879-'86.
 Perry, William C., Fort Scott, 1886-'89; 1895-'97.
 Ady, Joseph Wesley, Newton, 1889-'95.
 Lambert, Isaac E., Emporia, 1897-1901.
 Dean, John S., Marion, 1901 —

ADDENDA.

In Albert R. Greene's paper, "United States Land-offices in Kansas," page 5, eighteenth line from bottom of the page, read *he* went away singing, instead of "we." And on page 13, seventh line from end of article, read *general* land-office, instead of "central"; and in the line following, read *office* for "position."

In W. E. Richey's paper, entitled "Early Spanish Explorations and Indian Implements in Kansas," page 159, foot-note, "E. R. Sharpe, Notary Public," should read E. R. *Thorpe*, Notary Public. Page 166, first line under plate 4, instead of "diamond-pointed knives," read diamond-*shaped* knives.

Page 171, foot-note, James Richard Mead was born in *Newhaven, Vt.*, instead of New Haven, Conn.

John Elmore McKeighan, referred to by Anna Heloise Abel, page 108, and C. E. Cory, page 191, located in 1868 at Baxter Springs, where he remained until 1871, when he removed to Fort Scott and became a partner with H. C. McComas. Five years later he removed to St. Louis, Mo., where the firm continued business until the tragic death of Mr. McComas, wife, and son, as told on page 191. He has since been identified with some of the strongest legal firms in that city. Mr. McKeighan was born near Farmington, Ill., July 20, 1841. His father was a native of county Antrim, Ireland, where he was born in 1816, and his mother was born three years later, in Cincinnati, Ohio. His earlier years were spent on a farm. He entered Knox College, at Galesburg, Ill., and from there he went to the University of Michigan, from which institution he graduated in 1866. He read law with Martin Shellenbarger, at Toulon, and was admitted to the supreme court of Illinois in 1867, afterwards settling at Bolivar, Polk county, Mo. His father was one of the free-soilers and abolitionists of Illinois, but after the civil war the son became a Democrat. Mr. McKeighan married, June 2, 1869, Ellen M. Cutler, of Kalamazoo, Mich. Her father was Thomas C. Cutler, who became a Kansan and died at Newton, Kan., in 1893, at the advanced age of ninety-three. Mrs. McKeighan died in 1893, and on August 1, 1899, Mr. McKeighan married Mrs. Ida P. Hunt.

In the running-head, top of pages 199, 201, 203, and 205, read *James C. Horton* for "John C. Horton."

O. E. Morse, the author of the paper entitled "An Attempted Rescue of John Brown from the Charlestown, Va., Jail," has been a resident of Linn county since 1857. He was born in Huron county, Ohio, March 27, 1837. He located at the historic town of Moneka and engaged in merchandising until 1861, when he enlisted in company D, Fifth Kansas cavalry, and served until September, 1864, when he was mustered out a captain. He located in Mound City and engaged in the furniture business, in which he continued until 1873. In this year he was appointed deputy county treasurer. In 1874 he engaged in farming and breeding fine stock. In 1875-'76 he represented his district in the state legislature. In 1878 he was appointed commissioner to select school-lands. In October, 1864, in Livingston, N. Y., he was married to Emma Wattles.

William E. Webb, one of the founders of Hays City, wrote a book entitled "Buffalo Land." On page 51 he says: "While in Topeka our party made the acquaintance of Tenacious Gripe, a well-known Kansas politician, and who attached himself to us for the trip. Every person in the state knew him, had known him in territorial times, and would know him until either the state or he ceased to be." He had served in the upper and lower house of the state legislature, and at this time was a moderate Democrat. On page 419 is the following:

"Drawing fresh inspiration from his success, Gripe devoted another hour to an account of the many struggles in Kansas against these 'mean whites.' He gave us many descriptions of the time when men died that their children might live. Among other relations was that of the expedition under Montgomery to rescue the two companions of old John Brown from the prison at Charlestown, Va., a short time after the stern hero himself had there been hung.

"The dozen of brave Kansas men interested in the enterprise reached Harrisburg, with their rifles taken apart and placed in a chest, and sent scouts into Virginia and Maryland. It was the middle of winter, and deep snow covered the ground. They intended when passing among the mountains to bear the character of a hunting party. Every member of that little band was willing to push on to Charlestown, notwithstanding the whole state of Virginia was on the alert, and pickets were thrown out as far as Hagerstown, Md. The plan was by a bold dash to capture the jail, and then, with the rescued men, make rapidly for the seaboard. Although the expedition failed, it gave the world a glimpse of that heroic Western spirit which was not only willing to do battle upon its own soil, but content to turn back and meet death half-way when comrades were in danger. Gripe did not accompany the expedition."

We are deprived of the knowledge of whom Gripe was.

The Kaw Indian name in lines 21 and 22, page 248, should be *Kah-he-ga-wa ti-an-gah*, to correspond with spelling on page 206.

See the story of Satank, the Kiowa chief, in Robert M. Wright's "Frontier Life in Southwest Kansas," pages 48 and 49, volume 7 of the Historical Collections, in connection with the last paragraph of J. R. McClure's "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," pages 227-250, this volume.

Page 340, in title to picture of Constitution hall, Lecompton, read Sherrard, instead of "Sherwood."

Noble L. Prentis, in the Atchison *Champion*, September, 1880: "The capitol square is surrounded by a dense growth, rods in width, of rampant sunflowers. They grow as big, rank and yellow as if they were forty miles from a house. The sunflower ought to be made the emblem of our state. Nothing checks it or kills it. It is always 'happy as a big sunflower.' Grasshoppers have never held the age on it; and in drougthy times, when everything else wilts and throws up its hands, the sunflower continues business at the old stand. It probably has some private arrangement with nature for securing 'aid.'"

Note by D. W. Wilder: "On page 208 of the Great Seal paper, my last *aspera* should have been *asp Era*, the way in which Kansas usually and incorrectly pronounces *as'pera*."

From the *National Tribune*, April 10, 1904.

"*Editor National Tribune*: In the *National Tribune* of December 10, 1903, I noticed an article from Geo. W. Bowers, New Philadelphia, Ohio, on the death of the mother of the infamous outlaw, Quantrill, in which appears a statement that he was mortally wounded by one of Gen. E. H. Hobson's command, and shortly afterwards died in a hospital at Louisville, Ky. I have not yet seen

any correct accounts of the manner and by whom he was captured, as I understand it. In the month of February, 1865, Quantrill and his band were reported to be in the vicinity of Lebanon, Ky. By order of Gen. John M. Palmer, then in command of the department of Kentucky, I drew 100 guns, equipments and ammunition from the arsenal at Jeffersonville to equip 100 men from Park barracks, who were sent under a lieutenant to capture Quantrill and his band. This was a failure, of course, for when they got where he was, like the Irishman's flea, he 'warn't there.' There were so many rebel sympathizers there that he was posted as soon as a union soldier appeared: therefore, another kind of strategy had to be adopted.

"Under instructions from General Palmer, I found a man who knew Quantrill in Kansas, who found thirty more men willing to undertake to capture him, dead or alive, as the necessity of the case might require. These scouts (all citizens, no soldiers) were instructed to be a band of guerrillas: to live off the community where they were scouting, and to assume the garb of genuine guerrillas, that they might gain the confidence of Quantrill and his band, and by that means capture him. This they were entirely successful in doing, and in the scrap which followed Quantrill was wounded in the back, much as Garfield was, three or four of his men killed, and as many more wounded.

"Captain Terrill, who was in command of these scouts, reported May 10, 1865, at General Palmer's headquarters, with Quantrill in a wagon on a straw bed. He was sent to a hospital in the southwest part of the city, where he died about six weeks later, and the company was paid off and discharged on the above date. The names of the men comprising the company appear in my reports to the third auditor of the treasury for the months of April and May, 1865, signed by themselves, on their pay-roll. A copy is herewith enclosed. (Signed) J. M. RIDLON, first lieutenant and quartermaster Twenty-fifth Michigan, and A. A. Q. M., headquarters, Department of Kentucky."

"[The document which Lieutenant Ridlon sends us is a very interesting one. It is the roll-call of the thirty-one men who went as scouts on the expedition, and were employed in it from the 1st until May 10, 1865. The chief was Edwin Terrill. His lieutenants were John H. Thompson and Horace Allen. The chief received fifty dollars a month for his services, and the lieutenants thirty-five and thirty dollars, respectively. The document is a report of their services, and the expenditure of money on them, and is signed on honor by Lieutenant Ridlon, and vouched for by Gen. John M. Palmer, major-general commanding the Department of Kentucky.—EDITOR *National Tribune*.]"

Page 504 read *Fremont's Orchard*, instead of "Tremont's."

The name of the first United States marshal of Kansas territory (page 120) should be spelled Israel B. Donaldson, according to a letter addressed by him to Geo. W. Deitzler and L. M. Greene, dated Lecompton, May 15, 1856, and now in the possession of the Historical Society. John Donaldson, territorial auditor, spelled his name the same way.

May 9, 1904, J. B. Dickerson, who was given a federal judgeship in the Indian Territory, resigned as judge of the eighth judicial district, and on the 10th of May R. L. King, county attorney of Marion county, was appointed district judge to succeed him (see page 513).

Mathew P. Simpson, judge of the district court for the ninth district (page 513) was killed by an automobile May 10, 1904, seven miles from Newton.

Robert Morris Peck (page 484) was born in Washington, Mason county, Ky., October 30, 1839. He now resides in Los Angeles, Cal. His father was William Peck, a Virginia horse-dealer, and his mother Rebecca Desha Peck, *nec* Ellis, Irish and Pennsylvania Dutch. Her maternal ancestors, the Overfields, emigrated to Kentucky from Pennsylvania about 1820, in the days of Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, with both of whom the grandmother was acquainted.

Grandfather Ellis was an Irishman, a soldier in the war of 1812. Robert's early education embraced a moderate knowledge of the three R's, acquired while assisting to wear the splinters off a backless puncheon bench in a country log schoolhouse, where the teacher each morning brought in an armful of apple-tree sprouts, all of which would be worn out by night. His education was subsequently finished up in a printing office, where he was "bound out" for five years to learn the trade. There were no free schools in the slave states before the civil war; consequently, the children of parents not able to pay for education got none. Mr. Peck followed printing, soldiering on the frontier, wagon-master for Uncle Sam during the civil war, farming, freighting, mining, etc. He helped to organize the first G. A. R. post in Webb City, Mo., and served two terms as commander. Was married in Leavenworth City, Kan., January 2, 1862, to Miss Sarah Jane Collins (a member of the congregation of Rev. H. D. Fisher), who is still living, and the mother of eight living children—five boys and three girls. In politics Mr. Peck is a Republican, and in religion a Methodist.

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